

20

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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“ So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the ‘third world’ as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote....the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.”

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



WITH A TRIBAL LADY, OCTOBER 1952

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Twenty

(19 October 1952–31 December 1952)

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General Editor

S. Gopal

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

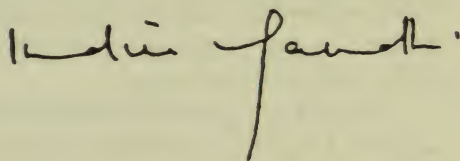
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" and the last name "Gandhi" clearly distinguishable.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

The period covered by this volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, 19 October to 31 December 1952, witnessed several seminal developments in the domestic and in the international spheres.

In the domestic sphere, the first Five Year Plan was finally approved and set in motion after a series of discussions between planners, civil servants and politicians at the State and Central levels. Jawaharlal Nehru was intimately involved in these discussions. His purpose in doing so was to focus attention on the objectives of the Plan. The primary purpose behind planning was to enable the country to achieve economic growth and self-reliance in as short a time as possible. Over and above this, the involvement of the people was also a very necessary feature of planned development.

The grave food situation in several parts of the country, particularly in Rayalaseema, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan had forced the Government to initiate a policy of controls in 1948. However, with an improvement in the food situation, a debate on the desirability of controls had ensued in the country. Nehru disapproved any doctrinaire approach to the subject; "control or decontrol by...(itself had) no meaning...(it had) to be considered in terms of a specific situation and the objective aimed at.... (Wherever) circumstances permit and we can with safety take that course, we should certainly decontrol, but subject always to the overriding consideration of prices not going up and our imports not exceeding the minimum necessary."

While according priority to sustained growth in the agricultural and industrial sectors, Nehru was also conscious of the need for developing Indian technology in the field of atomic energy. He inaugurated, on 24 December, the Indian Rare Earths Factory at Alwaye in Kerala.

Nehru paid a visit to the North-Eastern Frontier in the winter of 1952. He looked upon the visit "in the nature of a discovery of new and fascinating aspects of India... We have looked upon the question of the tribes as a social problem, which of course it is. But in these North-Eastern Frontier Areas, it is very much a political problem also...." In course of the visit, Nehru increasingly realized that "the first problem we have to face there is...to make them feel at one with India and to realize that they are part of India and have the honoured place in it. This can only be done by allowing them to retain their own cultural traits and habits and leaving them to develop along their own lines without any compulsion from outside."

Alongside rapid economic development, Nehru had to deal simultaneously with several pressing political problems which too, could block economic progress, if left unresolved. In the former presidency of Madras, an agitation was afoot for the formation of a separate State of Andhra for the Telugu speaking people. The death through fasting of Potti Sriramulu, a senior

Congressman, to realize such an objective led to widespread violence in the Andhra region. Retreating from his original position due to public pressure, Nehru warned the people that conceding one demand would result in a series of demands for the formation of other linguistic provinces in the country. Nevertheless, in view of the gravity of the situation, the Government appointed Justice K.N. Wanchoo of the Rajasthan High Court to consider the various factors involved in the creation of Andhra State and to suggest what steps should be taken to that end. Both C. Rajagopalachari and T. Prakasam, as leaders of the Tamil and Telugu speaking regions respectively, laid claim to the city of Madras as the capital of their State. Finally, on 19 December, Nehru announced in Parliament the Government's decision to form a separate Andhra Province.

As President of the Indian National Congress, Nehru noticed with distress the growing indiscipline in the party, and the increasing use of malpractices to secure the election of delegates to the session of the Congress due to meet at Hyderabad in January 1953.

The reports which reached New Delhi of the discriminatory treatment suffered by the minorities greatly disturbed Nehru. He found that the provisions of evacuee legislation were being utilized to harm the interests of Muslim property owners in several places in North India. He also received news of members of the Christian community in Central India being harassed and ill-treated. He found the Buddha's message of peace and tolerance to be of great relevance to the contemporary world, where violence and greed seemed to hold unbridled sway over humanity. While participating in November in the ceremonies in Sanchi, to mark the enshrinement of the sacred relics of Sariputta and Mahamoggallana, two disciples of Sakyamuni, he declared that the "significance of these *viharas* in which these relics were being enshrined would be realized when each one of us built a kind of temple in his or her heart, where the ancient memories could be enshrined to guide us in this confused world."

Around this time, Kashmir embarked upon a new chapter in her history and became the first region of India to have an elected Head of the State. Her Constitution was adopted and Yuvaraj Karan Singh was elected as the Head of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This change led to an intensification of an agitation by the Praja Parishad in Jammu, which demanded the "complete accession of the State to India, the use of the Indian Flag to the exclusion of the State Flag, and self-determination for the people of Jammu if there was no complete accession to the Union of India." Nehru criticized Opposition Parties, like the Jana Sangh and Akali Dal, for supporting the agitation through encouraging the enrolment of volunteers in the Punjab and other neighbouring areas. He said that the agitation was "welcomed by certain people and newspapers in Pakistan", and the 'Azad Kashmir' Radio has described the volunteers as "the heroes of the Praja Parishad." He was convinced that the communal parties had found an issue to come together in a bid to create disturbances in the country. Nehru warned that if the agitation succeeded in its objectives, it would "break up the State and play directly into the hands of Pakistan."

Yet another important development relating to Kashmir was the submission before the UN Security Council, in November 1952, of a draft Anglo-US Resolution on the issue. This Resolution, Nehru believed, was "really very partial and biased towards the contention of Pakistan, and it ignores what has been said on behalf of India and indeed goes back on certain decisions taken by agreement by the UN Commission on Kashmir. We cannot possibly accept this Resolution." The Resolution was, therefore, categorically rejected since it equated India, the aggrieved party, with Pakistan, the aggressor, in complete disregard of earlier Resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly. Referring to the speech by Gladwyn Jebb, the representative of the United Kingdom in the Security Council, Nehru stated that his whole approach was opposed to UN Commission's Resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949 and was completely unacceptable to India. He added that "any consideration of the Kashmir problem must proceed on the recognition of the sovereignty of that State, of the fact that this State, by virtue of accession to India, (had) become a part of the territory of the Indian Union, and of the Government of India's responsibility for the security of the State against external aggression." He was unhappy with the proposal for demilitarization mooted by Frank Graham, the UN mediator, since it ignored "the origin of this conflict" and "evasions and falsehoods" had accompanied "it throughout, (so) that no way out for a settlement has so far been found."

During the period under consideration, Indo-Pakistan relations grew tense following a deterioration in the situation in the eastern wing of Pakistan (now Bangladesh). A sudden influx of refugees in large numbers had created tension in Calcutta and other places in West Bengal and in the neighbouring States of India. This led to demands being made for "strong action" against Pakistan. The problem of looking after the refugees was serious, though the newly introduced passport system had eased the situation a little. Almost all the Opposition Parties joined hands in demanding economic sanctions against Pakistan and a complete exchange of population between the two countries. The sudden influx had been caused because of the fear of a possible introduction of a passport system. The minorities in the eastern wing of Pakistan were apprehensive that they would not be allowed to migrate later. The Opposition Parties accused the Government of a policy of appeasement towards Pakistan. Nehru faced criticism in Parliament, where it was declared that 23 November would be observed as East Bengal Day, by holding demonstrations all over the country. While expressing sympathy with the refugees, Nehru warned Members that they should not be carried away by passion. He said his Government was firm but did not seek a conflict. He appealed to the Opposition to apply the healing touch to relations between India and Pakistan.

Outside South Asia, a number of developments took place in the winter of 1952 which threatened to have far-reaching consequences for the world situation. There was a general impression that public opinion in the United States was hardening against peace in Korea. Nehru regarded this as a dangerous portent. To end the deadlock on the issue of prisoners, India presented a draft Resolution before the United Nations on 19 November, which proposed the release and repatriation of all prisoners of war in accordance with well

recognized international regulations and conventions. China and Russia rejected the Resolution, stating that the principle of non-forcible repatriation of prisoners favoured the Anglo-American position. Nehru regretted the rejection of the Indian Resolution by China and the Soviet Union. "The world", commented Nehru "is determined to commit suicide." Despite this failure, India persisted with her Resolution in the United Nations, because Nehru believed that the only alternative was an aggressive initiative by the United States, which would merely aggravate the situation.

Nearer home, the question of the right to 'citizenship' of Indians living in Sri Lanka threatened to put the Indo-Sri Lankan relationship under a severe strain. Following the decision of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka, and the Privy Council, which gave 40,000 Indian settlers the right of citizenship under the Indian and Pakistan Residents Act, 1949, the Sri Lankan Government passed legislation on 13 November bypassing the Supreme Court and the Privy Council decisions. This legislation sought to confer citizenship only on those applicants who had been residents since 1939. Nehru, while regarding the legislation as unfortunate, said that "it is the right of the Government of Ceylon to pass their own Nationality Law. But in doing so they can hardly override history and the present condition."

An important question before the United Nations, at this juncture, was that of racial discrimination in South Africa. India took a firm stand against apartheid and her Resolution on this issue was backed by all the member nations of the United Nations, except the colonial powers. East Africa also experienced violence around this time, and the killing of white settlers by Mau Mau terrorists was on the increase. Nehru firmly believed that though violence had to be put down, the colonial authority ought not to be unduly harsh in controlling it. Indeed, Nehru attributed the increase in violence in East Africa to the harsh policies pursued by the British, which antagonised the entire African population. The repression in the African colonies had been widespread, indiscriminate and severe. Nehru believed that India should go to the rescue of those wrongly implicated in violence, and sent Dewan Chaman Lall to defend Jomo Kenyatta, who was facing trial on charges of conspiracy and worse.

A thoroughly disconcerting development, towards the end of 1952, was the reported intention of Pakistan to join a Middle East Defence Organization sponsored by the United States. Nehru regarded such a move as thoroughly ill-advised, even from the point of view of the Western Powers. India's concern over the situation stemmed from the possible inclusion of Pakistan in the proposed organization. Though Nehru was inclined to believe that the Western Powers would not take such drastic a step casually, yet there was a distinct possibility that military opinion might very well override political considerations. The general loss of prestige experienced by the United Kingdom in the Middle East, due to its weakening hold on Iran and Egypt, was the result of the emergence of nationalist and progressive forces in the Middle Eastern countries, including Iraq. Yet such problems were impossible to resolve through military means.

The Nehru Memorial Library has, as in the past, assisted this project through granting access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi made available to us a collection of documents in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister and the Ministries of Home Affairs, External Affairs and the Press Information Bureau have allowed us the use of relevant material in their possession. Some classified material has necessarily been deleted.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGCR	Accountant General Central Revenues
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
APP	Associated Press of Pakistan
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COMIND	Commissioner India
CP	Central Provinces
CPI	Communist Party of India
CS	Commonwealth Secretary/Cabinet Secretary
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DCC	District Congress Committee
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FS	Foreign Secretary
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAR	Indian Council of Agricultural Research
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IG	Inspector General
INA	Indian National Army
KAU	Kenya African Union
KMP/KMPP	Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MEDO	Middle East Defence Organization
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
NEFA	North-East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
PAC	Provincial Armed Constabulary
PCC	Provincial Congress Committee
Pepsu/PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organization
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific & Cultural Organization
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
US/USA	United States of America
USIS	United States Information Service
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Unity in Diversity¹

Friends,

...A country is not just some mountains, rivers and fields or a few big and small cities and some villages. A country is something much more than these; a country is ultimately the people who live in it. So my attempt has been to understand the people of India as they were in the past and as they are in the present. I have wandered all over India, right from the far north to the southern tip at Kanyakumari, from the far west to this far east of India, seeing millions of people, trying to look into their eyes, trying to make out what they felt, what they desired. Perhaps I have begun to understand them to some extent.

I have, in my mind, thousands and thousands of pictures of India and of the Indian people—pictures which are often different because the people who live in the far north are different from the people who live in the south or the east and the west. They differ in many ways, in the languages they speak, in the dresses they wear, may be in the food they eat, and their customs. There is this infinite variety, and at the same time, I see a tremendous unity which bound the people together. Even when India was divided politically in the past, we had this sense of oneness and unity.

Circumstances have thrust upon me a very heavy responsibility. It is a high honour to be the Prime Minister of a country like India. But it is also a very grave responsibility and in order to discharge that responsibility properly, I try to understand the problems of India. I try, above all, to understand the people of India, not merely by sitting in my office in Delhi, but by coming into direct contact with as many people as I can. It is this search that takes me all over India. It has brought me again to this province of Assam, which is very beautiful, and full of potential reserves of power. In particular, this time I have come to visit these hill areas and meet our friends and comrades of the hills and understand how they face their troubles and what they wish to have. I hope that during the few days that I shall be spending here, I shall get some idea of their feelings and understand their problems and be in a better position to help to solve them.

It is important that we should deal with these problems, not as if India were a jumble, a mere conglomeration, but India as a unity. I want to emphasize that without that unity we shall all go down. We gained our freedom, not for a particular province, but for the country as a whole. So, if we are to progress, it is the whole country that is going to progress, not bits here and bits there.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Shillong, 19 October 1952. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.

If we go down, the whole of India will go down. So, you must always remember and keep this conception of unity in the midst of diversity. Our rich heritage is a diverse heritage. Let us preserve that variety. But if we forget this fundamental fact of unity, and if we think too much of our province, or of our separate area, or whatever it may be, then we shall weaken India, weaken ourselves, and our province.

The prime problem before us some years ago was to gain independence of India. In order to gain independence we worked unitedly and fought the British power. It was unity and discipline that gave us strength.

Well, we gained independence, in a somewhat unusual way. Having gained it, our work did not end. We have two major duties to fulfil. One is that, although India achieved political unity, we have to strengthen that unity and make it something more than a political unity.

As you know in the course of the last five or six years the map of India has considerably changed. There were, during the British period, a large number of princely States. The first thing that we did after gaining independence was to bring them into this larger unity of India, to form them as either separate States, or merge them with our existing States. Thus we built up a politically more unified India. We did that, but we want something more. We want a unity of the mind and heart. We want people to feel, to a great extent, as citizens of India rather than as residents of this or that province. It is right that you should be proud of your State of Assam. It is a beautiful State, and you should be proud of it. But if you think of Assam more than you think of India, then you grievously harm not only India but Assam itself. Assam, or Uttar Pradesh, or Bengal has no future except when it is bound up with the future of India.

If you go abroad, and tell the people of some country there that you come from Assam, many there may not know at all where Assam is. If you tell them that you live in Shillong, most people probably would never have heard of Shillong. But if you tell them that you come from India, and that you are a citizen of the Republic of India, all the world will know, and will recognize you and honour you and try to help you. You and I are given some importance because we are citizens of the Republic of India, and not because we are residents of Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, Madras, Bombay or Punjab, or any other province of India.

India must always have first place in our thoughts. The moment you forget that, you will make a big mistake. You will encourage disruptive tendencies. Disruptive tendencies can be provincial, communal, religious and caste-based. If you look at the history of India, you will find that India has always produced great men and great thoughts and yet India has repeatedly gone down. Why is it so? There are many reasons, but one major reason is that we failed completely to grasp the lesson of unity, of discipline, of functioning together. We thought

exclusively of our separate little areas or separate little castes or religions and forgot the rest. We became weak and when any hostile power came, it could easily overpower us. They defeated us one by one, even the bravest among us, and the people went down, because they fought singly without help from others. The others also went down in their turn. How did the British occupy India? The British are a brave nation, a highly cultured nation and all that. But the British did not really conquer India by force of arms. Indians were fighting and quarrelling among themselves and it was easy for any foreigner who came to take advantage of our mutual quarrels and dissensions. Thus the big lesson we have to learn from India's history is the lesson of unity. Unfortunately, we have not completely learnt it. Many of us think too much of our own sects and provinces and think in terms of our religions and groups.

There are many religions in India. The great majority of the people are Hindus. But there are vast numbers of people who are Muslims. There are also Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, and Parsis, whose religions have flourished in India for long ages. There is complete freedom to all religions in our land. Any person can follow his own religion. However, that freedom cannot be allowed to intrude into politics. When religion interferes with politics, it degrades itself, and degrades politics also. It becomes a divisive force.

Caste has also been a terribly weakening factor in India. It has become essential for us to get over this narrowness, of this sectarianism. We live in a big country, but the practice of narrow sectarianism does not make us big. We have to be big in mind and big in heart to be really big. Sometimes people living in small countries are very great, and sometimes people living in very big countries remain very small. It is not the size of the country that makes the difference. It is the men and women who live in it who make the difference. I want India to be peopled by men and women who are big in minds and hearts and are capable of doing big things.

So a country's greatness is not judged by its kings or the battles they fought and won but by the literature, the art, and the architecture and other such accomplishments that those kings helped to foster....

One of the important things which we have to accomplish is to integrate India in heart and mind, as we have integrated it politically. That means, that every single Indian, whatever his province may be, whatever his religion or caste or group may be, has equal rights in this country. No one has greater rights than another politically or otherwise. It means also that we must be tolerant of each other. We must, if we want to maintain our own rights and privileges, recognize our neighbour's rights and privileges. Only then can we have an equality of opportunity.

All this is self-evident, but it is important to repeat it, because due to our narrowness of outlook and vision, we tend to fall away from the great ideal and thereby weaken India, and prevent its proper growth.

Behind India's unity, there is an enormous and magnificent variety. If you had travelled with me, you would have gone, say to Kashmir, right on the northern tip of India and would have crossed the high Himalayas, the glaciers, and the snows. Now, all that is India. You would have gone to Ladakh right between Kashmir and Tibet, the vast stretch of land with no trees, nothing but magnificent high mountains, terribly cold. Some people imagine that India is a hot country, but it is frightfully cold too. You go to the southern tip of India, say Travancore. You will find a tropical climate, so completely different from Ladakh's. Naturally if the climate is different, the people living there are also different in many ways. I have just come from Madras, a very big city, a very gracious city, a fine city, very different from the cities in the north. Should I, because I happen to live now in Delhi want to make Madras or Bombay like Delhi or like Allahabad, where I was born, or like Kashmir, where my family came from? I cannot do it and I do not want to do it, I like the variety of India.

In thinking of the unity of India, one must always remember that the variety of India has to be maintained because that very diversity gives our cultural inheritance a special richness. I want to maintain it, I am repeating this, because here in the hill regions of Assam, you have a most distinctive variety of customs among the people, whether they are the Khasis or the people of the Garo hills or the Lushai hills or those who are called the Nagas. You have your different customs, ways of living, and so on and so forth. I do not mean to say that you should allow a custom to get petrified or you should leave it unchanged. But what I do mean is that it is no business of anyone to interfere with the customs of other people. It is for them to change them if they desire. The Indian Constitution has given full freedom to everyone to live his life without interference from others. It is this background that I should like you to bear in mind.

I have come here, and I prefer to speak at a public meeting towards the end of my stay rather than at the beginning.² I have come here to learn, to know, and not to issue decrees as the Prime Minister. I have come here as a citizen of India to meet my comrades and friends here, to find out from them what problems they have and how I can help them.

We have enormous problems in India today. The very bigness of the country makes our problems very complex. We have a population of thirty six crores, which is a tremendous number. Altogether we are one-fifth of the human race. The responsibility of guiding such a vast population in a country which has recently attained freedom is tremendous. Our country is also a poor country. There are a handful of rich people, of course. But the great majority of our people are poor. Many of them are unemployed. When I go around and I see

2. Nehru toured the north-east region for five days.

their poverty, it pains me. When I see a child, any boy or a girl, who has not got enough to eat or proper clothes to wear, or a proper shelter to live in, or a proper school to go to, I feel distressed. I want every child and every boy and girl in this country to be looked after properly. Of course I am interested in the grown-up people of our country, but not so much as in the young people. It is more important that our children everywhere are properly looked after because they represent India of tomorrow, and we are building and laying the foundations of the India of tomorrow. If our children today are not looked after properly, and given proper opportunities to learn, to be physically, mentally and otherwise well trained, then what is India's tomorrow going to be like?

Our country is poor, I said, and we have to increase the wealth of this country, so that the people may have more. But ultimately, what is important in a country? Not silver and gold and paper money and the like. It is the human beings living in the country who are important, because wealth and gold and silver are after all produced by men and women only. They do not fall from above. You may sometimes find it hard to understand, if you see, let us say, a rich money-lender who makes money by lending money on interest, or you may see somebody who without any particular labour makes a lot of money. Well, the money-lender makes money, not by producing wealth anywhere, it is by taking money from other people. It is not his labour that produces wealth, but he is making it through other people's labour. From one point of view, then India is a very wealthy country, because we have got 360 million people, who can work, and produce through their labour. We have this tremendous manpower.

Our problem is to remove the curse of poverty and unemployment from this country, so that everyone has some work to do—and work is always honourable, the only thing dishonourable is to remain idle. Somehow, people in our country believe that doing labour is something that is best left to be done by low-caste people, and that high caste people should not work, but live on the others' labour. That is a very strange notion. In fact, labour is the most honourable and the most important factor in the world. It is as a result of that the world is on the move....

District Councils have been formed in the autonomous hill areas. It is a big step forward. It is an opportunity that we are giving to the people to live according to their own genius and traditions. It is unfortunate, however, that the Naga Hills kept aloof, to their disadvantage.³ The Nagas are a fine people, and I like and admire them. But some of them are very misguided.

3. The Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution provided for the formation of six autonomous districts in the hill areas of Assam. Five of these had been formed, but the sixth, in the Naga Hills, was not formed because of the non-cooperation of the Nagas who, led by A.Z. Phizo, boycotted not only the elections in 1951, to constitute the District Councils, but also the general elections in 1952.

The general policy of the Government is to forge an integrated autonomy. If the Nagas talk of a separate Naga State, that is a complete absurdity. Today the world is moving towards greater integration, and a spirit of isolation will be disastrous.

What I would really like to talk to you about is how we are trying to solve our big problems in India. The big problems are the economic problems, the removal of poverty and unemployment. You may have heard of the Five Year Plan we have produced last year for the development of the country. We are soon going to prepare a revised plan. During the last one year, we have discussed it with all kinds of people from all over the country. Many people have sent us their criticisms, and probably in about a month or two, the final plan will be ready. It will deal with all parts of India, including the hill areas in Assam. We shall go ahead with full vigour to give effect to this plan....

What must we give priority to? What should we choose first, what second? We cannot do everything at the same time. In these hilly regions where you desire everything to be done you must keep this big picture of the country in mind. There is just one way of going ahead pretty fast, and that is the way of self-help. It is the duty of the Government of India and of the Government of Assam to do their utmost to solve the problems of unemployment and poverty and to develop the country and the State. But it is quite impossible even for the Governments to do their full duty unless the people play their role. We have got into the bad habit of always looking up to the Government to do everything. But if everybody in the country has to look to the Government all the time, and sit helplessly and passively, then it will take us a very long time to make any progress.

The countries make progress when there is a vital, active, working population, not a population which is just waiting for things to move of their own accord. Suppose there is a road to be built. The Government will build it of course, but if there are hundred roads to be built, the Government cannot build hundred roads. But you and I can build some of the roads without Government coming in.... So I want you to appreciate the importance of self-help. The Government will help you, but self-help should be the key word.

You must have heard about the community projects. The whole idea of community project is an idea of voluntary and joint venture. It is a very big idea, rather a revolutionary idea; if it works out. In the course of the next ten years, we hope to change the whole face of rural India. Community projects do not touch the towns but are meant for the rural India.

Then there is a third thing, which has come into the field. I do not know if you have heard about it. There is a new organization, the Bharat Sevak Samaj.⁴ This is a non-official outfit connected with the Planning Commission. It is a non-political organization, meant just to encourage voluntary work. Every person who joins it has to undertake to do some manual labour. It may

4. Bharat Sevak Samaj, a non-political organization was started in October 1952 to mobilize people's voluntary support and participation in the execution of the national plans.

be once a week. There are many kinds of works you can interest yourself in, like sanitation, or cleaning the village, the town, or the *mohalla*, whatever it is. You can do work in the fields. The point is, we want the people of this country to do a great deal of voluntary service themselves. They should not wait for the Government, the municipal authority, or some other authority to get things going.

We are a free people and a free nation. An independent nation should function differently from a subject nation.... If you want to have the privilege of freedom, you must also accept the obligations that freedom brings with it. There is no such thing as a right or a privilege without a corresponding obligation and duty. If you are free men, you have to defend that freedom, you have to work for that freedom. You cannot merely wait for the Government to do a thing, but to take matters in your own hands and through your voluntary labour build your village, your town, the road, a building or some educational institution. We want money for all these works, it is true. But I have become more and more convinced that a great deal can be done without money. I do not want the spread of education in our country to wait until we have large sums of money to build a large number of school buildings. I would rather have a school under a tree. I want a school, not the building. When I have money I will put up a building. But, meanwhile, I want a teacher and pupils. I, therefore, urge you to develop the idea of self-help, and you will find that you will go ahead fast.

2. Dynamic Life¹

Mr Chancellor,² Vice-Chancellor³ and the Members of the University,

I am grateful for the honour you have done me in awarding me this degree.⁴ A number of other universities in India have also honoured me in this way; but that has not lessened in any way the value of this particular honour. In my capacity as Prime Minister, honours in various forms have been showered upon me. The great affection that has been lavished upon me by the people of

1. Address at a special convocation at the Saugar University, Madhya Pradesh, 30 October 1952. PIB.

2. Ravi Shankar Shukla.

3. Ramprasad Tripathi.

4. D. Litt.

this country is perhaps the greatest honour that can come to any person in this country. It is overwhelming, and makes me feel very humble. No response can, therefore, be adequate.

All one can do is to utilize one's strength and energy in furthering the tasks of the country. I think George Bernard Shaw once said—I do not remember the exact words—he said that the true joy in life is to align oneself with some mighty purpose and not to get entangled in petty troubles of which life is so full, to work for that purpose with all the strength and energy that one may have till one is worn out and can be thrown on the scrap-heap.⁵

I do not know whether it is possible to disentangle oneself completely from the petty troubles of which there is such a great deal. It would seem to be difficult to live a wholly impersonal life and dedicate it to a mighty purpose; but, sometimes, moments arrive in the history of a country when this can be done, and done not merely by individuals but by large groups. It is true that no country and no large group can live at that high pitch continuously; there are ups and downs.

Well, a moment came in the life of this country when a large number of our countrymen aligned themselves to a mighty purpose at the bidding of a very great man, Mahatma Gandhi. In doing so, they themselves grew in stature. These men forgot their personal grievances and ambitions in an overwhelming desire to serve a great purpose and thereby grew in stature themselves. If you try to do great things, the shadow of their greatness partly falls upon you also. If you always think of the petty things of life, you inevitably remain petty.

So, in that great and historic struggle for India's freedom, many people of small stature had the high privilege of serving under one of the greatest of men and of being associated with their country's historic struggle. Something of the shadow of that greatness also fell on them and some of them perhaps profited by it more, some less.

That, however, is past history. We have to accept the present and think of the future. How shall we shape the present? How are you, young men and women of this university, going to conduct yourself? I do not know what you have in your minds or what desires and urges influence you. I try to study the millions of faces I see wherever I go and I have seen a good proportion of India's vast population. Although I see them in crowds and in groups, I look into their eyes and try to read what lies behind those eyes. I do this, especially when I meet young men and women, because I am deeply concerned with the future of India, which these young men and women represent to me.

5. "This is the true joy of life—the being used for a purpose recognized by yourself as a mighty one, the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown to the scrap-heap; the being a force of nature instead of a feverish, selfish clod of ailments and grievances."

The future of this country ultimately depends on her young men and women, most of whom are in colleges and universities today. I am very anxious to find out, when looking at them or talking with them, what stuff they are made of. They are large in numbers; but what really counts, if our country is to progress, is the quality of our human material. The future of India does not depend on her numbers or even on her past, except in so far as the future grows out of the present and the present grows out of the past. It is possible for a country to make progress to some extent even with people of mediocre quality. By quality, of course, I do not mean quality in the cruder sense of the word; but I mean the quality of mind, of spirit, of character, of training, of ability, and all that. India has a large number of such people of quality. Obviously, that is not enough. If a country like India is to become great, it is essential for her to have men and women who must be more than mediocre. I have no doubt that you try to play a good game when you go in for sports. You perhaps run a hundred yards in ten seconds; but if you want to be an athlete of real quality, you have to surpass and outdistance others. It makes a lot of difference whether you do a hundred yards in ten seconds or in eleven seconds. That difference of one second, is very important. That applies to everything. Is the University of Saugar going to produce men and women of real quality?

We produced men and women of high quality in the past, but in the later days, that quality seemed to have worn off and we became a nation that more or less lived on its inheritance. I find even today attempts to live too much on our inheritance. Of course, nothing is more advantageous and more creditable than a rich heritage, but nothing is also more dangerous for a nation than to merely live on that heritage, howsoever good it may be. A nation cannot progress if it merely imitates its own ancestors; what really builds a nation is creative, inventive and vital activity in which her people engage themselves. In fact, it goes ahead by the vitality it possesses, the vitality of body and of mind. Therefore, I seek the creative minds. How do creative minds take shape? In many ways, I suppose. I do not think the University of Saugar can produce creativeness unless it is there; but what it can do is to provide an environment in which creativeness and vitality of mind and body can have a place and can flourish.

The India of today seems to be an odd mixture of certain traits and characteristics. Some fill me with joy and faith and others with alarm. I cannot say which will prosper and which will ultimately win. That, the future will tell. All I can say is that I have a great deal of faith in my country and in my people. At the same time, what is wrong with our country is also obvious. What is wrong is that we are narrow in mind and vision; we not only lack creativeness of minds but the atmosphere in which it can grow.

I am astonished at the way the word 'culture' is bandied about in India. This mere bandying about indicates to me that it is not culture. It may be

anything else. Culture is not something that can be bandied about. It does not talk too much and does not shout too much.

The other day, I read one of Rabindranath Tagore's poems about India, or rather a translation of it. In that poem, he speaks of the wonderful variety of India where innumerable streams have flowed, producing the culture we now possess. The capacity to absorb various streams of culture is a part of the creativeness of India.⁶ Therefore, there is no reason why we should adopt the narrow outlook of pride and folly which makes us think that we have everything and that we need receive nothing from outside. The closing of our minds like this is extraordinary as it prevents people from looking outside. The South East Asia and the Far East have borrowed a great deal from our cultural inheritance, just as we find evidence of other cultures in India. Of course, the basic Indian culture remains unchanged even though it has absorbed other cultures. Such was the country of our distant ancestors.

Gradually, a change came. We became afraid of others and shrank into ourselves. We did not want either to go out ourselves or to let others come in. We developed narrow grooves of thought and narrow divisions among ourselves, each division keeping apart divided into various castes and groups. We practically imposed a ban on our people to go outside India. People were afraid that they would lose their caste or religion if they went out of India. We came to attach more importance to what we ate, drank or touched than to other, far more important, aspects of life. The transformation that you see now was gradual—this shrinking into ourselves, this closing of our eyes to all that was going on around us, and thinking that what we possessed was everything and that there was nothing more to learn. When an individual or a community starts to think like that, that individual or community is doomed, because life is a growing dynamic process. Every kind of vitality that characterizes life grows. The moment that growth stops life begins to decay. The ultimate result is death. We became static in our life and culture.

This process of decay through the centuries can be traced in our literature. We started with magnificent literature. Then we came to classical Sanskrit, which is also very beautiful. However, it gradually deteriorated and we reached a stage when Sanskrit came to be written in long sentences, a sentence running even to two pages. There was no strength or vitality left in it. Instead of great ideas coming in, we even lost what we had. We merely had interpretations and explanations.

Our old architecture was magnificent and was perhaps among the greatest in the world. See how it degraded. It still retains its craftsmanship but the

6. 'Bharat Tirtha' (Indian Pilgrimage) — a patriotic poem giving a bird's eye view of the history of Indian culture—the core of it being unity in diversity.

nobility of design that comes from simplicity is gone. It has become heavier, with no dignity in it, only hard work.

When a nation is dynamic and vital, it reveals itself in many activities. We hope to become dynamic again. Perhaps, it was necessary for us to learn that lesson before we became dynamic once again. How far are we going in that direction or what inspiration can we draw from something which is static and half-dead? That is the question. I am amazed that people should function in such a narrow way that they should shut their minds and demand that others too shut their minds, against everything new, and talk only about Indian culture.

I know something about culture. Those who preach that all doors should be kept shut do not know anything of culture. Every process of exclusion means lack of culture as every process of inclusion indicates growth. Those elements which believe in pushing other cultures may influence us, succeed in narrowing the minds, and the nation falls back to that period of static culture. We have to be dynamic, or else we cannot survive.

Do you realize what tremendous changes have come over the world in the last few generations? I want you to think about it. Take India, for instance. A man of Asoka's or Akbar's time, looking at India as it was 150 years ago, would have found changes, of course; but he would not have found any basic change. The pattern of human life was much the same. The horse still remained the chief means of transport. It was so for thousands of years. Suddenly and chiefly due to the application of science—a great change came. It is amazing how the development in communications alone has upset the world. Even that is not enough to make one realize how far science has gone! You may have been static five hundred years ago, but nobody can be static today. Everything is changing. The pace and tempo of change is terrific.

One of the good things we have done in the past five years is that, we set up a number of national laboratories somehow to learn something of the rapid scientific changes. We cannot afford to be imitators of America or England in science. My point is this: to remain static is bad because for a country to remain so means stagnation, and stagnation is something which leads to extinction. Besides, it is not possible today. It might have been possible years ago when change was slow and when the rest of the world did not impinge upon you. You have therefore to understand it. To be dynamic and creative is the practical policy and take a higher view of culture. It is fatal to sink into narrowness of mind in spite of the fact that India has had a tremendously rich inheritance.

How many of you have that dynamic approach and how many of you are thinking in terms of taking up Government service? Whether you go into Government service or take up any other occupation, what is your ideal? Just to earn a few hundred rupees? Or is it to achieve something creative and

worthwhile? Are you just dragging on an unworthy existence for a number of years and doing nothing else? That is a big problem facing India.

Whatever our virtues or failings—and a long list can be prepared of both—I believe in facing life in an adventurous way, in meeting life more than half way, without making a noise and without shouting. Whether nature adapts itself to you or you to nature, it ultimately depends on whether your approach to life and to its problems is going to be an adventurous and active one or a static one.

What is your ambition? What I seek in the eyes of the innumerable men and women when I go round the country is great and high ambition to do great things; sometimes, I see some eyes which rather thrill me; there is something of promise in them. The more I see people with such eyes and faces, the more I am assured of the future, which depends on the men and women who have the spirit of adventure and who do not flinch from any difficulty. I hope the University of Saugar will produce such men and women.

3. India and the World¹

Sisters and Brothers,

I have come to Lucknow after nearly a year. The last time I came here² was before the elections and there was a great deal of bustle in the country. After many years I had toured all over the country, and met innumerable people. I do not know about the others, but the election tour made a great impression upon me. After many years, I felt myself, coming closer to the people of India. I also learnt a great deal in the process. I realized then, that no matter what important tasks I may have in Delhi, it is equally essential that I should visit other places regularly too. India is a vast country and it is difficult to go everywhere. Immediately after the elections, the new Parliament began its session in Delhi, and all kinds of new and complicated issues arose. Now, again as soon as the Parliament session ended, I began my visits to various parts of the country. I have wandered a great deal during the last two

1. Speech at a public meeting at Lucknow, 22 November 1952. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.
2. On 22 January 1952.

and a half months, and visited Madras, Hyderabad, a part of Mysore, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and specially the border areas on the east which are contiguous with the Tibetan and the Burmese borders....

India is an extremely complex nation. It is a vast country with a tremendous variety. People live in various provinces, follow different religions and belong to different castes. I wonder how many of us understand India in its entirety.... In spite of so much variety, India's stamp is upon all the provinces and has been there from times immemorial. I am telling you this because it is extremely important for all of us to keep this aspect of India in mind. Otherwise, if we are narrow-minded and try to impose uniformity on the country, it will not work. There is great beauty in variety....

The more I study the history of India, the more convinced I am about this. There are two things which immediately strike me. For thousands of years of her history, there has been some bond which has bound India together, though politically the country was often in fragments, ruled by different dynasties of rulers. The second thing that you will notice is that in the course of her long history, waves upon waves of human beings have come to India and been absorbed. India has been like an ocean into which various streams of humanity have mingled and disappeared. Each stream of foreign culture made an impact on India and was in turn influenced by the indigenous culture. In this way, India changed gradually while retaining her distinctiveness. So, on the one hand, I see this tremendous capacity for assimilation which gives India her strength. On the other hand, we also possess a great capacity to put up barriers of divisiveness and narrow-mindedness among ourselves. The caste-system has been responsible for keeping people in separate compartments and, as a result, a nation which is basically very strong has very often been weakened considerably. So we were invaded, again and again, by hordes of foreign invaders and conquered by them. It was not because we were cowards but it was due to our habit of living in separate compartments and our narrow-mindedness, that we lost.

Now that India is free once again, and great avenues of progress are opening up before us, the fundamental question that arises is whether we are going to remain narrow-minded and be engrossed in our petty quarrels, or look to the moon and the stars. This is, as I said, of fundamental importance because there are grave and complex problems before India and the world. But ultimately how we solve these problems does not depend so much on the wealth that we possess as upon the vision of the people, their strength, and their broad-mindedness. For a long time, we in India had closed our minds to all outside influences, even before the British came. The mind of a great nation like ours became stagnant and while the rest of the world was progressing rapidly, we, steeped in our pride and arrogance, felt that we had nothing to learn. The result was that we became backward. We have now to catch up with the rest

of the world and, if possible, to go ahead of the others. That is possible only if we get rid of our narrow-mindedness. I think we are doing so gradually, though there are many people who are still caught up in the old ruts and refuse to understand the world and the times that we are living in today.

I want you to think carefully about what I have told you. After all, I have had forty years of experience in public life. Nearly forty years have gone by since I returned from England after completing my studies there. I began the practice of law but my mind was drawn towards other things more. I began to think about the situation in India and what needed to be done. Big responsibilities have fallen upon me and it is my wish and endeavour to use the few years that are left to me in doing some of the things that I want to be done for India. When I meet young boys and girls in my wanderings across the country, my hopes soar because I find that they are full of vitality and intelligence, which are an asset to the nation. On the other hand, sometimes I find undesirable traits too in our youth like superficiality and a tendency towards hooliganism, which makes me despair. Well, to some extent, every nation's youth has a mixture of these two elements. But to me, it is vital as to which is more predominant.

I have just come from Delhi. During the last couple of months, we have been carefully scrutinizing the Five Year Plan drawn up by the Planning Commission.³ It will probably be ready within a month.⁴ It has taken nearly two years to draw up the Plan after consultations, discussions, and careful scrutiny of the best way of tackling the problem of India's poverty and unemployment. It is not an easy task to ensure a better standard of living for millions of people. It takes time and great effort. We may draw up plans. But ultimately, the questions concern human beings of flesh and blood, not bricks and mortar or steel. So everything depends on the quality and calibre of the people, their capacity to work and to maintain the unity of the nation. Are we capable of a large vision or do we remain engrossed in our own petty concerns? These are the fundamental questions before us.

In your abundance of love and confidence, you have put me in a position of extraordinary responsibility and made me the Prime Minister. In that capacity, I am responsible for everything that happens in the country, good or bad. I do not wish to absolve myself of that responsibility. Nor am I prepared to blame others for the things that go wrong even if it is someone else's fault. I must own the responsibility for everything that happens in the country.

3. The National Development Council met in New Delhi on 8 and 9 November 1952 to give its approval to the objectives, priorities and programme embodied in the First Five Year Plan.

4. On 8 December 1952, the final draft of the First Five Year Plan covering the quinquennium 1951-56 was published.

We solved one great problem when we got freedom. Immediately after that, a great many social and economic problems have arisen which have great significance for the country. Planning is an essential part of our effort to improve the standard of living of the people. Then there are complex issues of international affairs.... The situation today is such that the great powers of the world are not prepared even to hold talks or meet one another. They indulge in slanging matches like little children. It is very difficult to make adults understand anything when they insist on behaving childishly.

Anyhow, India has managed to stay aloof. Our voice is heard in most circles which entails its own responsibility. So we presented some proposals after careful thought. I cannot say how they will fare and whether they will be accepted or not. Our proposals do not contain anything drastic. But they can keep the door to negotiations open and would be a step in the right direction. If the doors of peaceful negotiations are not kept open, the world will veer in another direction. The situation is extremely serious and so, in spite of our desire not to get entangled in world affairs when we have enough problems of our own, we are somehow willy-nilly drawn into doing something.

I have outlined our position on the Korean situation. Africa is another issue which has come up in the United Nations. Apartheid and ill-treatment of the coloured people has been going on for a long time. Mahatma Gandhi had fought against it in South Africa in his youth and succeeded to a large extent. But the problem has not been solved. It has now assumed very serious proportions and concerns everyone in Africa. The world community is faced with the fundamental question whether it is justifiable to allow some nations of the world to keep other nations in a state of tutelage. The issue has been presented in the United Nations with India taking the lead.⁵ I am glad to say that most of the nations were in favour of the motion and the Resolution has been accepted. Only two countries opposed it. The others who did not favour the motion abstained from voting.⁶ The two countries which opposed the motion were evidently South Africa and another small Latin American country.⁷

5. On 20 November 1952, the General Assembly passed the Resolution, sponsored by eighteen Afro-Asian nations, recommending that a UN Fact-Finding Commission should investigate the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa and South West Africa and study the international aspects and implications of apartheid.

6. Twenty-two countries, including the UK and the USA.

7. Peru.

In East Africa, which is also under British rule, there is a strange situation.⁸ I do not know all the details. But some extraordinary developments are taking place and the population is in a state of turmoil. There have been some terrible atrocities there. There seems to be tremendous pressure on the people.

The Congress has, for a long time, followed a policy that if an Indian goes to another country for trade or to work, he should be able to live in dignity there. We cannot tolerate any insult to the Indian community. But at the same time, Indians must not try to dominate the local population. Just as we want freedom for our people in India, we do not want any Indians to try to suppress other people's liberties elsewhere or to demand special privileges for themselves which the local population of the country does not enjoy. In Africa, you have the Negroes or the black population in a majority. But you are mistaken if you think that they are backward or ignorant. There are men of great calibre and ability among them, and given the opportunity, they can make great progress. One of their new ministers is here in India these days.⁹ He is an extremely able person. The people of Africa are looking more and more towards India. They are a little scared of the Western powers. They have the confidence that India would not try to interfere in their internal affairs. So they want our help, particularly to train people and to work in their schools, hospitals, and as advisers to their governments on planning, etc.

Well, anyhow, apart from the indigenous African population, there are Europeans, Indians in their millions and Arabs in Africa. So the only way in which Africa can go ahead is through cooperation among the various races who live there. The Europeans cannot hope to keep the Africans in a state of subjugation forever.

Africa poses a crucial problem in the world today and unless it is solved, matters will escalate and the whole continent may be engulfed in a conflagration if the movement in South Africa spreads. One-fifth of the world may be in flames. You can imagine the consequences it would have for the rest of the world. I have told you briefly about two important developments in the world

8. The Mau Mau secret society, pledged to drive out the 'white' settlers from Kenya gained influence on the Kikuyu tribe and launched a campaign against European settlers and African collaborators from August 1952. On 1 October, the Kenya Legislative Council empowered the State to control the press, impose restrictions on the movement of Mau Mau supporters, increase penalties for acts of sedition, and allow the police to arrest any suspected person without warrant. On 20 October, the Government declared a state of emergency in Kenya. Between 20 October and 15 November, 8500 persons were arrested in Kenya.
9. The two ministers of the Nigerian Government in West Africa, Obafemi Awolowo and A.M.A. Akinloye visited India for a fortnight from 11 November to study the electoral system and to visit the important industrial and agricultural centres and the scientific, educational and medical institutions.

today and we have taken the initiative to some extent to bring them up in the United Nations and other world forums. I will not go into the other problems which exist, the tensions which are building up in Europe regarding Germany,¹⁰ etc. I have mentioned these two because the burden has fallen upon our shoulders and we cannot run away from them.

There are many problems which beset the country internally, the most important being the need to improve our economic conditions. We have adopted the Five Year Plan to try to solve that problem. You will soon be able to see the Plan document. But the important thing is to work hard and if the people are determined to do that, we will undoubtedly progress. You have the example of other nations of Europe and Asia, which in spite of their divergence of ideology have managed to progress by sheer hard work. This is as true of Germany and Japan as of the Soviet Union and China which are communist nations. You will find that their progress has been entirely due to hard work and their special skills. Somehow there seems to be a mistaken notion in India that we can make progress by merely passing resolutions. It is obvious that this is not the way for otherwise we would have transformed the country with great ease.

In short, the most urgent problem that we face today is economic and it is in this connection that we have adopted the Five Year Plan and inaugurated the scheme of the community projects. A new organization called the Bharat Sevak Samaj has been established recently. It is not a political but a voluntary organization. The members are all volunteers who work without expectation of any office or reward.

These are the urgent tasks that we have to accomplish. We have to perform them speedily because the world is changing at a very fast pace and unless we keep pace with it, we shall become backward.

Secondly, for a long time now, the face of the world has been changing because of the advance made in the fields of science and technology. You see evidence of it all around you.

When the British came to India two hundred years ago, there was great disunity in the country. We were also backward and did not have modern weapons of war. The history of India, particularly that of Rajputana, abounds in stories of valour and courage of our warriors. But that valour and courage was of no avail when confronted by the superior military technology of the

10. Restoration of sovereign status to West Germany and her joining the European defence system following an agreement with the Allied Powers on 26 May 1952 provoked East Germany to seal off the Soviet zone on the West German side which created tension in Europe.

enemy. Therefore, we must bridge this gap in our knowledge of science and undertake original research, and not just merely copy others. In pursuit of this objective, we have tried to lay the foundations of original scientific research in India by establishing a number of national science laboratories all over the country in the last few years. There is one each in Delhi, Poona, Madras, Calcutta, Bangalore, and even in Lucknow. Research is something without which our entire planning will go awry. Nor can there be industrialization or trade in the country without a proper scientific base. When I see young boys and girls working and undergoing training in these institutions, I am filled with hope for India's future.

Now let us look at some of the other problems which beset us. One is our relations with Pakistan and the tensions which manifest themselves in various ways. First of all, as you know, millions of people left their homes on both sides and became refugees after Partition. It has taken both India and Pakistan years to deal with this problem. But the wound inflicted by these events is much deeper because it has vitiated the atmosphere with bitterness and marred relations between the two countries.

Then, soon after the Kashmir problem arose which was another offshoot of Partition. The problem of East Bengal is an ever-present one. Just a few days ago, thousands of Hindus fled from there into India.¹¹ Such problems keep cropping up all the time apart from the fact that it is extremely painful to let this state of affairs continue causing misery and hardship to millions of people. It casts a tremendous burden upon us to have to look after millions of refugees. Ultimately, all these problems spring from the existing relations between India and Pakistan....

When someone asks me why the disputes between India and Pakistan have not yet been solved, I am prepared to admit incompetence of my Government and myself. But that is not enough. We have to look at this problem against a world perspective because all kinds of complications arise. The Kashmir issue has taken many twists and turns. In our view, the issue is quite simple and straightforward. But it has remained stuck in the United Nations for nearly five years. We are amazed at the debates which take place there. Recently, an extraordinary resolution on the Kashmir issue was sponsored by the British and American Delegations.¹² I am amazed how anyone who is

11. In a statement in the House of People on 13 November, Nehru stated that between 1 to 15 October 1952 the number of Hindus coming by rail route to Assam and West Bengal from East Bengal was 34,042 and 1,57,486 respectively. Also during the last few months it was estimated that the number of migrants to Tripura and West Bengal from East Bengal by other routes was 25,000 and 1,30,000 respectively.

12. The Anglo-American Resolution on 6 November 1952 urged India and Pakistan to accept Graham's proposals to demilitarize Kashmir with twelve to eighteen thousand troops left on the Indian side of the ceasefire line and three to six thousand on the Pakistan side.

acquainted with the facts can present such a resolution. In my view the resolution betrays extreme ignorance and foolishness. Now are we to jump into the fray and challenge the whole world? Ultimately, apart from the fact that every nation must stick to the right path, we must not say anything in anger which entangles us deeper into the mire. I do not wish to make comparisons with other countries. But I can give you any number of examples of how in the last few years, both big and small nations have, in a momentary fit of passion and anger, taken steps which have pushed them further into a mire. We are often given noble advice about what we should do. Nobody seems to consider what the consequences of these steps would be and if we get deeper into the mire, who will pull us out. We must be farsighted when we are responsible for millions of lives. Whether we are fit for the responsibility or not, the responsibility for the country is ours and we would not be discharging that responsibility if we take a wrong step in a fit of passion. You must consider all this carefully.

So, as I said, the basis of our relationship with Pakistan lies in taking into consideration a long-term view. We cannot do anything for momentary satisfaction. We have to build a strong and prosperous nation. We cannot take any step which will become an obstacle to our progress or drag us down in a deeper mire. We must look at these issues from this perspective. I am telling you this because I do not want any barriers between us which would prevent a good understanding.

Today, the 22nd is being observed as the East Bengal Day all over India by some parties.¹³ Well, they are welcome to do what they like. But what is the motive behind it and what will its consequences be? All of us must take this into consideration. It is obvious that those who have issued this call have sympathy for the Hindu minority in East Bengal. All of us sympathize with them and when difficulties befall them, it bothers us. I agree that we must help them in every way we can and try to stop them from being harassed. But the question is how it is to be done. If we do something which, instead of helping them, does them harm, or we weaken ourselves in the process, it would not be sensible. It would serve no purpose merely to express an emotion. You must remember that when there is a dispute between two nations, it cannot be settled in the usual way that domestic problems are dealt with. There are only two methods of solving a dispute between two powers. One is by war though, in my view, nothing is ever settled by war.... It is only naive people

13. The non-Congress and the non-Communist parties like the Praja Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc decided to observe 23 November 1952 as East Bengal Day to demand: (1) solution to the problem of minorities in East Bengal, and (2) imposition of economic sanctions against Pakistan.

who believe in war. The other is through diplomatic methods, to hold talks with the help of ambassadors or mediators and to try to influence each other. There is no third way except war or diplomacy to settle disputes between two nations. I want you to consider carefully whether it is wise to talk of going to war over the issue of East Bengal with Pakistan. Please do not say something in a fit of anger. I am completely opposed to going to war with anyone. I had declared two years ago¹⁴ that so long as my voice is heard in India, no war will ever be started by us with Pakistan, or with any other country. If we are attacked, we will defend our country. That is a different matter. We will combat aggression with all our might and we must be prepared at all times to defend and protect the freedom and honour of our country....

We must be clear in our minds that we must not go to war with anyone. For one thing, apart from the fact that war does not solve anything, it is usually a long drawn out affair and entails great destruction and ruin. Ask the so-called victors of the Second World War about the consequences of the War. The Allies defeated Germany and Japan, and razed them to the ground. But they themselves are bogged down in innumerable problems as a result of the War. There is no great advantage even to the victorious side in a modern war, whatever the repercussions may be to the losing side. If we get embroiled in a war with anyone, it will mean the end of all our plans for development. It is obvious that we will have to put our entire strength into the task of fighting. All our projects and schemes for development here in Uttar Pradesh, and other places will come to a standstill. The only thing we will do is to produce equipment and weapons of war, bringing ruin upon ourselves and the enemy. Even if we win, we will be ruined. So if we go to war with any country, it is obvious that we will become weak, which will give an opportunity to the other countries to interfere in our affairs to put pressure on us to stop the fighting and what not.

We are not very powerful militarily compared to the Great Powers in the world. But we are a great nation. We have never bowed down to pressure or threats or given in to blandishments. We have always extended the hand of friendship to all nations. We have made it quite clear to the countries which have given us aid that while we will gratefully take whatever they can give by way of loans, etc., we will not change our stand on international issues in any way because of that. It will make no difference to our policies. The nations have gradually come to accept our point of view. I do not know how many of the sixty or seventy nations which are there in the world can claim to follow an independent policy. They are often under pressure from the Great Powers to toe their line. But I would like to point out very humbly that our policy,

14. See *Selected Works* (second series) Vol. 15 Part I, p. 421.

whether you consider it right or wrong, is not the result of any external pressure. We have never gone against our own inclinations due to fear of anyone or in the expectation of any material gain. We are an honourable and truly independent nation. Even if we lack military might and wealth, there is greatness and courage and daring in us, and the world is slowly beginning to recognize this. But if we get embroiled in the quagmire of war, there are many countries in the world which would try to take advantage of the situation and interfere in our affairs. All our declarations of independence will not take us anywhere if our troubles keep us bound down. These are not the matters which are generally discussed publicly. But it is not my habit to keep you unaware of what I think. I want you to understand the issues.

I am amazed when people talk vaguely in the air and say that Jawaharlal is trying to appease Pakistan. My reply to that is that I do and shall try to appease Pakistan and every other country, but with dignity and honour. I am not going to be frightened if somebody calls me a coward. So there is no question of appeasement. If you ever get the suspicion that I am doing something which is against the dignity and honour of India due to senility or some other reason, you are at liberty to take any action against me that you like. But big questions are not decided like that. If we decide that no matter how serious the dispute, we will try to solve it by peaceful methods, then no other course is open to us. Of course, if we are attacked by another country, we shall fight, for then there is no other way. But the problem is to find a solution by peaceful methods.

There are small pockets of the French colonialism in Pondicherry even now¹⁵ and Goa also is under Portuguese rule.¹⁶ It is absurd that small pockets of foreign rule should remain after the British have left India. It is an intolerable situation. But in spite of that, we have said right from the beginning that we will try to solve this problem by peaceful methods. We have stuck to that. We cannot combine peaceful professions with warlike actions in practice. You will find that this is what people very often do. They make suggestions which cannot be implemented except by resorting to war.

You can imagine what the consequences of inciting people's passions are likely to be. Can it help in resolving the knotty problems which exist between India and Pakistan? Bengal is full of emotional people. If processions are taken out and people are incited through slogans and fiery speeches, their

15. Yanam (in present-day Andhra Pradesh), Mahe (Kerala), and Karaikal (Tamil Nadu) were the other French settlements besides Pondicherry. Chandernagore near Calcutta had opted for union with India in a referendum on 19 June 1949 which was ratified by the National Assembly in Paris on 11 April 1952, being the last step in completing the transfer of sovereignty.

16. Goa, Daman and Diu were the Portuguese settlements in India.

roused feelings of anger get unleashed upon their nearest neighbours for the real enemy is far away. So a purely political issue between two countries is transformed into a communal issue leading to riots and fighting and an atmosphere of hatred and bitterness is created. You know how quickly all this happens. People who have nothing to do with political matters take advantage of the situation.

I am absolutely opposed to communal parties whose only job seems to be to incite passions and create dissensions. There is no doubt that at least their programme is pretty clear. What I am amazed at is that the Praja Socialist Party, which cannot be said to be communalist in outlook, should join hands¹⁷ with communal parties. I feel surprised and rather upset about this. The General Secretary of the Congress had issued a statement¹⁸ the day before yesterday regarding the demonstration on the 23rd, warning everyone against joining it because it would lead the country astray. Socialists and other party leaders expressed surprise at the statement.¹⁹ I do not know why they should be surprised. I am more amazed that they should be surprised. What is to be done? One of the fundamental principles of the Socialist Party used to be to root out communalism from the country and now they are siding with the most rigid communalists. Indo-Pakistan relations are of fundamental significance to us. Should we not show farsightedness in our relations with Pakistan instead of doing something which will keep tensions between the two countries continuing for the next thirty to forty years? That would mean being constantly on the alert and poised for battle against one another. The borders between India and Pakistan are about two thousand miles long. So it does not seem very sensible to be at loggerheads with one another. After all who are the people of Pakistan? By a strange quirk of fortune, it has become a separate country. I agree that its leaders spit poison and express bitterness in their speeches and follow the wrong path. But at the same time, the common people in Bengal and other parts of Pakistan are not different from us. There is no fundamental difference and if there was no political dispute between the two countries, we would meet as people of one nation. It often happens that people

17. The PSP participated in the observance of East Bengal Day on 23 November called by all the non-Congress and non-Communist opposition parties.
18. Shriman Narain Agarwal, in a press statement on 21 November, warning the Congressmen against joining the movement said that "in no event must any kind of communalism from any side be encouraged or even tolerated."
19. Referring to the statement, Sucheta Kripalani, leader of the PSP, said that the Calcutta convention, in which eleven parties participated, made it amply clear that the parties had come together on the clear understanding that it was not a communal but a political issue, and even an international issue. Suresh Chandra Banerji and Syama Prasad Mookerjee expressed similar views.

from Pakistan come to Delhi and the Punjab and our people go there on private visits. I am not amazed that at these meetings, people hug one another and shed tears of joy on meeting each other and narrate stories of days gone by. There are feelings of pang and sorrow in their hearts to this day about the Partition.

What I am trying to say is that there are some groups of people and newspapers on both sides who try to spread poison and bitterness and incite people to violence. But the common people of India as well as Pakistan do not want war. They want to live in peace. It is true that they are led astray sometimes in the name of religion or something else and poor simple folk act wrongly in a fit of passion. But, generally speaking, they have nothing to do with this. Unfortunately there are always some people ready to incite them.

Then there is one other matter. I do not wish to make comparisons. But the policy which we have followed in the Congress for years is one of peace and honesty though we may have made innumerable mistakes. Now I cannot say the same thing about the Government of Pakistan. This is the fundamental difference. If we take the wrong steps merely because they are doing so, we will get hamstrung. We have always condemned communalism and its harmful consequences. How can we counteract communalist sentiments if we become communal-minded ourselves? It would be spreading more poison to counteract their poison. It is possible that some people may understand this. But I do not think it makes sense to follow a wrong path simply because someone else does so and in the process, give up all our principles which have given us strength in the past.

Take the case of East Bengal. Everyone knows that there is no quarrel between the Hindus and Muslims of East Bengal. They have lived side by side for generations and understand each other. It is others who coming there as officials, foment trouble. This is a ticklish problem. Now if we resort to threats, we will be playing into the hands of their Government because the greatest weapon in their hands is inciting the people against India. This is how they bolster up their autocratic rule. Therefore the path suggested by the communalists has just the opposite effect even on the minorities. I cannot go into this problem in more detail. But I want you to think about it. The day will undoubtedly come, when in spite of all our differences, the relations between India and Pakistan will be one of closeness because we are neighbours. Hundreds of years of history and bonds of geography and economic factors exist between us. It will be unfortunate if the two countries do not draw close to one another. If we are to establish that closeness, we must not take any steps which widen the gulf between us.

Secondly, we must bear in mind that we must not be cowed down by the wrong policies that the leaders of Pakistan follow. We must demonstrate to the world that we shall not swerve from our chosen path or be deterred by the threats from Pakistan or anyone else. At the same time, we must always strive

to solve problems by peaceful methods. We have no enmity towards the common people of Pakistan. Soon a time will come when our relations will improve. Now it is easy for me to say this. It is extremely difficult to walk on the razor's edge all the time. It will take a long time before our policies bear fruit. But I have taken up too much of your time to explain the true facts of the case to you, to show to you that observing an 'East Bengal Protest Day' or abusing Pakistan will not solve anything. In fact, it has the opposite effect because it creates suspicion in the minds of the people and the Hindus in East Bengal, instead of feeling reassured, become more confused....

If you look at our policies in the last few years you will find that our views on international problems have often been criticized and laughed at. The Great Powers have been upset with us for refusing to be aligned to one group or the other. But we stood firmly by our policies and did not waver. Gradually, the world has come to realize that our policy of non-alignment is beneficial not only for India but for the whole world. Whenever our views have gone unheeded, it has had terrible repercussions for the world. So India's stature has gone up in the eyes of the world. You will find that there is great respect for India in most countries of the world though we have neither wealth nor military might behind us. But we are an ancient country with a fount of ancient wisdom. Moreover, in the last thirty to forty years, we have grown up as a nation under the shadow of a very great man who did not stray from his path. We owe our strength to that immediate past of our nation.

I want you to think about all these issues because complex problems are arising in India and the world and we must face them with dignity, courage and wisdom. *Jai Hind.*

4. Five Years of Freedom¹

Your Highness,² Friends and Comrades,

...Whenever I come here, to this southern tip of India, all kinds of pictures come before my mind. I see natural beauty here. This place has also great potential resources. When I stand at one end of this great country, and look towards the North, the whole varied and diverse picture of a rich India comes

1. Speech on the inauguration of the Bharat Sevak Samaj at Thiruvananthapuram, 28 December 1952. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.

2. Padmanabha Dasa Bala Rama Verma, the Maharaja of Travancore.

up before me right up to the Himalayas in the North whenever I wander about in this great country and see different parts of it. The more I go about on this discovery of India, the more I am overwhelmed by its variety, beauty and richness. Behind that variety is the deep strain of unity which ties us together. And the problem before us ultimately is how to maintain this rich variety and also to maintain this unity which binds us. Because if either of them goes, it would be a tragedy. If unity goes, we go to pieces. If the rich variety goes then also the richness that has made India is gone, and something else takes its place....

I do not know how far you have applied your mind to the fact that in the course of our life-time or two or three life-times, the world has changed by the impact of science and all the consequences of it. That goes on, and inevitably brings about centralization and standardization of many things. In a sense, it is good and, whether it is good or bad, it is there, and there is no escape from it. Still the autonomous growth in culture helps in developing the creative spirit of the individual or the group....

I come here to meet many old friends and colleagues and also many new friends. I must address myself to the problems of Travancore-Cochin State, as they are important and they affect the people. But at the back of my mind are larger problems, of the whole of India, and behind them, of the whole world. Not that I am anxious to dabble in the problems of the world. We have enough of our own. Why should we take other people's burdens on ourselves? All along I have tried to avoid dabbling in the world's problems, although some people imagine that I enjoy talking about world affairs or international problems. I do not. The burdens of India are heavy enough for us. But we cannot escape the world's problems. The world knocks at our door. We cannot escape it. What happens in some distant country affects India, affects you here in Trivandrum. And so we are drawn into these problems, because the world has arrived at a stage, when there is little choice before it except one or two courses. All countries in the world have to learn to live together, and if we live together in friendship, amity and co-operation, there will be peace and progress. But if we do not do so, and embroil ourselves in fights and disputes, then the world simply exterminates itself.

I want you to realize this enormous world canvas on which you and I and all of us function, where your smallest problems have to be related to the larger problems in order to be understood. They have, of course, to be related to the all-India problems. I am, perhaps, in a better position than you, to understand and appreciate all-India problems, because that is my job, that is my function. And I see India from a thousand viewpoints. I travel to the northernmost tip in Kashmir and to the Tibetan border of Ladakh. I travel to the north-eastern border, where there is China on the other side, or Burma, or again Tibet, and I see this enormous variety of our people, and their different

problems, and then try to piece them together to think about them as the problems of India as a whole. It is a fascinating prospect and because of its, if I may say so, intricacy and complexity, poses a challenge to all of us, a challenge which we have accepted, and I have no doubt, we shall answer that challenge adequately.

When independence came, we faced the big problem of the integration of India. The British power had gone, and left peculiar legacies behind, some of them were good and some were bad. Then our great colleague and comrade, Sardar Patel, took the lead in bringing about the integration of this country. It was a mighty task, which was extraordinarily well done. If it had not been done with speed and thoroughness, all kinds of difficulties and disruptive influences would have come into play. Though it was done, many difficulties still remain. I would like you to think not of the minor difficulties, nor even about the mistakes made—and many mistakes, no doubt, were made in regard to details—but to think in perspective of this big picture of India, after this change, when a hundred and fifty years or more of British rule ended here. We had to run this country, run it in a democratic way, run it in such a way that the people got more united and integrated and went ahead on to the next stage of the great journey they had begun. It was a difficult task, and just then came all kinds of difficulties in the North, not so much here, due to the Partition of India. North India and Pakistan were seized with a kind of madness causing large-scale killings and massacres and there were migrations on an unprecedented scale at the time when we were just trying to stand on our feet. It was an extraordinary beginning for a new State. Well, we faced the situation and controlled it, not merely in a military or police sense, but in a deeper sense. But that left grievous wounds and since then we have been trying gradually to heal those wounds. So, these five years of independence have been years of great difficulties and trials for all of us.

What have we achieved during these five years? We have many critics constantly running us down, whether it is the Government, the Congress organization, or the State or the Central Government. It is so easy to do that, because so much remains to be done and so many mistakes have also been made during this period. Nevertheless, I would ask you—because it is not my wish just to praise the Government since I am there—to view these five years in some historical perspective. Look at the problems that have faced us in the context in which we have lived. Look at other countries too, how they have dealt with similar situations. Compare it with how we have dealt with them. Sometimes I wonder if it could be possible for a large number of our countrymen to go abroad, not so much to see what is there, but to see India from a distance. You see many things from a distance which you may miss if you live near them. I have had occasion to go abroad and to look at India from a distance. I have also had occasion to meet a large number of foreigners

at home and abroad to find out what kind of reaction India is producing on their minds. Many of them have trained minds, but the odd thing is that when we go abroad and look at this reaction, we feel a glow of pride in our country. But when we return to India and meet many of our friends, and constantly hear carping criticism of this not done and that not done, well, that glow of pride we felt while abroad is considerably reduced. Why this difference? I have no doubt at all that in spite of a hundred and thousand mistakes we have committed, we have done a fine job in this country in the last five years. Not I. Who am I? I am talking about the people of this country. It is a good job that has been done and the world recognizes it. It is not good for people to be always immersed in petty problems and petty quarrels. What is the ideal you have set before you in your minds? Is it not to make our nation great? Now, a nation can only be made great if we think and act in a big way. If we act in a small way, we do not make our nation big.

In the last month only we have approved the First Five Year Plan. The First Five Year Plan really has been functioning for nearly last two years. Nevertheless, the real big drive is yet to begin.

Again, this Five Year Plan has been criticized a good deal,³ and I like criticism because nothing is so bad as complacency in any country or in a democracy. And we have to be wide awake. We have to accept criticism and profit by it. But if that criticism is to do any good, it has to be constructive criticism, not merely destructive, not merely saying 'nay, nay' to everything that is done. I have found some constructive criticism, no doubt, friendly criticism, but some of those who have criticized it have done so in a purely negative and destructive way, not offering anything else except vague formulae and rather idealistic approach.... This Five Year Plan is our first attempt and, indeed, in a sense, the first attempt on any kind of real democratic basis, because you know that this business of Five Year Plan began thirty years ago or so in Russia. They had their First Five Year Plan⁴ and followed it up.... But I should like you to remember, first of all, that the Russian Plan came out of certain circumstances, a certain authoritarian system of Government, which could impose its will on the people and paid a very heavy price for it. They are welcome to pay any price they like. There is no doubt that they have very

3. For example, on 8 December, Asoka Mehta, General Secretary of the PSP, said in Bombay that the Plan suffered from several limitations and was unlikely to make a significant impact on the lives of the fifty million unemployed and underemployed persons. On 14 December, speaking in Delhi at a meeting to welcome the Left Socialist group's merger with the Communist Party, S.A. Dange said that there was nothing in the Five Year Plan "to which the common man can look with confidence for ending his poverty."
4. The First Five Year Plan (1928-33) was launched to industrialize USSR in the shortest possible time under a central planning authority.

great achievements to their credit in Russia. They have strengthened themselves, added to their resources, but also remember, that they took thirty-five years to do that. And it is not fair to compare anything at a stage when it is just beginning with something which has been carried on for the last thirty-five years. But the main thing is that that was a system of planning on an authoritarian basis of society. Can we do that in a democratic way? That is the problem.

And for the first time India is trying to answer that problem in a big way. Therefore, our Five Year Plan is of historic significance not only to us in India, but other countries as well.

In fact, the whole system of democracy is, in a sense, on trial as to whether it can succeed in achieving the rapid progress of the country. Remember again, do not compare us with America or any other country. America has had about one hundred fifty years or more to build itself with enormous resources available to it. It has built it up, and with it has also been developed a colossal process of production. Well, you do not expect India to do something in a few years when it has taken a hundred years for other countries to do it. And I can tell you that experts from foreign countries, including America and the countries of Europe, have come to India and have marvelled at what we have achieved and, what is more, at the way we are tackling our problems, and have said that we are likely to achieve in ten years what other countries have taken fifty years to do....

Unfortunately India has been a peculiar mixture. There has, of course, been a great deal of accumulated good; otherwise we would not have lasted as a great civilization for such a long time. But there has also been always this tendency towards factionalism which has separated us from each other and weakened us. Indeed, whenever we fell a prey to foreign conquest, it was because we were busy fighting among ourselves, and allowed somebody else to take advantage of that. So the problem before us is, whether you look at Travancore-Cochin in isolation or at the whole of India, how in this world of today we can function together, pull together, and achieve big results.... It was a historic force that the Congress represented. It represented, not only the nationalism of India, or the urge for freedom of India, but the territorial unity of India—the unity of people of different religions, different creeds and castes. Therefore it became a great historic force. Ultimately, it achieved its political objective. India became a free and a politically united country. Now the next stage that we have to face is the making of this political unity a real unity of heart and mind. Let us be frank about it. We have not quite succeeded in that, or rather, although we all realize it, somehow, we do not function as we would have if we had fully realized it. You and I have, first of all, to appreciate two or three basic things. The first thing to realize and be emotionally aware of is this essential unity of India. The second thing is that progress in India

can only come through peaceful methods. So, in India, if we depart from peaceful methods, whatever other results might be achieved, one thing is dead certain, there will be no progress. In fact, we would destroy much of what we have achieved. We have to be very clear about this. Because some people seem to think that, perhaps automatically, by some magic, progress will take place, even if we gave up peaceful methods. If we give up peaceful methods, democracy will be the first casualty and progress, the second. Constituted as we are in this great country, with different types of people, different groups, different religions, once you allow violent conflicts to grow, then you do not know what consequences will follow. If we keep this in mind, then we must proceed on the basis that India is one united country which can make progress by peaceful means and by functioning in a democratic way....

Now that leads us to the type of society we should aim at. It is an egalitarian society. It means many revolutionary changes in our present set-up in structure. How are we to bring about those revolutionary changes? Again, as I have said, by peaceful methods. Because an attempt to bring them about by violent methods would let loose forces which may upset not only the bad but the good also, and put an end to much of the constructive and co-operative effort that we can put in. The price of violence is too big, leaving aside the moral aspect; it is tremendous. And if we pay a heavy price in this manner, we shall be left with little for the true progress we wish to make.

There are all kinds of groups in this country and I do not mind them. The more the merrier: Communists, Socialists, and so many others. Your own State happens to possess more than I can remember their names of. You can go ahead and form, each one of you, a separate party or a separate group and please yourself. If that pleases you, you can do so, so far as I am concerned. But look at these various groups. Look at the Communists, who have got, ideologically speaking, many good things. They aim at equality and all that, and many of you should feel attracted. In fact, that is our aim too. But see how they function. They have functioned not only in a completely negative way, but a completely destructive way also. They seem to think that the easiest way to make progress in India is to destroy everything that exists, and then, by magic, something will arise out of that destruction, which will fulfil their wishes. Now that is an extraordinary way of thinking. It is a very odd thing, you know, that the Communists who pride themselves on being the most revolutionary group of all, have become as static as any reactionary group. They quote the scriptures, their scriptures, as often as any conservatives will quote their scriptures. They just live by slogans and quote scriptures and forget the world about them. And if they think of the world at all, well, they think of some other world than India. Now, even applying the Communist doctrine of the great ones of communism like Lenin, Marx or any other of their leaders, they act wrongly and foolishly.

Now, I am afraid, I am no believer in dogma, whether it be religion, politics, economics or anything else. More so, in a world which changes so terribly rapidly. There are certain basic principles, the truth of which we may accept. I do not call that dogma though I cannot prove them. I may accept them or not accept them. I think the truth is better than a lie. Now I cannot prove that to you. But I think it is so. And I think anything based on a lie is bad. But if we are to consider political and economic problems in a changing world, we have to consider them in the context of today, keeping everything before us. And when I say keeping everything before us, I mean keeping before us certain standards of value, including certain cultural standards. Because, after all, if we want to be a great nation, we have to keep our cultural standards, otherwise the country cannot become great. Now, my regret is that people who call themselves big revolutionaries, have become hopelessly reactionary because revolution does not consist in loudly shouting a slogan or a cry. It does not consist in occasionally breaking somebody's head. Revolution consists in changing the social or economic structure of society. The greatest revolutionary force in the world, of course, in the last hundred years, has been science, far greater than the other revolutions. It is that revolution which has produced everything else. Now we want many revolutions in this country. We want to get rid of many bad things and change our country for the better, change the lives of millions and millions of our people for the better. It is in that sense that we want revolution. Therefore, I repeat, that everything which helps us in doing that is revolutionary. Everything that retards that progress, is counter-revolutionary. If the Communists or some other groups do something which retards the progress of the Indian people, destroys what has been done, well, then they are not revolutionary. They are counter-revolutionaries. It does not matter how they speak, in what language they speak. I am not pretending to say that the Congress is a terribly revolutionary group. I regret to say, it is not. I wish it was. That is not my point. But I am pointing out to you that every kind of progress has to be constructively thought of today. You can go as far as you like. But, do not think in terms of destruction, except of some dead wood which can be cut off and thrown away. Further, there is a widespread feeling that if we merely destroy, something right will emerge out of it. That, of course, does not happen as you will have to build again what you have destroyed. Therefore, the Communist Party of India seems to me, completely, to have lost its bearings. Not that I agreed with its bearings but even what they were seem to have been lost by them and in trying to find something, their bearings, they are merely running down others. Well, that is not a good way. We have got very big problems to face. We have got to build up this country and we can only build it up by hard work and united effort.

When I mention this Five Year Plan to you, I do not pretend to say that it is the very best plan that we could have devised. I do not say that it cannot

be improved. Of course, it can be improved. But I do say that here is a Plan produced as a result of constructive thinking and consultation among vast numbers of people in India representing various groups and shades of opinion, from different States, including the Central Government, and the non-official bodies. It is a result of a democratic approach to our problems. And whether we change it in future or not, at present, we shall always have to proceed on that solid foundation, which this Five Year Plan has created as a solid foundation of action and of constructive thought. Not only we, but I say anybody else who wants to go ahead will have to proceed on that basis.

Therefore, I want you to think of India's problems in the larger context, and I want you to realize that we are doing something really big in this country. It is being done. And if you go about the country as I do, you will see the building up of a new India all around. I came to Alwaye to inaugurate a railway link and a factory.⁵ All constructive activity going on all over the country shows what a tremendous effort is on to build up this country. If you want to see big changes which fill your imagination, travel all over India, travel far north, to the site of the Bhakra Nangal, the great river valley scheme. There are many such schemes now. I visit them and I see them being implemented. Now the odd thing is that in another country when something similar was attempted in some place, there was a lot of propaganda and shouting about it. Here, we are not doing it just in one place but in half a dozen places, yet most of our friends criticize us. I am afraid, they have got it all wrong. They do not realize the bigness and the tremendous nature of the undertakings. A very eminent English expert⁶ who had been sent by the British Government at our request, went to the Bhakra Nangal project. As he was going away he said that he was astonished at the tremendous way India was going ahead and something little short of a miracle was happening. He did not use the word "miracle" but something near it. Well, he said that the Bhakra Nangal Scheme was something which was big and for the Indian engineers, the Indian talent, to experience the excitement of building such a thing was really inspiring. He wrote to us a letter⁷ saying that he thought that the project should be named after Mahatma Gandhi because he thought it was so big. Well, Mahatma Gandhi does not require such memorials for his name and we do not wish to attach his name to any river valley scheme, however big it may be. But I am merely

5. On 24 December 1952, Nehru inaugurated the Ernakulam-Quilon railway link and the Indian Rare Earths Factory at Eloor, near Alwaye. For the inaugural speeches see *post*, pp. 107-115 and 232.
6. R.G.A. Jackson came to India as an adviser on planned development.
7. On 23 December 1952, Jackson wrote to Nehru that as the Bhakra Dam would become one of India's monuments attracting world attention, "could it possibly bear the name of Mahatma Gandhi and serve as one more national memorial to his work".

putting to you what big things are being done, things which have impressed the world and which show our capacity.

Now, just take another aspect of the same constructive activity. I have just been asked to inaugurate the Bharat Sevak Samaj here, and presently I shall say a few words about it. Here, I may say one very heartening thing is how throughout the country people are undertaking voluntary labour for public works, that is, round about their villages or small towns. In the course of the last year thousands of miles of roads have been built by voluntary labour in various parts of India. We encourage the villagers to do so. If they want a road, we say, go ahead and make it. We supply them sometimes some little help, some little material. And you will be astonished how right across the Himalayas roads have been built by voluntary labour. This is the spirit that makes a nation, and I hope, and I do not think I hope unreasonably, that we shall go ahead with the Five Year Plan in many respects and complete it within a four-year period, and include several new schemes. So this is the picture I should like you to bear in your mind.

Travancore-Cochin is not only a very beautiful part of India but it has tremendous resources also. The people here have great capacity. They are adventurous too; wherever they go, outside India, wherever I have seen them, they are full of adventure. It is up to you to use the resources of this part of the country and develop it rapidly because your very soil and forests are rich in minerals. I do not want you to do that in an isolated way because you are as much a part of India as I am, as everybody else is. I am just pointing out that the whole of India, if I may say so, is your field of work. You are not confined to this place. Obviously your people like your own State more. I may tell you that so far as our secretariat in New Delhi is concerned, Travancore-Cochin are very heavily represented. If you look at the Foreign Service of which I am in charge as Foreign Minister, well, Travancore-Cochin is again very heavily represented. You are there because of your capacity for work and your abilities. You got there in the normal way. So in a State like yours if you have the capacity, the ability, and a rich soil, there can be no limit to your progress.

People tell me that this is a heavily populated area.⁸ Of course it is. In a sense the whole of India is heavily populated⁹ though not in the sense that often our foreign critics point out. But that does not mean, of course, that the country should go on increasing its population, and I think Travancore-Cochin might well be called rather heavily populated and it would be advantageous if the population did not go on increasing here. But the point is that, ultimately,

8. As per Census of 1951, the population of Travancore-Cochin was 9,280,425.

9. As per the Census of 1951, the total population of India, excluding Jammu and the Part B tribal areas of Assam, was 356,879,394.

a country is poor not because it has a heavy population but because it has a population which is not producing wealth. Thus, a purely agricultural country is always poor because the rate of wealth produced is limited. Industrial countries become rich because the rate of production of wealth becomes much greater. India has to go ahead with industry but at the same time it is bound to remain predominantly agricultural. However fast we may go ahead in industrial development, we may absorb, shall I say ten million or twenty million in industry, thirty million, if you like, but still a few hundred million will remain engaged in agriculture in our villages. While remaining occupied with agriculture we ought to develop more crafts, develop village and cottage industries, and balance and integrate the two. That is the big challenge. The Five Year Plan has just begun to tackle it.

Think of all these problems and see where you fit in and do your utmost to see that your part of the Five Year Plan succeeds. Take the community projects.¹⁰ There are two¹¹ here, in the north and south of the State. And I might tell you that the reports I have thus far received about them, not from people here—I don't say that their reports would be very objective—but from people who have come from Delhi, were good reports. I was happy to learn that.

Now, take this Bharat Sevak Samaj. What is this Samaj? I happen to be its President. I do not know why! But the Bharat Sevak Samaj is not a political organization. The Bharat Sevak Samaj offers no rewards. You won't get any position there. It has no presidencies, secretaryships or committee memberships to offer, nor any influence to throw around. The Bharat Sevak Samaj is just a simple, voluntary organization, which offers an opportunity for work without any reward except the pleasure of doing the work. That is what Bharat Sevak Samaj is. It particularly lays emphasis on voluntary manual labour. I am convinced that it is those people who foolishly imagine that manual labour is some kind of a degrading activity, who have been responsible for bringing down India. If any country or any people think that manual labour is degrading, that country and that people are bound to go down, because the world makes progress on the basis of that type of labour.

10. On 2 October, Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, inaugurated the scheme of community development projects in fifty-five districts in the country for the development of selected villages. The projects aimed at the intensive development of resources of the areas concerned, notably by increasing agricultural production, fostering social education, improving rural health, and introducing new skills and occupations.
11. The community development projects inaugurated on 2 October in Travancore-Cochin State were one at Neyyatinkara-Villavancode in the south and the other at Kunnathunda Chalakkudi in the north. The projects covering 563 villages with a population of four and a half million people in an area of 857 square miles aimed at reclamation of land and developing irrigation on it with improved techniques.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj, therefore, is really hardly an organization in the conventional way. It invites people to come and work together for national good. Of course, it offers work other than manual labour also. But the basis is manual labour, whether you make a street, a road, whether you make a building, whether you make a school, whether you go and clean the drain or whether you do anything else like that. Take a village in hand, clear it up. Your problems probably are much simpler from that point of view here than what they are in North India or in Central India. However, you have your own problems and you can draw up your own lists of the types of work you can do. It is extraordinary what people can do without Government help, if they really want to. We have got too much into the habit of looking up to Government. Now, it is the business of Government to work rightly and if it does not, it is your business to criticize Government. I agree. But this business of looking up to Government for everything is all wrong. People should do their work themselves. If they want any Government assistance, they can ask for it, but do it themselves, and if in every village, people do something of that type, that itself may not be very much but taking it all together it may mean a great deal. It will count up, as I told you, to thousands of miles of roads having been made. Well, thousands of miles of roads have not been made in one place, a hundred miles here, a hundred there. But if you add it up, in the last year alone, it came to thousands of miles. It is a very impressive figure. If you wait for the State Government, or the Central Government to do everything, well, you will have to wait a long time. Because Government just cannot do everything. It has to take one thing at a time. But if in any village, the people living there, or round about, take their smaller problems in hand and begin to tackle them themselves, well, then, the face of India can be changed.

So, the Bharat Sevak Samaj is an invitation for honest work. And the object is, first of all, to build up and every member of the Bharat Sevak Samaj becomes a builder of India, as I want everyone of you to be a builder of new India. Secondly, it seeks to change the mentality of our people and make them honour manual labour, which has no equals to match it in terms of work satisfaction and service of others. I do not wish to underestimate the part played by the intellect. Of course not. But intellect divorced from manual labour is gradually apt to become vitiated....

So coming back to the State you live in, I hope that all of you living in this beautiful State will help to make it the real garden of India which it is meant to be. I think of these two places more particularly, Travancore-Cochin at the one end of India, and Kashmir at the other end, both of which in their own way are beautiful. Both are jewels enhancing the beauty of this country, as they are not only beautiful but are also highly artistic. The people of Kashmir, as you know, for hundreds of years, have been very artistic. The artistic

handicrafts of Kashmir have been famous for thousands of years. I think of all the States and regions in India lying in between these two States and conceive in my mind a composite picture of India and its future. Perhaps it is wishful thinking. But still I see this country advancing in all the fields. Certainly, in terms of material progress but, at the same time, in the cultural field as well. But, above all, India, if I may say so, must advance maintaining that even temper, that serenity of temper, which behoves a great country and a great civilization. Let us, therefore, try to rise above our petty jealousies and petty quarrels. I have heard all kinds of odd things here. It is either the question of being pulled by Cochin or Travancore or some local communal problems and complaints, here and there.

There is one matter I should like to speak to you about which I am very clear about that is that in India we have to be hundred per cent strict in regard to anything that savours of corruption. We should give no quarter to it.... I have often said in public and repeat it here that I am prepared to enquire into any allegation, any charge of corruption, for which there is some *prima facie* evidence. I cannot enquire into every charge that is hurled against one and all. If there is *prima facie* anything in it, I shall enquire, through whatever means I may possess. I shall enquire directly from New Delhi, and if after my initial enquiry anything substantial appears, we shall take action, and it just does not matter who the person concerned is, be he high or low. Having said that I must also remind you as I have said that for the last two years, innumerable enquiries have been made by us. Every complaint that comes to me, I have enquired into. Now, three or four types of results have been found. One major result has been that in case of one set of complaints, practically no basis was found for them at all. It was just a gossip. In another set of complaints, there was some basis but we could not get any proof. In the case of the third, the smallest lot, there was some proof and we proceeded further with the enquiry. Now, therefore, if you really want to root out corruption, you have to be a little precise. You just cannot throw about charges. Some of our newspapers have an amazing knack of publishing things for which they have no evidence except perhaps their own desire to say. Now, that is not right. It degrades public life. A month or two ago, somebody from here, a member of the local Assembly, sent me a list of charges against one of the Ministers.¹² Well, naturally, I enquired into it immediately and the result of the enquiries satisfied me that there was nothing in the charges. In fact, those were fantastic charges,

12. The charges were made against the Home Minister, T.M. Verghese, who it was alleged had accepted some money from the sawmill owners at Quilon in lieu of the police help he promised to arrange to defeat the agitation by the mill workers. Some Congressmen had insisted on reorganizing the Congress government in the State by replacing the Home Minister even before an inquiry into the allegations against him was initiated.

ridiculous charges. It did not involve any serious difficulty to enquire into that particular matter. And yet if there had been anything in it, even *prima facie*, we would have taken the next step about it, whatever that might have been. But even *prima facie*, there was nothing in it, after the preliminary inquiry. And I believe the person who made those charges was publicly called upon to substantiate or to withdraw them. He did nothing of the kind. Now, that is not a kind of thing to be encouraged, this kind of irresponsible action. As I said, I am more anxious than any of you here or elsewhere to stamp out corruption. There is corruption in India, of course, I do not deny it. We have been fighting against it. But in order to do that it is the worst course possible to make charges without foundation, to gossip about these matters, and generally to try to run down one's political opponents by that method. This kind of thing, if it is indulged in, is a many-edged weapon. It affects everybody. It ruins your political life. We have to keep straight in our political and public life, remain above board, and take action against a person who is guilty of corruption, however high he may be, whether he is an official, whether he is a minister, whoever he may be. But making unfounded charges is bad. That simply tarnishes the image of our entire political life. If such unfounded charges began to be levelled against anybody, where shall we be. We shall then live in a vitiated atmosphere of charges and countercharges.

So, I should like you to look at these problems in their wider aspect, and set about working for their solution. The solution ultimately lies in the hands of the people of this country and not so much with the Government and the people, in a sense, playing a more active role, apart from their electing Governments or working for the Five Year Plan, the Bharat Sevak Samaj or whatever it is, but doing something, will not only be productive and new, but will also give the confidence to go ahead. You will experience the new-found sense of power in you because creative is the person who builds something, a person who creates is an artist. He has the power of an artist. If he produces something all his sense of frustration goes. He feels strong and he can do bigger things. If this applies to an individual, it applies even more to a nation. If we succeed in fulfilling the targets laid down in the Five Year Plan, well, our self-confidence will be infinitely greater. Our strength will be greater, and then we can undertake much bigger tasks. But, if we just keep arguing as to what should be done, well, we then remain where we are. However good our argument may be, if we do not move an inch then it is not worth anything. Unfortunately, we as a people are given to much argumentation, be it on any subject—philosophical, metaphysical, political, economic, or any other, imagining that perhaps, through argument we can solve the problem. Well, it does not happen that way. It is only when we work that we can solve the problems. I, therefore, urge you to involve yourself in some productive work....

Thank you very much. I am afraid, while, I have been here in the shade, many of you have had to suffer the heat of the sun. It is unfortunate and I do not know why the organisers of this meeting fixed it at this hour, when the sun is so strong. Anyhow, I am told that the object of this meeting was for me to inaugurate the Bharat Sevak Samaj here. Well, if so, I do inaugurate it, although what it exactly means, my saying so from this platform, I do not know. As a matter of fact, I inaugurated it some months ago, on the 2 October, for the whole of India. I do not know why it should require a separate inauguration, wherever I go. The only inauguration it requires is for the members of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, led by the conveners or others, to go with spade in hand to do some work. That is the type of inauguration which we should welcome and I hope they will do so. Anyhow, if formality requires it, I inaugurate the Bharat Sevak Samaj of Travancore-Cochin. Thank you. *Jai Hind.*

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

I. THE ECONOMY

(i) FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

1. The Final Report on the Five Year Plan¹

I strongly oppose the suggestions made by some of the Opposition parties for exchange of population between the two Bengals, secession of territory and economic sanctions.² Such suggestions will only worsen the conditions and do no good.

The Planning Commission's final report on the Five Year Plan would be presented to the Cabinet by the end of the month and it will be placed on the floor of the House. The larger policies outlined in the report can be discussed in Parliament after Members have studied it....

1. Remarks at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party at New Delhi, 4 November 1952. From the *National Herald*, 5 November 1952. Extracts.
2. At a public meeting in Delhi on 23 October, while J.B. Kripalani called for "effective governmental action" against Pakistan, Asoka Mehta demanded economic boycott and V.G. Deshpande suggested the use of force against Pakistan to complete the exchange of population between the two countries. Strong action, including economic blockade, was demanded at a rally of eleven Opposition parties in Calcutta on 27 October 1952 to compel Pakistan to look after her minorities properly.

2. Essentials of Planning¹

The Prime Minister welcoming the members to the first meeting² of the

1. Summary of the proceedings of the first meeting of the National Development Council to consider the draft of the final report on Five Year Plan, 8-9 November 1952. File No. Plan/66/55, Planning Commission. Extracts.
2. The meeting was attended by the members of the Council consisting of the Prime Minister as Chairman, Gulzarilal Nanda as Vice-Chairman, C.D. Deshmukh, V.T. Krishnamachari, R.K. Patil and Smt. Durgabai, all members of the Planning Commission, and the Chief Ministers of the States. Several Central and State Ministers were also present in the meeting.

National Development Council observed that the National Development Council was essentially a forum for intimate cooperation between the State Governments and the Central Government for all the tasks of national development. It had been set up³ with three objects:

1. to strengthen and mobilize the effort and resources of the nation in support of the Plan;
2. to promote common economic policies in all vital spheres; and
3. to ensure the balanced and rapid development of all parts of the country.

Its functions would be:

1. to review the working of the National Plan from time to time;
2. to consider important question of social and economic policy affecting national development; and
3. to recommend measures for the achievement of the aims and targets set out in the National Plan.

All had to bear intimate responsibility for the Plan in all its phases. As Chief Ministers they shouldered heavy responsibility in their States and naturally had to think of their States. But, at the same time, as members of the Council they had to shoulder responsibility for the whole of India, and not merely, for their States, and had to look upon every question from a national point of view. Referring to the draft report, he observed that it was obviously essential that both State Governments and the Centre should accept certain basic principles; agree on certain major policies and programmes in the Plan. Then alone could the Plan be finalized. Referring to the preparation of the Plan, he felt that during the preceding fourteen months the Planning Commission succeeded in making the country planning conscious. The draft report had been finalized after consulting various political organizations, economists, industrialists and women's organizations, and so on. By and large, through this democratic process the structure of the Plan had been very largely accepted by the country. Its implementation would also have to be democratic. It had to become not merely a Government's Plan but a people's Plan. It would, therefore, be necessary to reach the people and explain to them the main principles of planning in the language they understood. Suitable literature in popular style would have to be produced. The Plan would also have to be explained to the people through discussions, talks and speeches....

3. On 9 August 1952, the Government of India announced establishment of the National Development Council.

The Prime Minister asked what steps were being taken to check the spread of the desert. Was any record kept of land going out of cultivation? He also stressed the necessity of growing tubers, vegetables, fruits.... Initiating the discussion on village industries the Prime Minister stated that village industries were more important than any large-scale industry from the point of view of giving employment. All were agreed that village industries had to be encouraged. The principle of reservation of fields for village industries had been accepted though certain questions arising from it had to be considered. The growth of village industries would depend very considerably, on improvements in their techniques. It would be essential to carry out research for determining the latest techniques that could be applied to the village or cottage industries. Whether the responsibility for such research should rest with a Central organization or with State Government was a matter for consideration. He referred to the proposal for setting up a village industries board which would be given funds derived from a cess on the textile industry. The record of the Central Government and perhaps of State Governments in encouraging village industries during the last five years had been poor. Referring to the difficulties of marketing products manufactured by cottage industries, he observed that the artistic goods manufactured by cottage industries had a good market both internal and foreign, yet their marketing suffered because standards of production were not kept up.... The Prime Minister referred to the proposal to organize work camps for university students. A beginning should be made immediately. These camps could help in changing the calibre of the nation and infusing a sense of discipline into youngmen. They might be organized on a voluntary basis to start with. The Government should only incur expenditure on food, camp-accommodation and perhaps transport....

The Prime Minister referred to the deteriorating quality of education and observed that before extending the present system of education it should be placed on a proper and sound basis. There was need to evolve a good and cheap method of education for the primary and secondary stage of education. He suggested that one teacher-school, with no building, should be set up in each village, to give basic and not literary education. The educational code should not apply there. He referred to the need for regulating visits of large number of students to foreign countries for study. He was in favour of students going abroad to acquire special knowledge, but only those persons who had attained a certain standard and were likely to make good use of their visits should be allowed foreign exchange.... Referring to the points made by Shri Ranga Reddy on food policy,⁴ the Prime Minister observed that the view that

4. Ranga Reddy, the Public Works Minister, Madras, pointed out that his Government did not share the Planning Commission's views on food control and spoke in favour of policy of decontrol initiated by Madras Government.

controls had failed or succeeded because of the quality of persons employed had no particular meaning except that this was a fact to be considered. The situation had to be improved, otherwise it was to be given up because it could not be organized properly. One could understand an argument based on facts and arrive at certain conclusions, but it was obvious that no plan could function without a fairly large measure of control over the economy, whatever might be the nature of that control. The crux of a planned economy is control—otherwise a plan may go to pieces. The Draft Five Year Plan was to involve an expenditure of Rs. 2,000 crores but if prices went up the cost might go up to Rs. 4,000 crores. By continuous printing of money, same thing would happen to India as it happened in some countries like China in the past. It was obvious that in any kind of planned economy or indeed even without a plan, one should have a measure of control. The Government did not allow itself to be swept away by other forces. There was no planned economy when controls were introduced. Nevertheless the Government of the day introduced controls because of the consequences that might have followed lack of control. In a planned economy the need for control was obvious. What measure of control and at what points were matters for consideration, but it was a basic proposition that in a planned economy one should have to control, among other things, the acquisitive instincts of financiers, capitalists, big industrialists, etc. The functioning of the acquisitive economy should be controlled for the sake of the common good. In deciding on the control of a particular commodity one might have to consider various factors and it might be that in regard to a particular article one might think that the moment had arrived for control not to be exercised or to be partially exercised. That was a particular matter to be considered, but he did not understand the general argument against control. The Prime Minister mentioned the decontrol experiment and said that simultaneously with its introduction prices suddenly shot up to tremendous heights even though the policy was revised after a few months. India was still struggling with the after-effects of that experiment. Prices go up quickly but come down slowly. He doubted if everybody present was going to agree to the statement that controls have failed. He was not prepared to say that. At best it was a matter for argument. One could say of course that it was not completely successful because of some individuals or other factors. That was a different matter. In regard to food he suggested that the example of Pakistan which has a surplus economy in food and was prosperous due to the Korean War and accumulations till last year should be borne in mind. One bad season had upset the economy of Pakistan completely. Decontrol was a tremendous risk to take. He was all for taking risks but calculated and controlled risks. He could not see how any responsible authority could take risks which might upset the entire apple-cart. Even with limitations of personnel, he thought the controls had succeeded in controlling a situation which might have gone much worse.

The Prime Minister said that production had not gone down, it had gone up in spite of disasters and droughts. He agreed that in the past the producer in the rural areas did not get a fair deal. He did get a better deal during the war years and subsequently, he would like him to have a much better deal. But in his desire to give the farmer a better deal if he stopped the normal progressive forces and development from going ahead, it was not of much use to the farmer who would suffer in the long run. He stressed that prices had to be kept under control. If they were not, then our Plan and our way of living might be upset. Food prices were the first to be controlled because food was a basic need for all our people. If the situation became difficult it was no good saying "import the food". Of course, the Government were going to import food but within limits. It could not go on importing food and cut down other activities. Therefore, food imports had to be reduced and production increased and stocks built up. Food had to be procured, whatever the method of procurement might be. The first step that we found essential was having an agreed data. He informed the Council that the Government of India would take decisions on the subject of food policy in the course of the following fortnight....

3. Emotional Awareness of India's Problems¹

Now that you have been here for two days and ultimately at the end of these discussions have passed the Resolution generally accepting this Plan, so from this moment onwards it is not a draft Plan. It is the National Plan of India.

During the next two or three weeks the language and contents of the draft might be varied in view of the series of discussions that the Planning Commission had been having since last month with the various political parties and national organizations. Thereafter, it would be presented to the people of India. Then we shall all work on it. The people in their millions will have that Plan and its fate will be in their hands.

Planning has been done in many countries in the past but the scope of Indian Plan and the scale on which it has been drawn up is rather unique as it has been prepared by a democratic society for a democratic way of working. We are committed to a way of democratic thinking—and I think rightly committed—but democracy will not succeed merely because it is democracy. It will succeed only if it can achieve results and if it brings out the quality of the people, if there is quality in them. And so we have launched a tremendous experiment, but it all depends upon with what faith we launch that experiment. We have not naturally considered extraneous factors, that is political, international and other factors, although, as a matter of fact, they come into the picture and interfere with our wishes very often. Nonetheless, if there are any big developments in the world, we will be affected, our Plan will be affected and the country will have to face it. In the past various disruptive tendencies had arisen. In the process of facing them, India has achieved strength and freedom. In the measure we control them. In future, we shall maintain that strength and fulfil the Plan.

In the National Development Council are represented the Chief Ministers of States, some of which are as big as many independent countries and the Chief Ministers have a tremendous lot of responsibility to shoulder. It is, therefore, rather of significance that all of them should meet together for the common purpose of evolving a National Development Plan for India. It is significant because the Chief Ministers, while naturally expressing the viewpoints of their States, functioned not as claimants from a particular region of India, but as Indians thinking all the time of the whole of India and of her problems in their entirety.

1. Address to the concluding session of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 9 November 1952. From *The Hindu*, 11 November 1952.

It is quite inevitable that you may tend to emphasize your own State or your State's problems, because you have to deal with them. It is equally possible that some of us in the Central Government tend to minimize a State's problems, because we are not oppressed by it. Of course, intellectually, we understand it. I am not talking about intellectual appreciation, but something that is more important, that is an emotional awareness of those problems. I should like you to have an emotional awareness of all-India problems; and I should like every Minister of the Central Government to have an emotional awareness of the problems of each State, not just an intellectual and official understanding of them only.

So we have got to have this emotional awareness of each other's problems, the States, and the Centre; and also an emotional awareness of the Five Year Plan. It is a Plan on which people have worked hard. It is a Plan which has been evolved after innumerable consultations. But it is something infinitely more than that and that is the emotional awareness that I should like you to have and gradually through you and others the country to have. It is essentially a brave adventure into the future. It is with a crusading spirit of adventure that we should face this, with faith and courage.

4. Foreign Aid and the Plan¹

... Question: J.C. Kumarappa is reported to have said² that India was being sold to the USA as a result of India's dependence on US aid for her development plans. What is the Prime Minister's reaction to it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not prepared to bandy words with Dr Kumarappa. We would tighten our belts and take other measures to amass all available resources in the country rather than depend on foreign aid that came with strings tied to it.

1. Remarks at a press conference, Lucknow, 22 November 1952. Extracts. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Leader*, 23 November 1952.
2. Addressing a small gathering at Lucknow on 21 November, J.C. Kumarappa, a Gandhian economist, said that India was no longer neutral and was gradually coming under American economic domination through the acceptance of the US assistance for the community projects.

There are many dangers if we depend on outside help. We will get into the habit of depending on foreign aid, and when such help stopped everything will be upset. Even in respect of community projects started in India the amount of foreign aid taken was little.

Among over four score independent nations of the world very few can be called really independent. India is one of the really independent nations because it does not change its policy by pressure from outside.

Three reasons are responsible for India's strength; the mental background of not being afraid, developed during the freedom struggle; our potential strength which everyone respected and knew; and our geographical position which, in the present context of world conflicts, is very favourable.... In about one month the Five Year Plan, as finalized, will be made available for everyone to see. As now finalized, it is much bigger than what it was when first produced; even the cost of some of the old schemes in the Plan was much more.

The deficit between the normal resources of the nation and the cost of the Plan is to be met partly out of foreign aid, if it is forthcoming. But irrespective of any such help the major part of the Plan will be implemented. The problem now is how to cover up the deficit and we have thought about certain internal measures.

Q: How far the Five-Year Plan stands today especially in light of the indication such as from Madras that financial resources for the future plans are diminishing?

JN: The Plan as devised does not go far beyond our financial resources. You may go by utilizing various methods, utilizing manpower at various places. Madras, especially, suffered very badly by successive droughts, but I do not think the financial resources of the country as a whole have been diminishing and the estimates of the Plan are more or less realistic.

Q: What role the Bharat Sevak Samaj is expected to play in the implementation of the Five Year Plan?

JN: Bharat Sevak Samaj is an organization founded for national activity. But, in addition, it can do whatever else it could in the rural areas, villages, towns or cities.

5. Five Year Plan¹

I have the honour and privilege to present to Parliament and to lay on the Table of the House a copy of the Report of the Planning Commission containing the first Five Year Plan. At the present moment it consists of two rather bulky volumes. I regret that they are not printed but are in a mimeograph form. We thought that it would be convenient to honourable Members to deal with this at this stage, the printed copies to be supplied when they are ready. I hope that in the course of a day each honourable Member will be supplied with these two light-weight volumes for their consideration.

In these volumes the first few chapters deal with the general structure and the general principles of the Plan and later they go to some details. It is proposed a few days later to issue a supplement containing details of certain development schemes, and somewhat later still another supplement volume containing details of various industries and programmes of industrial development. They are minor details—which are important, of course—but which do not relate to the main structure of the Plan.

Now because this Report necessarily is rather bulky and big, the Planning Commission is taking steps to facilitate the consideration of the Report by issuing various summaries. A small summary is being produced today which will be given out to the Press. The whole Report² will be issued to the Press and the public today. In addition a summary, not a very small summary, will be available to the Press and this House also. A summary—I would call it an authorized summary of the Plan—will appear, I hope, in the course of the next three or four days, apart from the summary which is being issued to the Press and that also will be available to Members of the House. Later it is proposed to issue a shorter version of the Plan that is in book form in print, more or less for popular use, probably about 300 printed pages. But that will take a little time before it is got ready. It is also proposed to issue a number of pamphlets, etc. At the moment I place this before the House and I suggest that we might take this Report into consideration on Monday next, the 15th December....³

1. Statement in Parliament, 8 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. VI. Part 11, cols. 1826-28. Extracts. A similar statement was made by Nehru in the Council of States on 8 December. See *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. II, cols. 1086-90.
2. The report, which replaced the draft outline of the Plan, represented the second phase of the Planning Commission's work since its inception in March 1950.
3. A.C. Guha, Congress Member from West Bengal, intervened at this point.

A report of this kind can easily be discussed for three weeks with profit. It has taken, if I may say so, very hard labour on the part of the Planning Commission. Two years' hard labour these volumes represent, and more particularly during the last two or three months it has been very heavy work indeed.

I realize the desire. I am in the hands of the House. So far as the Planning Commission are concerned, they would like to have the fullest benefit of the consideration of this House, and it is only the difficulty of finding more time that led me to say three days. If it is possible to extend that period somewhat, and the House so desires, we shall try to do so....⁴ I am prepared to sit longer, and if it is convenient the House can have an extra day. Because, it really goes so near to the last date of the session, and one would like a day or two towards the end for urgent work. However, this matter might be considered by the House later. We need not have any rigid time-table about that.

But I would suggest to the House, if I may, that the discussion to which we attach great importance the discussion in this House of this Report—might largely concern itself with the basic principles, the main structure,⁵ rather than the smaller details, because we will get lost in the details. And, although this Report is for the moment the final product of the Planning Commission, indeed as the Report itself says towards the end, there can be no such thing as any ultimate finality: because planning is a dynamic process, and it will be open to Parliament or to Government to look into things and whenever necessary to vary things. Nothing can be laid down as if it cannot be changed later. And if any particular subject contained in this Report requires further discussion, that can always take place—that particular subject in that form later. But I would submit that this House should consider more specially the basic approach, the principles governing this Plan and the main structure of the Plan. If that is assured and if the House agrees to that, then the other matters can be considered in many forms later also.

4. Some Members wanted the discussion for five days and the Deputy Speaker suggested a longer session.
5. The Plan envisaged total outlay of Rs. 2,069 crores during 1951-56 on development, mainly in the public sector. It accorded the highest priority to agriculture including irrigation and power projects. The significance of the outlay on development was that it was expected to provide adequate infrastructure to meet future requirements of development.

6. Approach to Planning¹

I beg to move:

This House records its general approval of the principles, objectives and programme of development contained in the Five Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission.

In moving this Resolution, I have a feeling, first of all, of the stage of a journey being completed, of a duty done, and if I may say so, well done, and at the same time I have another and more powerful sensation of a harder duty and more difficult work ahead, of another journey immediately to be undertaken, because ultimately there are no resting places in the journey we have undertaken.

So far as this present Plan is concerned, it may be said to have had its beginning in preparation when the Planning Commission first came into existence. Of course, much thought had been given to this question of planning in India even previously and discussions had taken place in this very House or the Parliament before. But this particular attempt was begun when this Planning Commission came into existence two and a half years ago. Now, perhaps, I may speak in this matter without any offence against modesty, because my own connection with the Planning Commission, though intimate, nevertheless, was one in which the burden of work fell lightly upon me. Others carried the burden, and therefore if I may praise that work, I do not praise myself for what I have done in regard to it. Therefore, I said I can speak a little more freely about that matter than if I had myself been possibly a recipient of that praise.

The Planning Commission, and as such the staff of the Planning Commission—when I say the staff, I include all the members of it, whatever their degree of status might be—have worked very hard, very conscientiously, very earnestly and with something of the crusading spirit, in preparing this Plan.

I should like, therefore to pay my tribute to them, not merely an empty tribute without knowledge but with due knowledge of what they have done. And that, if I may say so, need not necessarily have any relation to what we may agree or disagree with any particular chapter or particular part of the Report. This work was, in a sense the first of its kind, certainly the first of its

1. Speech in Parliament while moving a Resolution on the principles, objectives and programme of development under the first Five Year Plan, 15 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. VI, Part II, cols. 2367-81. While moving the Resolution in the Council of States on 16 December the Prime Minister made a similar statement. See *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. II, cols. 1961-81.

kind so far as we were concerned and I think we might justifiably say that in this particular context it was the first of its kind anywhere. We know very well, of course, that planning became well known and rather fashionable ever since over twenty years ago when the first Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union came into the field and was much talked about. Gradually planning became a popular subject for people to talk about, though very often those who talked about it, talked perhaps without really understanding what they were talking about.

What I mean is this. People talk about planning sometimes in limited spheres. Of course, there can be planning for a nation, it is something infinitely more than the planning in bits and spurts here and there. It becomes an integrated way of approaching this question of a nation's manifold activity. But the difference in the way of our approach and the way of the old Soviet approach— I am not comparing the two, I am merely mentioning it— has been a certain difference in our objectives, somewhat, though not perhaps so great ultimately as might be thought, but much more so in the methods adopted. And in view of the fact that we function under a democratic set up which we have deliberately adopted and enshrined in our Constitution and in this Parliament, naturally any planning that takes place must be within that set up and no Planning Commission has any right to go about producing something which has no relation to our Constitution or the set up under which we are functioning.

Now, that puts certain self-imposed limitations on a Plan, but I would like to say that those limitations are not final limitations. And I do not think it would be right to say that that democratic functioning necessarily puts any limitations at all. It may make the way a little more difficult; the procedure adopted may be a little more complicated. But a democratic set up, properly worked, should permit of anything that we desire to be done. And, possibly, that, I suppose, is the justification of that democratic set up, apart from other justifications, that what it does, even though it might take a little more time, it does perhaps build on more firm foundation and in particular, it builds on a foundation of an individual and not entirely forgetting the individual. However, that is not a point I wish to labour. What I wish to say is that accepting the democratic set up and accepting the functioning of this Parliament etc., we must consider this Plan, on that basis. We have made a Constitution and we should abide by that Constitution. Nevertheless let it not be said that that Constitution, every part of it, every chapter and corner of it, is something that is so sacrosanct that it cannot be changed if the needs of the country or the nation so desire. Undoubtedly, it can be changed wherever necessary, not lightly but after full thought, if it is thought that that part of the Constitution comes in the way of the nation's progress. But, generally speaking, we have to plan in accordance with that Constitution.

Now this Plan was produced, or rather the parent of it—the Draft Outline—was placed before the country a little over a year ago and placed before this Parliament also, and it was approved generally by Parliament² then and it has been the subject of approval and criticism and, to a slight extent, condemnation in certain parts but much more so of approval generally all over the country during this year. And the Planning Commission has profited greatly by that criticism and even by the partial condemnation of parts of the Plan, that has been placed before it. I doubt if there has been greater consultation of various, not only organizations, parties, States, but opinions, viewpoints, etc. I doubt if there has been a greater consultation of the various elements that go to make up the nation's life anywhere in this matter than we have had in this particular Plan during the last year and a quarter. In that sense, therefore, it might be said to be not the production of five or six members of the Planning Commission, but rather a joint effort in which a large part of the nation has taken part and, therefore, it represents something much more than the opinions of the members of the Planning Commission. They had to deal with a very difficult problem. Of course, the country is big, but apart from the bigness of the country, we had to deal with a federal structure—the Centre and the great States, and the various States also divided in various degrees. We have to deal with an economy which is in many ways a very backward economy. We have to suffer the consequences of past acts and many things that have happened in the past. We have to deal with a new social consciousness which is very desirable. We have to deal with great ambitions, which we all share, to progress rapidly and we have to deal with limited resources to further those great ambitions. We have had to, and have to, deal with, looking at the world in a period of storm and trial, and crisis and change, and generally speaking, disaster round the corner. We have to deal in India often enough, thinking in old ruts, with sometimes superstitions and outlook which come in the way of progress. We have to deal even, if I may say so with all respect, with the reformer of yesterday who is a conservative today, the revolutionary of yesterday forgetting that today is different from yesterday. In other words, we have to deal with a dynamic and live situation, ever-changing, which could not be resolved by any dogma, whether of religion or economic or of anything else.

Apart from that fact, when you deal with a great country like India, you have to deal with India only and not with any other country or the conditions that exist in any other country and try to repeat them here. Of course, there are certain principles, certain ideals, certain objectives, which hold for various countries, which hold for various ages too; they do not change. India herself

2. The draft first Five Year Plan was placed before the Parliament on 4 October 1951. The House debated the Draft Outline of the Plan for two days from 15 October when all amendments critical of the Plan were rejected.

has represented various principles of that type and I hope she will hold to them, while at the same time, I hope and say that with emphasis, that she will give up a large number of superstitions and evil ways of old which have impeded her growth and which are taken advantage of even today to divert people from the principal subjects that we should consider here. So, for all this amalgam and variety that we have in India, we have to form a plan for future progress. And, when I think of this for a moment, I forget these two heavy and fat volumes of the Report of the Planning Commission and something much vaster comes before me, the mighty theme of a nation-building itself, remaking itself, all of us working together to make a new India—that is a big job—all of us working together, not abstractly for a nation, but for the 360 million people as individuals or as groups, going ahead.

In fact, we are trying to catch up as far as we can with the Industrial Revolution which came long years ago in Western countries and made great changes in the course of a century or more, which ultimately has branched off in two directions from the same tree, if I may say so, the two directions at present being represented by the United States of America and other represented by the Soviet Union, branches of the same tree even though they might quarrel with each other. Now, this Industrial Revolution has a long history in the past and we are apt to think in terms of European history when we look at India. Why we should repeat the errors of the past is not clear to me. Obviously we have to learn from the past and avoid these errors.

Now, we talk in terms of industrialization and it is obvious to me that we have to industrialize India as rapidly as possible. And, when I use the word industrialize, I include, of course, in it all kinds of industry, major, middling, small, village and cottage. The biggest step that we can take in, the industrialization of the country can absorb only—by any computation you like—a small part of the population of this country in the next ten, twenty, or even thirty years, put it whatever you like. Yet hundreds of million remain over who will be employed chiefly in agriculture but who also have to be employed in smaller industries and cottage industries and the like. And, therefore, the importance of village and cottage industries, I think, argument that often takes place, the argument of big industry versus cottage industry and village industry is rather misconceived. I have no doubt at all that without the development of major industry in this country, we cannot raise our levels of existence. In fact, I will go further. We cannot remain a free country because certain things are essential to freedom; defence—leave out other things—which if we do have, we can remain a free country. There, we have to develop industry in that major way, but always remembering that all the development of industry in that major way does not by itself solve the problem of the hundreds of millions of this country and we have to increase the smaller village industry and cottage industry in a big way also remembering that in trying to develop industry, big

or small, we do not forget the human factor. We are not merely to get more money and more production. We want not merely more production but ultimately we want better human beings in this country with greater opportunities not only economic and the rest but at other levels also. We have seen in other countries that economic growth by itself does not necessarily mean human growth, does not necessarily mean national growth. So, we have to keep this particular picture and not think that the growth of the nation comes merely from the shouting that takes place in the market places and the stock exchanges of the country. So, to balance all these, to produce some kind of integrated plan for the economic growth of the country, for the growth of the individual, for greater opportunities to every individual, for the greater freedom of the country, you have to do all this within the framework of political democracy. Political democracy, ultimately of course, will only justify itself or be justified if it succeeds in producing these results. If it does not, political democracy will yield place to some other form of economic or social structure, does not matter how much any of us like it or not. Ultimately, it is results that will decide the fate of what structure we may adopt in this country or in any country of the world. When we talk of political democracy we must remember that it is ceasing to have that particular significance which it had, say, in the 19th century. Political democracy, if it is to have any meaning must gradually, or, if you like, rapidly lead to economic democracy. Without that, if there is great inequality in the country, all the political democracy and all the adult suffrage in the world does not bring about the real essence of democracy. Therefore, your objective has to be—call it economic democracy, call it the putting an end to all these great differences between class and class—the bringing about of more equality, and a more unitary society. In other words, it has gradually to put an end to the various classes that subsist and ultimately develop into a classless society. That may be a little far off, I do not know. But you must keep that in view.

Now, it is clear that you cannot approach that by way of conflict and violence, so far as this country is concerned. We have achieved many things by way of peace and there is no particular reason why we should give that up and go into violent methods. There is a very particular reason why we should not do so because I am quite convinced that, however high our ideals might be, and our objectives, if we try to solve them by methods of violence, it will delay matters very greatly, it will help the growth of the very evils that we are fighting against. India is not only a big country, but a varied country, and if anyone takes to the sword, he will inevitably be met by the sword of someone else. Therefore, it becomes a clash between swords, or violence, and all the limited energies of the nation are destroyed in that process or greatly lessened.

Now, the method of peaceful progress is a method ultimately of democratic progress. But keeping in mind the ultimate aim of democratic thought it is not

enough for us to say that we have given the right of vote to all, and let the rest remain. The ultimate aim is economic democracy. The ultimate aim is putting an end to these great differences between the rich and the poor; the people who have opportunities and those who have none or very little. That must be kept in mind. In the ultimate analysis, everything that comes in the way of that aim must be removed—removed in a friendly way; removed in a co-operative way; removed by State pressure; removed by law—because nothing should be allowed ultimately to come in the way of your achieving that social objective.

So, a Plan of this type is not merely the putting up of a number of factories here and there; not merely showing greater production here and there—which is necessary, of course—but something more with a deeper significance; something aiming at a certain kind of structure of society that you want gradually to develop. Of course, you and I cannot lay down what will happen or what the next generation might do. You and I cannot even say what the next generation will be like. In these days of very rapid technological advance, no man knows what the world would be like some time hence. We are technologically backward. Therefore, sometimes when we discuss big problems, we discuss them—if I may say so with all respect—in a rather static way, forgetting that the very ground underneath our feet is changing or slipping away. Unless we move with it, we may tumble over or be left behind. The enormous pace of technological advance ever since the Industrial Revolution is generally known and appreciated, but nevertheless we are not emotionally aware of what is happening from day to day, and it may well be that in the course of the next ten years, or twenty years or more, this technological advance might change the whole aspect of the things in the world, and that affects the life of human beings tremendously. It affects their thinking. It affects their economic structure. It affects their social structure. Ultimately it affects their political structure also. Anything may come. We cannot bind the future. For the present, we have to deal with facts as they are.

But I mention these broader factors, so that our minds must have that dynamic quality, that quality of vision, that revolutionary quality, which not only the average laymen, but even our experts—whether they are economists, or even planners—lack. They have become very static in their approach. I do not see this mighty change. We talk of revolutions and think perhaps that a revolution is a process where you can break each other's head. That is not a revolution. It may be or may not be—that is a side show. Good or bad, a revolution is something which changes fundamentally the structure—political and economic—of the society, so that with this background we have to take into consideration this first attempt of ours to make a plan.

Naturally, it is not perfect. I do not claim perfection. Perfection is a big word. I think that it is quite easy to pick holes in it. It is quite easy to

demonstrate that it is wrong somewhere or not right elsewhere, or that much could have been done, or something which could have been said has not been said, or that something which need not have been said has been said, and so on. All this can be done, and no doubt will be done. I have no doubt that after it has been done, the Planning Commission itself may like to profit by what has been said. But look at it in this broader context and not from the point of view of mere criticism. This is the first attempt in India to bring this whole picture of India—agricultural, industrial, social, economic etc. etc.,—into one framework of thinking. That is a very important thing, and I say that even if that thinking is wrong partly here and there—even then, it is a tremendous thing attempted and done. It has made not only those who have participated in it, not only Members of this House who have to deal with these big matters, but to some extent the whole country “planning-conscious”. It has made them think of this country as a whole, because I do think that one of the biggest things in this country at present is for us to make the country which is politically united and which is in many other ways united but which is not yet mentally and emotionally united, to that extent to be united in that respect also. We often go off at tangents, whether they are provincial tangents, whether they are communal or religious tangents, whether they are caste tangents, or whether they are all kinds of other things. We do not have that emotional awareness of the unity of the country which we should have. It is planning and viewing these problems as a whole that will help greatly in producing that emotional awareness of our problems as a whole apart from our separate problems in our villages or districts or even provinces. Therefore, the mere act of this planning, the mere act of having approached this question in this way and produce a report of this type is something for which we might, I think, congratulate ourselves.

Remember this. When we talked about planning two or three years ago, powerful voices were raised against it. The idea of planning, to some people, was just helping industry, by let us say, tariffs or giving them money, etc. and leaving it to them to do what they like. They did not like being controlled in any way. While the essence of planning is this broad picture of some kind of control of the whole economy of the country, this Plan talks about a public sector and a private sector. But the House must remember and everybody should remember that the private sector is going to be a controlled sector also, not of course to the same extent, but it will have to be a controlled sector in many ways and an increasingly controlled sector as time goes on. It may be controlled, of course, in regard to the dividends and the profits that it makes, but it will have to be something more than that, because we have to control the strategic points of the economy of the country and this Report—rightly I think—is cautious about many matters. But if you read it carefully, you will find that it has stated what can be done and what should be done without

definitely saying "Do it, because it has left the door open." Take important subjects like banking and insurance. They are highly important in the economy of a country. Strategically, they must be controlled in any economy. Well, how to do it, and what to do etc. have not been dealt with, because the Planning Commission did not think itself justified in laying down the details. But if you read the earlier Chapters of this Report, the Planning Commission has said that these are important and these have to be kept in view and steps will have to be taken to bring them in some form or other under control so as to fit them in more and more within the purview and sphere of a controlled economy.

So, this Plan suggests something definite to be done and also suggests many other things which can be done and should be done, but it does not go into details as to how it should be done or when it should be done. That, of course, can be done during the period of the Plan, and not afterwards, because after all the method of planning or the method of working out a plan is ultimately the method of trial and error. The best of us can only see dimly into the future, if at all. We can proceed by analogy. We can proceed by past experience. But ultimately, you have to deal not with steel and cement and things that you can measure, but you have to deal with 360 million individual human beings in this country, each different from the other. All the statisticians in the world and all the economists in the world cannot say what a multitude of individuals may or may not feel, or may or may not do. You have to proceed by the method of trial and error. I have no doubt that when the time comes for a second Five Year Plan, we would be in a far better position, and on far firmer ground, because we would have gone through this process of thinking and what will follow from it. Again, the process of working and trying to build according to this Plan would have been there, and we would have learnt much by it. The second Plan therefore will be a much more effective and far-reaching Plan, based on greater knowledge, and derived not from theory but from practice.

Now, remember this also, that we call this a Five Year Plan, but two years out of the five are over. Therefore, it really is a Plan for the next three years or so. We started with this Plan under certain limitations because we had to accept what was done. We did start from scratch. We had to accept them. Our resources were tied up with things that were done; we had to accept that naturally, and with the balance of resources left we had to deal with the next period.

So that this Five Year Plan is partly in action and it would be over in the next three years or so. Also remember that this Plan is essentially—if I may say so—a preparatory Plan for greater and more rapid progress in future. As I said, the second Five Year Plan, if we build our foundations well, could proceed at a much faster pace, or rate of progress than we have indicated here. We

have indicated the various paces. People calculate them in their own way. Some people say it is too slow a rate. Others ask: "Can you do it? It is too fast." It is based on intelligent anticipations and calculations. If we can better it, certainly we will try to better it.

We talk about industrialization. You will see in the earlier chapters certain figures are given as to how much will go to industry, how much to agriculture,³ how much to social service, transport and the rest. Industry does not seem to come very well off in that picture. Agriculture takes a great deal. As far as I remember irrigation takes a very big sum.⁴ We attach the greatest importance to industry, but we attach, if I may say so, greater importance in the present context to agriculture and food, and other matters pertaining to agriculture, because if we do not have our agricultural foundation strong then the industry we seek to build will not be on a strong basis. Apart from that fact, in the country as it is situated today, if our food front cracks up everything cracks. So, we have to keep a strong food front; we dare not weaken it. If our agriculture, as we hope, becomes strongly entrenched and is in a good way then it becomes relatively easy for us to go faster on the industrial front, while if we try to go faster in regard to our industry now and leave agriculture in a weak condition, we make industry weaker still. Therefore, first attention has been given to agriculture and food and I think it is quite essential in a country like India at the present moment.

But even so, certain basic industries, key industries, have been thought of and brought in. The basic thing even for the development of industry is power—electric power. You cannot develop industry, of anything, unless you have adequate power. You can judge the progress made by any country by how much electric power it has. That is a good test of the growing of any country. Now, we will get electric power by these various hydro-electric schemes, river vally schemes, multi-purpose schemes and the like.

I do not propose to go through these two big volumes in my preliminary remarks. I have no doubt that honourable Members would be studying them with great care and make their suggestions in the course of the debate. If I may suggest with all respect, the chapters that might be studied more than the others and might be dealt within the debate more than the others are the earlier chapters which lay down the general approach, the principles, the objectives and the structure of the plan—the first four chapters and if you like a few others. The rest, though very important, is after all working out the details of that and no parliament can sit down to work out details or priorities.

3. While Rs. 173.04 crores were allocated to industry, Rs. 360.43 crores were allocated to agriculture and community development.
4. Rs. 561.41 crores were allocated for development of irrigation and power projects.

Parliament must lay down the objectives, the general structure, that we should follow.

So, I submit, Sir, that in approaching this question we should bear these general principles and objectives in mind. We should determine the methods. If I may say so, or if you like, we have already determined the methods and we are working along these methods that is the general democratic approach to this problem. Although this is so, I wish to make it perfectly clear what our conception of democracy is. It is not limited to political democracy. We do not think that democracy means, as is sometimes said in some other countries, what is called *laissez faire* doctrine in economics. That doctrine may remain in some people's minds still. But, as a matter of fact, it is almost as dead as the nineteenth century which produced it—dead even in the countries where people talk about it most. It is totally unsuited to the conditions in the world today. In any event so far as we in India are concerned, we reject it completely. We are not going to have anything to do with it.

That does not mean, of course, that the State is taking charge of everything. The State is not, because we have a public sector and a private sector. But as I said, the private sector itself which we wish to encourage must fit in with controlled economy. In that sense its freedom of enterprise will be somewhat limited. Now, in this context, I would ask this House to consider this Plan.

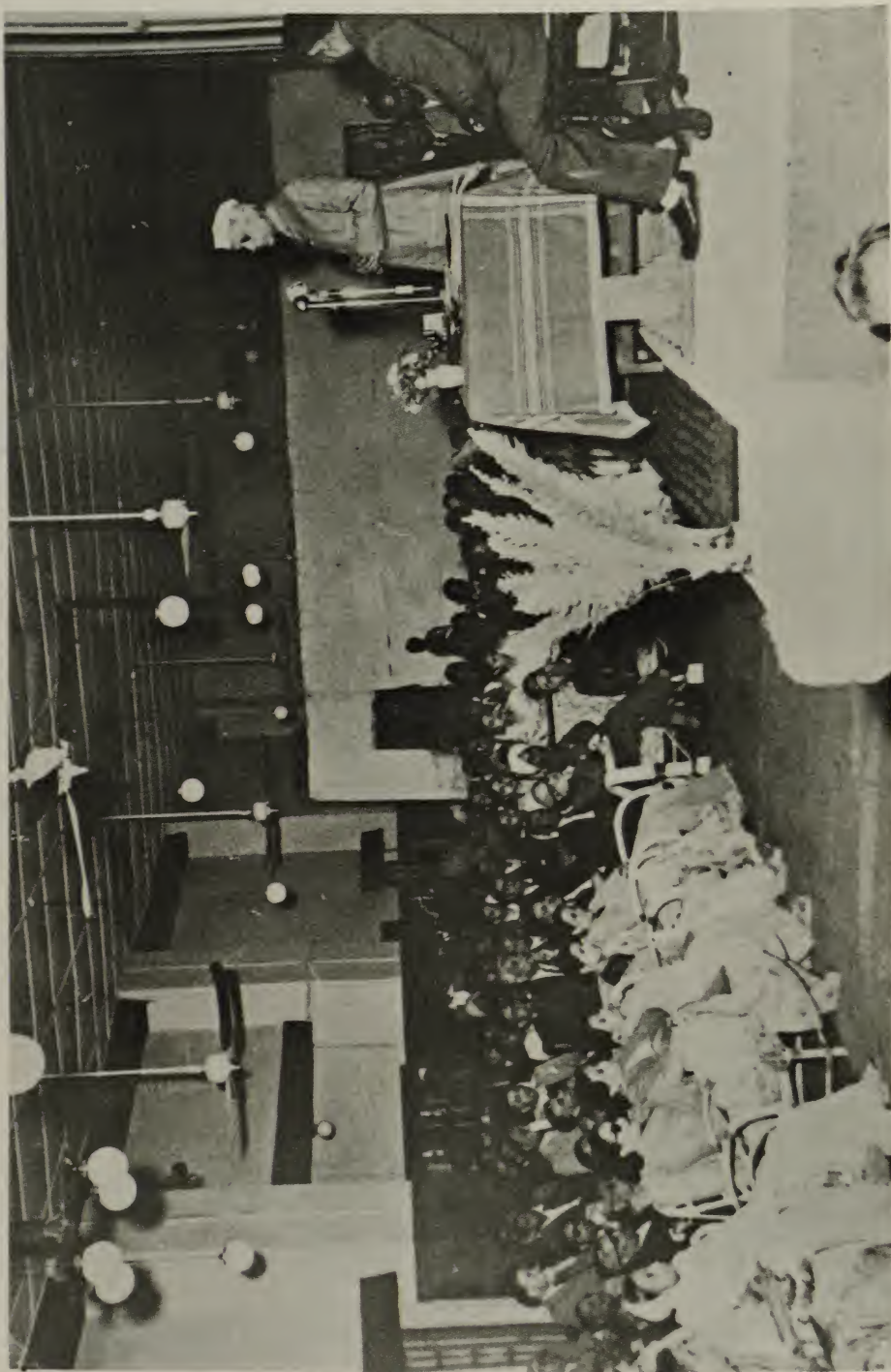
This Plan—I am not going into figures—provides for two thousand and odd crores of rupees—about several hundreds crores more than provided for in the Draft Plan. There is a big gap between the estimate of our resources and the Rs. 2,000 crores. It is hoped that we may be able perhaps to find more resources. We may get some help from outside. We have got some already. Some honourable Members have occasionally expressed their fear⁵ that this help from outside may interfere with our freedom as to what we should do and should not do in this country. Well it is perfectly true that when in any matter one depends upon an outside authority, to that extent there is a risk. If we depend on outside authorities, let us say, to supply us with weapons of war for our army, well, to some extent, there is risk whatever it may be. If we depend for our economic advancement on other countries, well we are depending on them. And I am quite clear in my own mind that I would rather wish that our advance was slower than we become dependent on the aid of other countries.

Having said that, I really do not see why we should be afraid, provided we are strong enough ourselves, of taking this type of aid from other countries

5. During the debate on the Draft Plan in the Parliament on 15 and 16 October 1951, Bishwanath Das, Congress Member from Orissa, opposed the idea of accepting foreign aid saying "we have not to be under control of any of these big States, because we feel that world peace is a thing higher and nobler than what little benefit we get from any such State." Krishnanand Rai, Congress Member from Uttar Pradesh, did not like to place great reliance on foreign aid.



ADDRESSING THE FIRST MEETING OF THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL, NEW DELHI, 8 NOVEMBER 1952



SPEAKING AT THE SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS OF THE CENTRAL BOARD OF IRRIGATION AND POWER,
NEW DELHI, 17 NOVEMBER 1952

which obviously helps us to go more rapidly ahead. There are so many things which we could do with that aid which we have to postpone without that aid. On the one hand there is a slight risk, not a risk of being tied down, but if you like to put it, a slight moral risk, or whatever risk you like to call it. On the other hand, it is for us, for this Parliament, for this country, to be quite clear of what it wants to do and not allow ourselves to be pushed this way and that way. After all almost every country has gone ahead with the help in various ways from other countries in the past and I do not see any reason why we should prefer not to take aid, even though that aid does not influence our policy or our activities in the slightest.

Sir, it is late now and this subject is a very big one. But I intended my remarks to be more of a preamble to this voluminous Report and not to go into the details. I have no doubt that in the course of this debate many points will arise which will require dealing with, and my colleagues or other Members of this House or myself may deal with them at a later stage.

But I would like to impress upon the House somewhat the feeling of dealing with this great theme of remaking this country of ours, that we are engaged in a tremendous task which requires not only all our united effort, but united effort with enthusiasm and a crusader's spirit attached to it. I have no doubt that if this House accepts this report in that spirit, and when all of us go to our respective constituencies and other parts of the country, we go with this message from this House and from this Parliament, this Five Year Plan, and try to work it out. I have no doubt that this Plan from being something on paper, you will see it gradually rising and taking effect in the country. And as you do this I think it may well be possible for us to overreach this Plan and go further ahead than even the Plan Commissioners have laid.⁶... So far as we are concerned we should like—I understand that the latest date up to which this Parliament session is to be on is the 20th; it will be difficult to go beyond that—we should like two clear days, 19th and 20th, to finish up some important legislation pending. Apart from that I am in your hands and the hands of the House. You have already been good enough to extend the hours of sitting. If necessary, and if the House agrees, we may drop the Question Hour to discuss this problem for a day or two.⁷... Yes, as a matter of fact what you, Sir, said was, I believe, after a couple of days you will decide. So far as we are concerned we are prepared to go on till the 18th, provided it does not go beyond the 18th.

6. At this point, the Deputy Speaker announced the moving of the Resolution which said: "This House records its general approval of the principles, objectives and programme of development, contained in the Five Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission."
7. S.P. Mookerjee asked the Prime Minister to agree to continuation of the debate till the 18th evening.

6. To N.G. Ranga¹

New Delhi
December 22, 1952

My dear Prof. Ranga,²

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd December.

I am glad you are at one with me in thinking that in the circumstances of today, the progressive forces should co-operate together. There are far too many disruptive and disintegrating tendencies in the country. We have seen them at work in Andhra, as you know well.

As regards the wider subject that you have mentioned in your letter, I can hardly discuss this problem in all its aspects. I have no doubt whatever that the Congress has stood for the vast masses of this country, which means primarily the peasantry. It may be that the steps taken from time to time in various States might not have been as rapid or as advanced as many of us might have liked them to be. In fact, even now there are some States which are rather backward in this respect. They might have some local reasons for that or not. This is essentially a matter for the States, whether the Government or the State Congress, within of course the ambit of the larger national policy.

I am sorry that you voted against the Five Year Plan.³ No subject considered by the Planning Commission took so much thought and time as land policy. Inevitably, they could not be precise because conditions differed so much in different States. Nevertheless, the policy they have laid down is wide enough and broad enough for subsequent improvement.

You refer to centralization. I should have thought that the Planning Commission's stress is not on centralization, though in the circumstances of today they had necessarily to lay some stress on centralization. Indeed, without their centralization, there would be disruption in many ways all over the country.

It is also true that stress has been laid in the Plan on greater production. Without greater production not only does the Plan fail but our economy fails and any system of present diffusion of ownership also fails. But the object is diffusion of ownership, while at the same time increase in production.

I can hardly ask Jawaharlalji, the Chairman of the Planning Commission, to sit down and change the Plan now, a few days after we have passed it. But, as I have said, the Plan itself has scope for advance in any direction that appears feasible.

1. JN Collection. This letter was drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru.

2. Member of Parliament at this time.

3. On 18 December 1952, the Council of States recorded its general approval of the Five Year Plan with 87 Members voting in favour of it and 19 Members, including Ranga, voting against.

The virtue of the Plan, as I conceive, is that something practical can be done. It would be easy to lay down a better theoretical proposition, but this might not be practical for the moment.

I shall be glad to meet you of course to have further discussions and I am sure that Jawaharlalji will also gladly meet you.

Yours sincerely,
(Balvantray G. Mehta)

7. Plan to Build New India¹

Friends and Comrades,

Within a few hours, this year will come to an end and we shall all step into the New Year. I should like to wish all of you who listen to me tonight, as well as others, happiness, for the New Year, and work for the building up of our country. Happiness and work are really together for there can be no true happiness without a feeling of doing something worthwhile. What can be more worthwhile for any of us in this great land of India, than to participate in the building up a new, ancient and ever-young country.

Three days ago, I was in the southern-most State of India, Travancore-Cochin, amidst some of the loveliest scenery that India possesses. In this State live a gifted people with educational standards higher than in any other part of the country. It is a progressive State, and I was happy to perform two important functions there. One was to start the construction of a new railway link joining the north and the south of the State and the other was to inaugurate a factory for processing monazite. I spent two unusual days in seclusion in a game sanctuary where wild animals live, protected from civilized man.

From that southern tip of India my mind pictured this great country spread out before me right up to the Himalayas in the north, and thought of its long and chequered story. What a wonderful inheritance is ours and how shall we maintain it, how shall we serve our country, which has given so much to us, and make her great and strong in spirit, and in the material things of the world, and make her people happy and prosperous.

1. Broadcast to the Nation on New Year's eve, 31 December 1952, AIR tapes. NMML.

We look at the world around us, and there is much to give us hope, but there is also a great deal to fill us with dismay for there is fear, hatred, violence and talk of war, just when it would seem that the prize that the world has so long sought was almost within its grasp. We look at our own country and find both good and evil, powerful forces at work to build her, and also disruptive forces, which would disrupt, and disintegrate her. We cannot do much, to affect the destiny of this world as a whole, but surely we can make a brave attempt to mould the destiny of our 360 million people. What then are we to do? What should we aim at? And by what road we should travel? It is of the first importance, that we should not lose ourselves in the passion and the prejudice of the moment. If we are to aim high, we must keep to our moorings and adhere to the high principles which have always formed the background of Indian thought, from the days of the Buddha, to our own day when Gandhiji showed us the path to right action.

Greatness comes from vision, from the spirit of tolerance, compassion, and an even temper, which is not ruffled by ill fortune or good fortune. Not through hatred and violence or internal discord can we make real progress. As in the world today, so also in our own country, the philosophy of force, can no longer pay dividends, and our progress must be based on peaceful co-operation, and tolerance of each other. In India, the first essential is the maintenance of the unity of the country, not merely a political unity, but a unity of mind and heart, which discards the narrow urges, which separate and disunite, and which breaks down the barriers, which are raised in the name of religion or between State and State, or in any other form. Our economy and social structure have outlived their day and it has become a matter of urgent necessity, that we should refashion them, so that they might promote the happiness of all our people both in the material things of the world, and in the domain of culture and the spirit.

We have to aim deliberately at a social philosophy, which seeks a fundamental transformation of the structure, a society which is not dominated by the urge of private profit, and individual greed, and where there is a distribution of political and economic power. We must aim at a classless society, based on co-operative effort, where there is opportunity for all. To realize this, we have to pursue peaceful methods in a democratic way....

I want to tell you about the Five Year Plan which after two and a half year's labour, and much consultation, our Planning Commission has produced. Parliament has put its seal on it and now the time has come to implement it with all our strength all over India. That Plan endeavours to embody the social philosophy to which, I have made reference. Democratic planning means the utilization of all our available resources, and in particular, the maximum quantity of labour, which is willingly given and rightly directed for the good of the community and the individual. I cannot tell you much about this Plan, within

a few minutes and I should like you to study it or at least the summaries that have been available, because it affects each one of you, and in a democratic society every one should understand and help in fulfilling the task ahead.

The Plan embraces the entire country, and deals also separately with each part of it, the States, as well as the smaller local areas. It offers also opportunities for voluntary organizations and voluntary workers to fulfil a vital and increasing role in national development. It has a public sector and a private sector, though even the latter has necessarily to have a measure of control so as to fit into the Plan. It endeavours to integrate various activities i.e., agriculture, industry and social services. Agriculture is bound to continue to be our principal activity. Therefore, the greatest stress is laid upon this, as it is only on the basis of prosperous agriculture that we can make industrial progress. But agriculture has to be fitted in to the larger economy of the nation.

The growth of industry, both big and small, is essential for any modern nation, indeed, without industrial development, there can be no higher standards for our people, no strength in the nation and perhaps not even our freedom can be preserved. For the progress of agriculture, as indeed, for any kind of national progress, a proper land policy is basic. We have gone some way towards this, by putting an end, in many States to the *Zamindari* and *Jagirdari* systems. We must complete this task, and eliminate all intermediaries in land, and put a ceiling on the holding of land.

We hope that the next step will be co-operative farming, which will take advantage of the latest techniques in agriculture. Greater production is essential, both through agriculture and industry, if we are to fight poverty and raise standards, as we must. We want to develop therefore, as far as possible, self-sufficiency in our country, and balanced economy in various parts of it. We want to work more particularly for the expansion of the home market, so that standards may go up.

In this development of self-sufficiency, and in providing work and employment, village and cottage industries have a supreme importance. I shall mention a few of the targets that we have laid down, first and foremost, there is food. We must become self-sufficient in food so as not to have to go to other countries, for our most essential requirement. The Plan raises food production, by nearly eight million tons. It is intended to provide new irrigation, through major works, to more than eight million acres, and through minor works to eleven million acres. Further, it is proposed to reclaim and develop, more than seven million acres of land. You know about our great river valley schemes which, in addition to irrigation, will supply over a million kilowatts of power for industry. Power is the essential foundation of all development today. We have attached great importance to minor works of irrigation as they yield quicker and more widespread results all over the country. Cotton

production will be raised by over twelve lakh bales, and jute by twenty lakh bales. It is proposed to increase handloom production from 800 to 1700 million yards. In steel and cement, there will be substantial increase in production. At Sindri, we have already a great fertilizer factory, and at Chittaranjan, a locomotive factory. We are setting up a new steel plant, a machine tool factory, and a plant for the manufacture of heavy electrical equipment. Air transport is being nationalized and modern ship-building industry developed.

You know, about the many community centres, that have been started, all over the country. We attach great importance to these, for here an attempt is made to train our men and women in rural areas, in co-operative effort, for the good of the community. Here, even more than elsewhere, there is room for voluntary effort.

We have high ideals, great objectives, and compared to them, the Five Year Plan appears to be a modest beginning. But, let us remember, that it is the first great effort of this kind, and that it is based not on our wishes, but on the realities of today. It has to be related to our present resources or else, it will be unreal. It is meant to be the foundation of bigger and better planning and progress in the future. Let us lay these foundations well, and that future will inevitably follow.

The Plan is not based on any dogmatic or doctrinaire approach to our problems, nor is it something rigid and inflexible. There is scope in it for advance and variation along any lines and at any time where such are considered necessary, and as we learn from experience, we shall improve.

It is a dynamic Plan for a dynamic nation determined to go ahead and stand on its own feet and to bring about a new social order free from exploitation and poverty, unemployment and social injustice. It is a step towards the establishment of a society, which gives security and employment to the individual, and scope and encouragement for creative activity and adventure. Properly appreciated and acted upon it will be a great liberating force for the energies of the nation. The Plan is a big one, embracing innumerable activities all over the country, but bigger than this is the vision which draws us forward, a vision inspired by courage and hope, and a reasoned optimism. Let us have faith in our country and ourselves. The Plan is essentially a programme of work. Let us work therefore, and abandon for a while empty and destructive criticism. I invite all of you to become partners in this great enterprise of building a new India, May the New Year take us along the road to achievement.

Jai Hind.

(ii) FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
October 29, 1952

My dear Rajaji,²

Separately I am sending a letter to you which has been addressed to the Chief Ministers about the food situation.³ I am rather alarmed at the loose talks of decontrol all over the place.⁴ This is of course a popular cry, but it may land us in great difficulties if we are not very careful.

I have been looking at the price indices of Madras State and also the stock position. Prices appear to have risen about 25 per cent during the last three or four months. The stock position appears to be not too good and the off-take has been a rising one. The open market prices are markedly higher than the prices we have fixed. All these are rather disturbing factors.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Madras at this time.
3. See *post*, pp. 72-73.
4. There was lack of unanimity in the Congress Party over the question of food control. In spite of authoritative resolutions to the contrary, some Congressmen advocated decontrol forgetting the disastrous results of the 1948 experiment.

2. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai¹

New Delhi
October 29, 1952

My dear Rafi,²

As you know, I was away in the North-East Frontier regions for about a week. I was rather cut off from newspapers and other papers. On my return I tried to catch up to the past news. I was much surprised to read a great many reports about the conferences you were having in Bombay regarding food decontrol.³ I do not know exactly what arrangements you discussed or what your precise policy is going to be. But the general effect produced on me, and indeed on most others I have met, is that we are rapidly giving up all kinds of control of foodgrains. I have received letters from outside Delhi expressing alarm at this.

It is quite clear that there can be no planning of any kind unless there is control over the economy of the country, in so far as this can be exercised. The foundation of that economy in India rests on food. If that gives way, the whole structure gives way. Therefore, it is a question of the highest importance that the food front should remain firm and that prices should not go up. Also that we should not be forced by circumstances to import additional food from outside.

Control or decontrol by themselves have no meaning. They have to be considered in terms of a specific situation and the objective aimed at. We are, therefore, to consider our question with the greatest care in relation to other factors. The whole idea of planning is that each matter should be considered in this relation. Apart from the steps we might or might not take, there is such a thing as creating a psychology which makes controls more difficult. Wherever circumstances permit and we can with safety take that course, we should certainly decontrol, but subject always to the overriding consideration of prices not going up and our imports not exceeding the minimum necessary.

1. File No. 31 (91)/50-PMS.
2. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture at this time.
3. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai held talks with the Food Ministers of the States in Bombay in the last week of October 1952 to evolve a policy of food decontrol. The policy envisaged that while ban on inter-State movement of foodgrains would be lifted, certain food zones would be created by linking up a deficit State with a surplus State. However, rationing was to continue in big industrial cities like Bombay, Calcutta and in other industrial cities where the States might like. Kidwai was of the opinion that self-sufficiency was within sight and there was only a small margin between free and procurement prices.

It is difficult enough to cultivate and maintain in our rather indisciplined people any kind of disciplined behaviour such as control requires. To create a psychology against controls is, therefore, to make the task even more difficult. Even when we decontrol in some degree, we have to lay stress on certain controls to maintain that psychology. That is why when we decided to introduce a large measure of decontrol in Madras, we laid specific stress that we were not giving up the system of control and indeed will keep all the machinery going and would watch results.⁴

I am alarmed that just when our Five Year Plan is final, we should do something which might upset it completely. It is always difficult to catch up to a wrong step, and it is better to take a right step slowly and with assurance when there is no risk.

As I have said above, I do not know exactly what you have been discussing. But many statements have been reported in the press which have given the widespread impression that nearly all controls are going. All our economists are completely upset⁵ and there are many others who enquire from us whether we are going to plan at all.

I am leaving tomorrow for Nagpur and Wardha and shall return on 2nd November afternoon.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. When the Madras Government relaxed food control in June 1952, it substituted statutory rationing by fair price shops, modified the procurement system, allowed greater movement of foodgrains and relaxed austerity measures. Despite such relaxation, the Government's basic policy of maintaining strategic controls was not changed. Essential safeguards were maintained to meet any threat of hoarding or profiteering.
5. Opposition to policy of decontrol came from members of the Advisory Board of the Planning Commission. They argued that a planned economy without controls was illogical and decontrol would not help in achieving the targets of the Plan. Controls were necessary for the fulfilment of the targets of production and pricing policy. Fear was expressed about repetition of the blunder of decontrol in 1948 when that policy caused suffering to the poorer sections.

3. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
29 October, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

As you perhaps know, I have been visiting the North Eastern Frontier Agency and other border areas. I was away for about a week. On return to Delhi, I found that some kind of controversy was going on about control or decontrol of food.² The Food Minister had been having conferences in Bombay with State Ministers in this connection³ and has discussed possible lines of action.

Our Food Minister will be coming back to Delhi soon and we shall confer together. As however, there appears to be a good deal of confusion about this issue, I should like to make certain points clear so as to avoid any misunderstanding. Specific issues will, of course, be considered by us later.

For various reasons of which you are fully aware, we adopted a policy of control of certain important foodgrains. We had to import a very large quantity of them from outside. Some months back the position was easier and a measure of decontrol was introduced in Madras State.⁴ Later, some restrictions on internal movement within States were also removed. There has thus been a certain trend towards partial decontrol. But at all stages we have made it clear that we do not propose to put an end to controls as such because we could not possibly take that risk. If it is possible, we may take some other specific measures to remove restrictions here and there.

The basic policy obviously must be judged and decided from the point of view of not only present-day conditions but future possibilities and emergencies. It is fortunate that, on the whole, we expect to have a fairly good harvest this year. Because of very large imports early this year, we also accumulated some foodgrains. These factors relieve the tension and make the situation somewhat better, which led us to take the measures referred to above. But some temporary improvement in the food situation or even a good harvest gives us no assurance of future developments and we cannot take any risks about that future. In laying down any policy, we have thus to have a long-term view and provide for all possible contingencies.

1. File No. 25 (6)/1952, PMS. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 3, (New Delhi, 1987), pp. 135-37.
2. On 21 October 1952, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai said that the Government would shortly announce a new food policy based on complete decontrol of foodgrains. The statement was criticized by the members of the Advisory Board to the Planning Commission on the same day.
3. See *ante*, p. 70.
4. See *ante*, p. 71.

Apart from this, we are now engaged in finalizing our Five Year Plan. Any Plan involves an attempt to control the economy of the country. The basic factor of this economy is food. This means that we must keep food prices down and try to lower them from their present level. On no account must they be allowed to go up, as that would upset everything we are aiming at. Secondly, we must always have large stocks in hand to meet any emergency or tendency to a rise in prices. If we are to keep large stocks, we have to procure foodgrains in sufficient quantities. Some kind of procurement has thus to continue. We have also to reduce progressively imports of foodgrains, as they are a heavy drain on our resources. What measure of controlled rationing we should continue in selected places, is a matter which has to be considered on the merits, keeping in view always the factors mentioned above.

Therefore, in any event certain basic controls will have to continue and it would be wrong to think that we are putting an end to controls. That is the essence of a planned economy. It is within these limits that we consider any aspect of the food problem and the question of partial decontrol.

I am venturing to write to you because, reading the newspapers, I have got the impression that people think that we are likely to put an end very largely to these controls. There appears to be much confused thinking on the subject and the basic facts are perhaps forgotten. One of the basic facts is that we cannot rely upon one good season and expect other like ones to follow.

It is well to keep in mind what has happened in Pakistan. After a number of bumper years, when there was a large surplus of food, a bad year followed and suddenly the whole food economy of Pakistan began to crumble. Pakistan had had a lot of trouble over food this year, even though the previous years were so good. We should take a lesson from this and not think in short-term period. Fortunately, there have been definite improvements in our food situation. Although there are also some undesirable trends in regard to prices, we should take advantage of the present improvement to provide for the future.

We shall be considering this matter soon in our Cabinet, as well as in the Planning Commission. I shall be grateful to have your views on this subject, keeping in mind the principles stated above. I should also like to know what the price trends have been in your State during the last few months—say six months. What is your stock position and how does it compare with the stock position six months ago as well as a year ago? Any other relevant information would be helpful to us and I shall be grateful if you will kindly have it sent.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Policy of Decontrol¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ...Well, what exactly do you want me to say about decontrol? We are going to consider when the matter comes up before the Cabinet. But the question of decontrol can be divided up into certain principles and the application of those principles in changing circumstances. So far as the latter is concerned, each matter has to be considered separately, having relation to the various facts—prices, stocks in hand, the trend of prices and all that. The principles are—not merely with regard to food—but the general principles are that we propose to have a national plan, which involves certain control of the national economy. An uncontrolled economy cannot lead to a plan; every plan would be upset by some development. Therefore, there has to be a basic control, broadly speaking, the economy of the country—not every detail. Now, in the economy of the country, food obviously plays most important part. Therefore, we cannot permit, as far as we can help, anything happening on the food front, which will upset our Plan—such as rise in prices or any possible emergency arising for which we are not wholly prepared. That is to say, we should have adequate stocks in hand, both to control prices and to meet emergencies. Now, adequate stocks can be had either by purchase from abroad—imports or procurement in the country. We naturally wish to reduce our food imports from abroad, as much as possible. We cannot do away with them just now, because there is need for them. But we propose to import progressively less and less. This year we imported, I believe, four million tons. I cannot say what we will import next year, but I hope it will not exceed 2½ million tons and it may be less. Therefore, we cannot rely on imports merely for our stocks, although imports will come in—though in a lesser degree. We have to rely on greater production and procurement. Food procurement will, therefore, in some form or other have to continue, although it might be carried to suit the convenience of different States or their circumstances. Now, the question of decontrol has to be considered in that basic context, of keeping a general control on the food front and checking any rise of prices. Keeping in view, one considers any specific proposal relating to a sector of the food front separately. Apart from food, keeping in view the necessity for planning, it must always be remembered that a planned economy means certain controls.

...Question: Is it the point that controls in the present form have outlived their utility?

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 2 November 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 172-174, 319-322, 376-377, 410-413, 471-472, 491-494, 523-526.

JN: I have just told you, so long as we have planned economy, controls are essential. In what terms, it is a different matter. It depends on circumstances. Obviously you will see that in the last six months the form of controls has changed. Internal restrictions have been removed within States and zonal arrangements have been made, but the basic idea of controls has remained. Some minor internal changes may be made.

Q: What are your reports, whether prices are going up or coming down where decontrol has been affected?

JN: I cannot give you the exact figures, but my own impression is that they have gone up somewhat in some places, and in other places, they have kept steady, and in others still, they have gone down.

Q: In Madras?²

JN: As far as I remember, somewhat gone down.

Q: How are you checking the prices shooting up?

JN: The easiest way is to have fair price shops. In Madras, you will remember, owing to scarcity conditions in Rayalaseema, a very large number of people were being fed by Government. The number in those four districts³ was half a million a day—a larger number. That was a big charge on the stocks.

Q: Now that imports are being reduced by two million tons, what is the yield we expect from our internal production?

JN: I cannot give you the figures, but we have had a heavy yield this year, and we expect that to be increased still further next year, and also better procurement. You will remember that, initially, early this year, the demand made upon us by various States was for over seven million tons of foodgrains. When it was announced that no subsidy will be given, that was reduced tremendously and more foodgrains came out in the market. There are a number of factors to be considered about that.

2. At this time the price of rice in the open market in the Madras State registered a decrease due to bumper rice crop in the delta region of Andhra and the unrestricted flow of rice facilitated by the free market zones constituted as a result of decontrol.
3. In the first week of October 1952, Nehru visited the drought-affected districts—Anantapur, Cuddapah, Chittoor and Kurnool of Rayalaseema and inspected the gruel distributing centres.

Q: Is it true that the off take from the ration shops has been substantially low because of the lack of purchasing power of the people? Most people are not able to draw their food ration in the week.

JN: It is true that there has been in various places, say Madras and elsewhere, this lack of purchasing power. That is why we had to come in, open gruel centres and feed half a million children and others. That is true but I think the offtake has gone up considerably in Madras.

Q: What steps are you taking to increase the purchasing power of the people?

JN: The only obvious step is to provide public works whereby people earn wages, etc.

Q: Ever since you started adopting decontrol, the people have to pay more or less?

JN: That would vary in various parts of India. But many people have assured me that they have had to pay less and, perhaps, some others have had to pay more. Then again there is a black market.

Q: The cost of living index⁴ has been going up?

JN: Not much but I should imagine if you compared with almost any country you will find that we have kept steady. Sometimes it had gone down somewhat.

Q: If you compare the national income per capita, then you will find the difference.

JN: I know.

4. With 1944 as the base year, the living annual index showed 144 per cent in 1951 and 141 per cent in 1952.

5. To Panjabrao Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
November 6, 1952

My dear Panjabrao,²

Your letter of the 4th November.³ I send you my good wishes for the conference which the Indian Council of Agricultural Research is calling at Lucknow.⁴ I think it is of the greatest importance that we should devise proper methods to disseminate agricultural information among our farmers and agriculturists. To have the information and not be able to use it or to spread it, is just waste of effort. Proper machinery should of course be devised. But more important even than machinery is the human element. I am afraid we have got into the habit of merely telling others what to do without doing it ourselves. That is wholly ineffective approach. A person who goes to the farmer must do field work himself and show that he is a better farmer. He should be prepared to do everything that he seeks to teach others and indeed should do it. Mere speeches and good advice to others is just no good at all. No person should consider himself superior for manual work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(19)/56-PMS.
2. Minister of Agriculture at this time.
3. Deshmukh informed Nehru about the agricultural conference to be held in Lucknow for setting up a "machinery throughout the country, providing a two-way channel of communication from the research institutions and experimental stations to the primary producers...."
4. It was held from 17 to 19 November 1952.

6. On Food Policy¹

Sir, I have hesitated to intervene in this debate because I wanted the honourable Members to have as much time as possible to discuss this most important matter. Later, my colleague, the Food Minister,² will reply to the debate fully.

1. Statement in Parliament, 18 November 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 786-96. Extracts.
2. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

Yesterday, my colleague, the Finance Minister, gave a very lucid analysis³ of the situation and made it clear what the basic policy of the Government was. He spoke not only on behalf of Government but also of the Planning Commission—not that the two are separate or are in opposition to each other—nevertheless, he spoke with authority on the part of both, of Government, and the Planning Commission, of which he has to bear a considerable burden. Yet I decided to speak, to say a few words, because in the recent past there has been some confusion in the public mind on this issue, and many things have been said which appear to me to have no justification whatever, that is in so far as the Government is concerned. And that was one reason why I welcomed this debate in this House. When I was asked earlier in this session if we would have a debate, probably the honourable Member who put me that question⁴ was under the impression that some big changes were under contemplation. In fact he asked me if big changes would be introduced and the debate will take place afterwards a kind of *post-mortem* or before. As a matter of fact, as the House will realize, no change in policy was intended or is suggested. Certain changes are certainly suggested, but they have nothing to do with the basic policy that Government has attempted to follow and intends to pursue in future. But this confusion was caused and some of our friends in the newspapers gave big headlines and imagined many things which did not exist.

Now, this question of food has been one of our most difficult questions during the last few years, and, the Food Ministry, whoever has been the incumbent of it, has had to face very difficult problems, as the House knows. The Government and the Cabinet have shared to some extent in the burdens that the Food Ministry carried, but the person who was ultimately responsible was the Food Minister in office. I am not denying that we have made mistakes in the course of the past few years. But we have also tried to profit by them. It has been an exceedingly difficult situation. On the whole we are somewhat better off; we are in a somewhat more favourable situation. Of course, the favourable situation is not so much merely due to Government policy. It is due to other factors also. But naturally to some extent I think we are justified in saying that it is to that extent a result of Government policy also. And I

3. C.D. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister, said that the decline in the whole-sale price index of food articles from 395.5 in September 1948 to 376.6 in 1952 showed that the grower of the cereals had not done badly and added that "in dealing with prices one would have to watch the figure of imports" as well. Another thing affecting the prices, according to Deshmukh was the subsidy and the government's ability to find money for it.
4. S.P. Mookerjee asking for a debate on food policy on 5 November 1952 had hoped that "in Parliament before there is a major change in the present food policy of Government.... Government will give us opportunity to discuss it sort of *post-mortem* examination."

should like, in this connection, to pay my tribute to my colleague, the Food Minister, who has approached this very difficult and complicated subject with an energy and a vitality and an awareness which, I think, have produced certain positive results all over the country.

Now, I do not propose to go into any detailed analysis of figures. The House has had perhaps a fair dose of them already. But what is necessary is for us not to miss the wood for the trees. In such a debate each honourable Member is naturally concerned more with the particular situation that exists in his State or his particular area. And it is right that he should lay stress upon it. Nevertheless, the most important thing is that we should keep this whole picture of India, this whole question of food and remember what our basic policy is.

The House can of course discuss the basic policy, but in so far as we are concerned, no occasion has arisen to discuss it or to change it. And so far as we can see, no occasion is likely to arise when we should change that basic policy. I would add that however much you may vary, however much you may bring relaxations or adjustments here and there, that our basic approach will remain unchanged even though the food position may be much better. I might even go so far as to look into the future somewhat and say that instead of our being deficit in food as we are at present, if we are clearly and demonstrably surplus in food, even then the basic approach would continue. Even if you change the method of approach, change many things, the basic approach will have to continue.

Why do I say so? Well, my colleague the Finance Minister referred, of course, to the relationship between the food question and planning.⁵ I put it in a more homely way: it is a kind of house-keeping for the nation. Now, we are not going to give up house-keeping for the nation and leave it to all kinds of odd forces even though we might be better off. Of course, if the method of house-keeping is wrong—we have to improve the method. But in regard to food supply and in regard to other necessities of life, if we have to plan we have to look after this house-keeping for the entire community. It is not enough merely to see that there is a fair distribution or that some people do not prosper at the cost of others and so on and so forth, but we have to see also—there is an aspect of it—that we get the best out of it for our development and planning programmes. For instance, if there is surplus food in the nation we would like all our surplus to be in a sense, used to the best advantage. We would, of course, like better feeding, etc. but if I may say so with all respect, even that with some limitations. Because, the pressure on us for development is so great, that we would like to use some of the surplus we get for export,

5. Deshmukh said that "it would be most convenient if we regarded this question as the concomitant of the question of implementing the Plan and the kingpin of all this Plan is some kind of implied control."

if necessary—there is no question of export, now; I am merely putting the argument before the House—so as to get more capacity for importing essential goods like machinery, or whatever it may be. Perhaps the House may remember that many years ago, about twenty years ago or slightly less, a phrase had become notorious in Germany; guns *versus* butter. In those days Nazi Germany preferred guns to butter; they would rather do away with butter, export it, get money for it so that they could get guns. Well, we are not interested in guns in the same way; nor are we going to give up butter for guns too.

We might have to give up butter for something more useful to us in our economic development. Even though we may possess the thing necessary, in order to get something more necessary, something quite vital for future growth, for the development of the country we should be prepared to tighten our belts here and there. Of course there are limitations to that. I do not suggest that we should do without adequate and healthy food, and we must provide for that, but I see no reason why we should allow circumstances to flourish, which involve wastage of food. Therefore all this requires careful house-keeping. Now it is a difficult matter, at least for some of us, even to plan our own house-keeping. To take charge of house-keeping of the entire nation becomes a very intricate and a very difficult matter indeed; the basic issue before the House therefore is whether we can entrust these vital and important matters to free enterprise and an absolutely free market. Today the whole conception of free enterprise and an absolutely free market is out of date. It goes out of control. In a country like India where our resources are limited, where we have to spread them out, we cannot allow this business of free enterprise and an absolute free market. That again does not mean that there is no free market left for anything. Inevitably we have to control strategic points so that we may control the basic economic situation in the country. That especially applies to food. Now I am not prepared to say that this particular control elsewhere should not be relaxed. It may be. It depends on circumstances. Let us discuss them. I am prepared to say we must keep the tightest grip on the situation in regard to food and as regards other matters we must always be in a position to control the situation. Now can we do that? It is a matter of circumstances and factual data. I may give the House a parallel from the army. The function of an army is to control an area or a State. He would, indeed, be a foolish general who would spread his army in every village of the area and try to control every independent individual. The situation cannot really be controlled as effectively if he has to control the strategic points. He had a firm grip on them. He can swoop down on any place when any untoward incident takes place. It remains to be considered what the strategic points in regard to food distribution are. But the point is that the strategic points have to be controlled and we cannot allow very important forces to be set in motion which will upset our basic policy of proper food distribution. So, I wish the House to

appreciate fully that now and later, even though there might be—and, as I hope, there will be—a continuing improvement in the food situation. I cannot base any policy on a hope. I must base a policy on the possibility or even the probability of untoward contingencies and we cannot obviously build up a firm policy hoping for a good harvest for all the time. Take Pakistan. Pakistan flourished like the green bay-tree in regard to food for three years or more. Then prices shot up because of the Korean War. Pakistan made a lot of money and very unfavourable comparisons were made between India and Pakistan in respect of the food situation. It is not for me to criticize their policy. I do not know the details but it is obvious that a single bad harvest has upset them completely this year. They have had a bad time in regard to food; and here is a country which is surplus in food suddenly faced with a heavy deficit and forced to have recourse to importing food from the far corners of the earth. Therefore, we cannot afford to base any policy merely on hopes. Let us realize that. We have to base a policy expecting that untoward occurrences will take place. I go a step further. Even if we are fairly satisfied that our hopes will be realized that circumstances are better and will be better, even then we cannot let go of the strategic points from every point of view. I would like to make it clear therefore that strategic controls over the food situation must remain.

The only other question to be considered is the application of those strategic controls or the periodical relaxation of non-strategic controls. Although this is a detail, it is a very important detail, and one has to see whether that does not affect the strategic control somewhere. Now, again, it does not necessarily follow that any absolutely uniform policy is essential or necessary for the whole country. Conditions vary in different States and one has to adapt oneself to those circumstances keeping in view that basic thing. The basic approach is the same but the implementation of that basic approach in any part of the country in any State, may vary due to so many conditions. That has to be remembered because I find that there is a slight confusion in the basic approach, of its particular implementation in a particular area or a State. That implementation will depend on so many factors which are peculiar to a State, more especially on the food situation.... I believe that an amendment has been made, to the effect accepting and approving of the general policy of controls, but accepting also adjustments or modifications that are in keeping with its basic policy. The amendment runs thus:

and having considered the same, this House approves of the policy of Government regarding general control of foodgrains and welcomes the desire of the Government to adjust the same to suit local or temporary conditions without prejudice to the basic objectives.

I think that amendment represents correctly the position of the Government....⁶ It is a question of wording. I did not draft this amendment. I should like it as it is. It is good enough. It may have been slightly differently worded. That is immaterial. The main thing is, I should like the House to lay stress that the basic fact of controlling the foodgrains remains. At the same time, recognizing that our approach is not merely a doctrinaire approach—which has no relation to changing facts and changing situations or one that merely harasses people without producing results—we adjust it from time to time, always keeping that basic thing in view.... I think that the point mentioned by my honourable friend, Pandit L.K. Maitra⁷ is very important, and must be borne in mind. We cannot just function by thinking in terms of ten or fifteen per cent of the population, forgetting the others. Well, among the others, there are a large number of those who are food producers. The real difficulty comes in the case of the others who are neither food producers nor city dwellers or dwellers in rationed areas. They get into these difficulties. Any policy that we frame must keep that in mind, i.e., to keep the price down for these people too. Obviously the point suggested by the honourable Member has to be borne in mind. How it is to be worked out, of course, is a different matter. In fact suppose there is internal free movement of millets in the States, that itself, so far as millets are concerned will probably equalize things. Though the other points must also be taken into account, my main point was that control must essentially remain because, after all, we are working for a steady and quick reduction of imports of foodstuffs from outside by growing more in our own country, and equitably distributing it.

Yesterday honourable Member Dr Lanka Sundaram reminded me of a statement⁸ I made—not one statement, but repeated statements, three years ago, to the effect that we must put an end to food imports by March or April 1952. I said that, I think in 1950 or 1949, I forget when—and when I made that statement, I did so with all honesty of purpose, and with every intention that we should try our best, but I regret, however, that my words were falsified, and I feel thoroughly ashamed that what was almost a pledge to the country has been broken. I am very much averse to making any definite statement or pledge now....⁹ But I do not see why I should not say that we intend making

6. S.S. More, Member of Peasants and Workers' Party of India, asked whether the latter part of the amendment was necessary, because, control, by implication would mean all that.
7. L.K. Maitra, a Congress Member, doubted whether lifting internal barriers and rushing buffer stocks would bring down the prices.
8. On 17 November 1952, speaking on the food situation, Lanka Sundaram, an Independent Member, reminded Nehru about his statement made a few years earlier that "there would not be any food imports after 1951."
9. N.V. Gadgil, a Congress Member, interrupted to ask if it was an occasion for experiment.

every effort to reduce food imports and, if possible, put an end to them within the period of the Plan, unless grave emergencies occur. That is our intention, and statistics, as they appear now, give us some hope that it is a feasible proposition. That is all I can say.... When you say "progressive decontrol", I would say "progressive adjustments", but always the full strategy, particularly strategic positions, must remain in control: otherwise, you can only progress round about the outskirts....

I think it was made clear¹⁰ by me—the Finance Minister also made it clear—that any attempt to have uniformity all over is very difficult, and I think it is undesirable to have the same method everywhere. The conditions are different and after all, we have to work through the State Governments, and it is largely for the State Governments to consider and decide. I would go a step further to say that procurement, there is no doubt, must continue. It is perhaps not quite self-contradictory to say that even if we have no control, we require procurement. We must keep enough stocks in our hands. We must supply stocks to the deficit areas in the country, though conditions have improved generally. But, for instance, the State of Madras has been peculiarly unfortunate year after year, and the situation there is bad at the present moment—bad in the sense there has been no rain again and they have to go through the next few months and we have to face that. Some of the Karnataka districts, and some other areas of India, are deficit areas. They have not been having rain or some thing has happened. We have to supply them. Where are you going to supply from? Obviously, either from purchases abroad or procurement locally. We want to restrict food imports from abroad. Anyhow, we cannot buy everything from abroad. Procurement has to continue and stocks have to be got, whatever methods of local control there might be. It is a matter of adjustment and suitability.

10. Referring to the Finance Minister's criticism of the procurement system both in north and south India, T.K. Chaudhuri asked for clarification whether there would be an over-all revision of the system.

7. Self-sufficiency in Food¹

I have been hearing about the trend which started first in our province two-three years ago, and has now spread all over India. I am talking about the competitions which are held every year. As you know, the most important question for any nation is food. We may talk about progress and what not but there can be no progress in the real sense until a nation achieves self-sufficiency in food. We do not produce enough food in the country for everyone and so we had to import wheat, rice and even *jowar*, which is really strange, from other countries. We have had to pay enormous sums of money to import foodgrains which meant that we could not utilize that money for other purposes. There is a great demand everywhere for schools, hospitals, factories, roads and canals for irrigation and innumerable other things. We have drawn up plans to improve the standards of living of the people by producing more wealth in the country. We want to provide education to every single child in India. All this requires money. India is not a rich country and on top of that if we have to spend enormous sums of money on importing foodgrains, the burden becomes very heavy. Moreover, there can be no progress either. If, for some reason, we are not able to get food from outside and if we do not have enough for everyone to eat in the country, we would be in trouble. Therefore it is very essential that we should produce enough food for everyone in India. In fact, we should have a surplus to help us tide over any unforeseen crisis.

Even now you will find that in certain parts of the country, including the eastern part of our province, monsoons have failed and the people are facing great hardships, particularly in Gorakhpur and Deoria districts. In the South, in Madras, the monsoons have been unsatisfactory for the last four years. Madras is a part of India. We cannot treat the people of Madras as foreigners because they do not eat wheat. So we have to send rice to them.

It has become extremely important that we should produce more food in the country in order to have a surplus. The more we produce, the better it will be for apart from solving the food problem it also constitutes the wealth of the country. We can then utilize this wealth to improve the conditions in rural areas. The farmers will also be benefited by increased production.

There are a great many tasks waiting to be done all over the country. We want that India should progress so as to alleviate the sufferings of its people. We want India to be counted once again among the prosperous nations of the world. Now these are not the things which can be done by magic or by counting

1. Speech at a peasants' gathering, Lucknow, 22 November 1952. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

beads. As you know, the only way to do so is by hard labour. If all of us are determined to work hard, we can achieve our goals in the long run.

However, once again I want to stress that the most urgent problem which needs to be tackled is the problem of self-sufficiency in food. If there is not enough food for everyone, nothing else will move no matter however hard we may try. Why should there be a food shortage in such a big country like ours. Though our farmers know their job and there are large areas of fertile land in the country why cannot we produce more? About eighty per cent of the Indian population depends on land. So we must go more deeply into the question of why we do not produce more. There are two ways of increasing food production. One is to bring more land under cultivation and, two, to increase the average yield per acre of land already under cultivation. It is possible that with the building of canals which supply more water for irrigation, we can bring more land under cultivation. You might have heard about our big river valley projects. There are huge rivers all over the country. But the waters flow into the ocean. We are trying to build dams to store that water so that even if the monsoons fail we can utilize this water for irrigation. We are, therefore, making arrangements not only in the district of Lucknow or in the State of Uttar Pradesh but also all over the country we try to build dams on the large rivers and dig canals which will supply water to the surrounding areas. In case the monsoons fail we would have plenty of water for irrigation to tide us over for a year or two. In this way, we can be sure of a good crop whether it rains or not. Another advantage in building these dams is that we can generate electricity by using the dam waters to propel the turbines. Electricity is extremely important for it not only provides light, but acts as a source of power to run industries. It can also be used in the rural areas to set up small village industries. It will not only make your work easier but also help to increase production. We are doing all this which requires enormous sums of money and a great deal of time.

You cannot build a dam in a hurry. It takes years, say, seven or eight years. In some places, the projects started five years ago are not yet complete. It is hoped that these will be completed within the next year or so. We will then take up other similar projects in several other places. The river valley projects are the major schemes in the country to provide water for irrigation by building dams on the large rivers and also to produce more electricity so that every single village and city may get it, for electricity is a great source of power and can be utilized for a number of things. We must also bring more land under cultivation and try to provide water for irrigation wherever the rains are insufficient. We must aim at increasing the average yield per acre of land. I think the yield is about nine or ten maunds per acre in Uttar Pradesh. Recently, one of the farmers won a prize for producing fifty-four maunds of wheat per acre which is six times the average yield. Similarly, if we adopt the

proper techniques, production of potatoes and other foodgrains can also be increased. Firstly, of course, a great deal depends on the quality of the land. Secondly, you need water for irrigation, and thirdly, good seeds.

Well, what can I tell you? You know much more than me about these things. But there is no doubt about it that if we go about it wisely, we can increase our production by three or four times as much as what we have now. How are the other countries able to produce so much? After all, to what do the affluent nations like the United States or England or other countries of the West owe their wealth? They are affluent because they produce vast quantities of goods from their land and industries. Wealth is not gold or silver which are merely currencies of trade. The real wealth of a nation consists of goods which are produced in the country in various ways, the more they produce the wealthier the country and its people become. So America is wealthy because their production is extremely high. It is not because they work four or five times as hard as we do but they are learning new techniques and methods of production by using small machines, good fertilizers and seeds, etc. These are the things which even we can do very easily. We do not have to copy anyone but take whatever suits us best for our own conditions.

Our farmers are very good. The only problem is that they continue to use outdated methods and are content with whatever little they produce. But it is possible to produce twice or thrice as much as they do now. Just imagine, one farmer has managed to produce fifty-four maunds of wheat. I agree that his soil was extremely good and he looked after that land very well by using good fertilizers and plenty of water for irrigation. It may not be possible to have all these inputs together. But even if we cannot produce fifty-four maunds, can't we at least raise the average yield from ten to fifteen maunds? if we do that in Uttar Pradesh in the cultivation of wheat and other foodgrains the picture will change immediately. All the difficulties of our farmers all over Uttar Pradesh would be alleviated. Not only their income would increase, but the whole country would also be benefited by it because the goods produced in the country would add to its national wealth.

At present the most urgent question before us is to get rid of the poverty in the country. Once the country begins to progress then that problem will be solved. The food problem will be solved too. The surplus wealth can be utilized for other tasks of development, namely, for importing machines, etc. Therefore, it is extremely important to increase production in the country by every available means. The most urgent requirement is the increase in food production. So I am happy about the progress that is being made in Uttar Pradesh though I would like the pace to be even faster. We have taken up this drive for intensive cultivation of foodgrains for the last six years and though initially there were only three farmers, now, more than seventy thousand of them are taking part. But the population of Uttar Pradesh is six crores and seventy thousand is a

very small number. More farmers should participate in the drive. It is not a question of merely giving prizes to a few but to all the farmers who are growing more food so that that will benefit them as well as our country.

I congratulate those of you who have received prizes and certificates. You must have put in a great deal of effort. There is no alternative to hard work. But please remember that it does not stop with you. You must teach your neighbours and other villages whatever you have learnt. I would like to give certificates to villages instead of individuals for producing the most. Or, it would be even better if co-operatives are formed in every village to enable everyone to work together in mutual co-operation. It is only through co-operation that we can make real progress. We are not bothered about a few individuals becoming rich. But we also want that gradually, the whole country and its entire people, should become well-off. Therefore it is the duty of the prize-winners to teach others in their own village and also in the neighbouring villages what they have learnt. For this, the more co-operatives that we formed, the better it would be because that is the right way to go about it.

Now let me tell you about something else which does not directly concern the farmers but over which there is a heated debate going on all over the country. That is whether there should be control or not. It is true that there are a number of complaints about the corruption and bribery among the people responsible for it. There is no doubt about it that wherever you have a number of small government officials, there is always this danger and the people suffer. But if there is no control, whenever there are shortages, the people with money will be able to buy up everything and the rest will get nothing. Or, the prices will soar up and the goods will be beyond the reach of most people. A few will gain but the majority will suffer. Or again, as it often happens, in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay, the people with money will get a large share while others will starve. Therefore, it becomes our duty to see to it that there is an equitable distribution, as far as possible, at reasonable prices. We cannot tolerate that any section of the population in the country should starve. Whether anything else is available or not, food is absolutely essential and the prize-winners must teach others in their own village and also in the neighbouring villages what they have learnt. For this, the more co-operatives are formed, the better it would be because that is the right way to go about it....

We cannot watch anyone dying of starvation. About nine or ten years ago, there was a terrible famine in Bengal² in which it is believed that thirty-five lakhs of people died. The streets of Calcutta were littered with dead bodies. We cannot allow such a thing to happen in India. Even if there is a famine or crops fail, in any part of the country, it is our duty, yours and mine, to help the affected areas. If Madras is affected, the people of Lucknow and Uttar

2. The famine of 1943.

Pradesh must help them. After all, we are all citizens of one country and are bound by duty to help one another in times of need. If everyone thinks only of himself, help will not be forthcoming when he himself needs it. Therefore, we have to help one another. If there are food shortages, we must make arrangements for everyone to get something at reasonable prices. The farmers as well as the consumers must get them at appropriate prices.

For the last few years, we have had shortages and it is our misfortune that we had great natural calamities like drought, floods and earthquakes. A few years ago there was a great earthquake in Assam³ which altered the course of the rivers.

Well, we have to face these things. We cannot run away from them in panic. Wherever there are shortfalls, we have to resort to controls. If we don't do that, as you know very well, the shopkeepers will hoard foodgrains or sell them at extortionate price and become millionaires while the rest of the people will starve to death. We simply cannot tolerate such a situation. That is why controls become necessary to prevent any individual from taking unfair advantage of a crisis. When the Bengal famine occurred and millions of men, women and children were dying of starvation, a few traders were minting money by selling foodgrains at exorbitant prices. Such things cannot be allowed in order to curb inflation and profiteering.

We want to bring about equality in the whole country and a better standard of living for everyone, to provide essential consumer goods for everyone's needs and an equal opportunity for progress. If we were to allow the people to do as they like and do not take adequate steps to check such tendencies, a few clever individuals will become rich at the expense of many others. Some people will manage to get everything while the majority starves. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to have controls. How we do it is a different matter. But it is essential to have some form of control because we want to make arrangements for the whole country. As I told you just now, the huge projects that we have taken up all over the country require enormous investments. You must have heard about the Five Year Plan. It will be finalized within a month or so and the document will be available for the people to read.⁴ Some of you must have seen a draft of it earlier. A year and a half or almost two years have gone by of the five years. The Plan lays down all that needs to be done for the country's progress and the betterment of standards of living. Detailed calculations have been made about the resources at our disposal and how best to utilize them to put up new industries, to improve agriculture, to bring more land under cultivation, and to make arrangements for irrigation, etc. Everyone

3. A severe earthquake rocked Assam on 15 August 1950, affecting an area of 15,200 square miles and a population of 4,62,000, specially in upper Assam.
4. See *ante*, pp. 53-63.

must read the Plan and understand what we are doing. We cannot implement the Plan if we have no controls and leave everyone free to do as he or she likes. Control is an essential part of planning for otherwise a handful of profiteers will take unfair advantage of shortages.

The question is what kind of control there should be. We cannot apply any rigid principle to it because it depends on the circumstances. We must see to it that the people are as much relieved of their difficulties and hardships as possible. Nobody likes controls, but a certain amount of it is necessary. So I cannot understand what this debate is all about. There can be arguments about the form controls should take but to question its validity on principle is absurd. Somehow it has become a habit among the people to have heated debates about everything. Usually the arguments have no relation to the circumstances, some are in favour of controls, others are against it. It makes no sense, for neither control nor decontrol is good or bad. Everything depends on the circumstances and we have to do what is the best. Something which is good today may become wholly irrelevant in a few months, if the circumstances change. But the fundamental fact to be borne in mind is that if we want progress in India, there has to be some form of control so that the people may not be at the mercy of profiteers.

So I want you to understand this and not to get into absurd arguments. We must work together to build up a new India. It cannot be done by government order alone. It is true that good laws can pave the way. The government is bound to help the people in every way. But ultimately it is the people who have to do the work. In the days of British rule, the most important tasks of the government were collection of revenue, maintenance of law and order, and keeping the armed forces in good form. They left the people very much to their own devices. The times have changed now. The government's duty is no longer confined to collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order. Ours is a welfare State and the government has to work for the improvement of living standards of the entire society, which means thirty-six crores of human beings in India, which is not a small number. The government may be able to provide a few hundred or thousand jobs. But that does not solve the problem. The big social problems cannot be solved unless the people themselves are determined to solve them and participate in the task. A fiat from government cannot go very far until the people themselves learn to work hard.

We passed a law abolishing the zamindari system⁵ which was a big step. A great burden was removed. But the farmers cannot progress merely by passing a law. They must learn to stand on their own feet if they want to progress.

5. The Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, passed in June 1951, removed the zamindari acts from the purview of the Courts.

Therefore, the role of the people in all these tasks is a very major one. You must have heard about the Bharat Sevak Samaj⁶ which aims at serving the people in cities and villages and doing something constructive like building roads, etc.

The Indian farmer is very strong and knows his job. It is absurd for anyone to say that he will teach the farmer how to do cultivation. If that individual was put to a test, he is bound to fail. Most people can only talk. If anyone comes to you to teach you farming and cultivation, you must tell him first to plough a field himself as only those people can teach who know how to do the work themselves. You cannot learn how to do farming by listening to a lecture.

Therefore, I say our farmers are good and know their job well. But they have to learn some new techniques, which, if they are taught can take them very far. I am sure they will pick up the new techniques in no time at all. As I told you, the farmer in America produces far more than a farmer in India because he uses modern techniques. Even in Egypt, their average yield per acre is far more than in India. So if we do not know something, we must learn it from others. There is no doubt about it that we can increase agricultural production just as they do in other countries. It is merely a question of learning new techniques. I do not mean that you should have big tractors and machines. We do not have the money for all that. But small improvements are possible like using better ploughs and fertilizers, etc. We have started a huge fertilizer factory in Sindri.⁷ Earlier, we had to import fertilizers at enormous cost. Now we are producing them ourselves. Fertilizers can improve the soil.

So, as I said, even if the Indian farmer knows his job, he can learn a great deal and if they form co-operatives, they can benefit even more. We are making arrangements to train our young people who can then go to the villages and show the older farmers the new techniques which can be adopted. I do not have any belief in giving lectures. The young people must be trained to do constructive work. I shall tell you quite frankly that the first thing that any government official working in the rural areas ought to do is to give practical demonstration. Giving lectures is not enough. Only by working side by side with the farmers can they understand the practical difficulties and also make a greater impact. I want you to remember all this because great problems beset the country, biggest of them all being the upliftment of thirty-five crores of men and women. But we can solve these problems if all of us work together. If everyone does his duty, whether he lives in a village or in a city, India can progress very fast. We must get out of the habit of looking to the government for everything. The government will of course help, but we must not wait for that.

6. See *ante*, pp. 8-9.

7. On 2 March 1952, Nehru inaugurated the Sindri Fertilizer Factory in Bihar.

Well, I wanted to share some of my thoughts with you so that you can think about them and tell others also. We have to get on with our primary work fast. I congratulate the prize winners once again. *Jai Hind*. Please say *Jai Hind* with me. *Jai Hind*.

8. Japanese Method of Rice Cultivation¹

Your attention must have been drawn to the improved methods of rice cultivation² which have been adopted in many parts of Bombay State.³ These are after the Japanese pattern. It seems to me that this is a revolutionary approach which will yield very great results. It surprises me that in spite of the success of this experiment in Bombay State⁴ enough attention has not been given to it. I have referred to this matter in my fortnightly letter today.⁵ I would particularly draw your attention to it.

2. I gather that some kind of a delegation is being sent by your Ministry to America to study agricultural methods. It seems to me that it would be far more useful for this delegation to go to Japan and learn about this food cultivation than to visit America or some country where conditions are very different from those in India.

3. I am sending you a note on rice cultivation which was given to me a few days ago.

1. Note to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 22 December 1952. File No. 31(16)/56-PMS.
2. The main feature of the Japanese system was plantation of the seed by the raised bed method.
3. This method was tried at a place about forty miles from Bombay. Kora Gramodyog Kendra at Borivilli introduced this system in Bombay State.
4. It was claimed that by adopting this method the rice yield could be increased ten times at lesser cost.
5. See *post*, p. 571.

(iii) RIVER VALLEY PROJECTS

1. To Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo¹

New Delhi

November 12, 1952

My dear Singh Deo,²

...We have had a number of expert reports about the Hirakud Project³ recently, including some from eminent foreign engineers, and they have spoken highly of the work done there. Recently a high-level committee⁴ has been appointed to enquire into various matters concerning the Hirakud Project. I have no doubt, they will go into all questions that are brought before them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1912-1975); former Ruler of Patna State, formed Ganatantra Parishad in 1949 (later merged with Swatantra Party in 1962); Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57; Leader of Opposition, Orissa Legislative Assembly, 1957-59; Finance Minister, Orissa, 1959-61; Member, Orissa Legislative Assembly, 1961-66; Chief Minister of Orissa, 1967-70, and Deputy Chief Minister, Minister of Industries, 1971-72.
3. The Hirakud Project designed to harness the water of Mahanadi River in Orissa involved construction of a dam across Mahanadi near Sambalpur town with lift canals on either side and two hydro-electric installations. Construction work on the project started in 1948.

2. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

November 16, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

You may have already seen the Punjab Government's official letter² to your Government, of 6th November, regarding provision of engineers for the Bhakra-

1. File No. 17 (59)/48-PMS. The letter was sent to Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Travancore-Cochin, Mysore and Hyderabad.
2. The letter asked the States, to which the letter had been sent, to depute as many engineers as they could for the Bhakra-Nangal project.

Nangal Project.³ It is urgently necessary to have more Indian engineers on the Project, and I shall be very glad if you will be good enough to consider the Punjab request favourably, and, in the broadest national interest, send them the names of as many officers as you can spare, even with a certain amount of inconvenience to you.

I shall be glad if you will very kindly drop me a line in due course.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The construction of this largest multi-purpose project in India started in 1946 for utilization of the waters of the Sutlej River to bring prosperity to the Punjab, Pepsu and parts of Rajasthan.

(iv) INDUSTRY

1. Handloom Products¹

It would be risky to venture immediately into the proposed scheme² of giving the handloom industry the sole monopoly of manufacturing saris and dhotis, as it would lead to far-reaching consequences. Before taking any steps, the pros and cons of the proposal would have to be considered.

An All India Handloom Board has already been constituted³ and State Boards may be constituted if the State Governments deem them necessary.

1. Talk to a deputation of the Madhya Pradesh Weavers' Co-operatives, Nagpur, 2 November 1952. From the *National Herald*, 3 November 1952.
2. The All India Handloom Weavers' Convention held in Hyderabad on 2-3 October 1952 demanded that the Government, in order to protect the handloom industry from persisting competition from the textile mills, concede their demand of allowing production of dhotis and saris exclusively to handloom industry.
3. All India Handloom Board was constituted on 25 October 1952 to assist handloom industry to improve techniques of production and to facilitate marketing of handloom products both at home and abroad.

As regards accumulation of handloom stocks the foreign demand has considerably decreased and as such ways and means have to be found for disposal of the stocks in the country itself.

I attach very great importance to the handloom industry. I wish to see that the industry stands on a sound footing.

2. To Nabakrushna Chaudhuri¹

New Delhi

November 6, 1952

My dear Nabakrushna,²

I am sorry for the great delay in answering your letter of the 14 October, in which you referred to the visit of the Japanese mission,³ in quest of iron ore etc., to Orissa.

Everybody knows that there is plenty of iron ore in Orissa and in many parts of India. Also there are plenty of various other kinds of minerals. The difficulty comes in exploiting them or in exporting them. That is an expensive matter and indeed the Government of India has been trying to find some way out, to my knowledge, for the last many months. Even at present our Railway Board is trying to work out a scheme.

The whole point of my writing to you was that, normally speaking, a State Government is hardly in a position to deal with a foreign country or foreign firms in regard to any big schemes. The Japanese are very difficult customers to deal with and one has to be very careful not to get entangled. We have been trying to deal with them for about a year and we have not yet reached any kind of an agreement about certain matters. Even now those talks are going on.⁴ In fact, one of our senior officers has gone to America to confer with them there.

1. File No. 17 (144)/49-PMS.

2. Chief Minister of Orissa at this time.

3. Negotiations were conducted between Dauchi Bussan Kaisha of Japan and Biju Patnaik of Kalinga Industrial Corporation regarding the development of steel industry in India.

4. An Indian Delegation consisting of C.C. Desai, Secretary, Ministry of Works, Production and Supply, S. Bhoothalingam, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry and P.C. Bhattacharyya, Secretary, Economic Committee of Cabinet started talks in USA at the beginning of November 1952 with the officials of the World Bank and with the Japanese Delegation headed by T. Takasaki, a leading industrialist, for establishment of a joint Indo-Japanese steel and pig iron factory in India.



AT MAO, MANIPUR, 24 OCTOBER 1952



LAYING FOUNDATION-STONE OF A HOSPITAL,
AGARTALA, 25 OCTOBER 1952

When the Government of India is dealing with a matter of this importance, it is obviously undesirable for a State Government also to deal with them more or less about similar matters. Not only is confusion caused by this but some harm may result.

It is obvious that the Orissa Government is hardly in a position to come to terms with the Japanese in such a matter. It would involve all manner of financial and other considerations which can only be dealt with by the Government of India.

Then there is the Five Year Plan. Anything that we do should fit in with it or, at any rate, should not conflict with it. In fact, we do not take any step now of a major kind without reference to the Planning Commission.

It was for this reason that I wrote to you about this matter.

I did not know that the letters you wrote to Messrs Takasaki⁵ and Asada⁶ were held up by our Embassy in Tokyo. I shall enquire into this. At that time, however, our Embassy itself was carrying on negotiations with Takasaki on our behalf. They might well have thought that this overlapping might come in the way of these negotiations.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Tatsunosuke Takasaki (1885-1964); Japanese businessman and politician; President, Electric Power Resources Development Company, 1952-54; Minister of State and Director-General, Economic Planning Board, 1954-58; Minister for International Trade and Industry, 1958-59; author of *End of Manchuria* (1953).
6. Chohei Asada (1887-1970); Japanese metallurgical engineer and business executive; President, Kobe Steel Works, 1952-58.

3. Industrial Finance Corporation¹

With your permission, I should like to say a few words about a matter that came up before the House yesterday. I was not present then, but my colleagues informed me of it. It came up when the House was discussing the Industrial

1. Statement in Parliament, 27 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People)*, Official Report, 1952, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 1269-73.

Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill.² I understand that some Members of the House³ desired that the names of the industrial concerns to which the Corporation has advanced loans should be communicated to the House, and my colleague who was in charge of that Bill found some difficulty in doing so, because of the policy thus far pursued in this matter.⁴ Indeed only a few days ago, I think on the 7th November my colleague the honourable Finance Minister in answering a question by an honourable Member of the House as to whether a certain firm had been granted a loan, stated as follows:⁵

The borrowing concerns are entitled to such secrecy which is customary between a banker and the customer with regard to their financial transactions, and it would not therefore be in the public interest to furnish this information.

Now, I am no expert in regard to the conduct of banks, either from the borrowing or the other point of view. So I tried to bring a fresh layman's mind to bear on this question. The first thing that obviously struck me was this. When we have followed a policy and proceeded on the basis of that and given certain assurances to parties, it would not be fair, regardless of other considerations, for us to go behind those assurances in so far as they have been given with the consent of the parties concerned.

Secondly, when my honourable colleague, the Finance Minister, who is most intimately concerned with this matter and has been following this policy, I should not like without consulting him, to say anything definite about this matter. Nevertheless, I realize completely that there is force in what some honourable Members stated in this House that this matter should be considered fully at a little later stage, when if I may say so, my colleague, the Finance Minister is here.⁶ It should be remembered that these firms, first of all, this Industrial Finance Corporation⁷ is an autonomous Corporation, no doubt, responsible to Government. Normally speaking in regard to an autonomous organization, Parliament does not interfere in their normal day to day activities.

2. The Bill to amend the Industrial Finance Corporation Act of 1948 was moved on 25 November 1952 by M.C. Shah, the Deputy Minister of Finance.
3. Thakur Das Bhargava and Feroze Gandhi, the Congress Members and S.P. Mookerjee of the National Democratic Group said that they were anxious to have a list of concerns, which were provided loans, so that they could know that the loans were not improperly used.
4. Shah stated on 26 November that, as a convention, the borrowers' names were not disclosed by the banking institutions as such disclosures could adversely affect their business interests.
5. Shah gave this answer in reply to a question by Ram Subhag Singh who asked whether the Aluminium Corporation of India Ltd. had been granted a loan or not.
6. C.D. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister, was attending the Commonwealth Economic Conference in London at this time.
7. It was set up on 1 July 1948 to supplement the capital requirements of industrial concerns, which could not be satisfied by recourse to the capital market.

Of course, it can wind them up if necessary, or inquire into any serious misfeasance. That is a different matter, but the very idea of putting up an autonomous organization is that they should have freedom to carry on their business, subject to certain overall policy or control of Government or of Parliament. That is one point.

Secondly, in regard to the firms to whom the money has been lent, I understand that they are public limited companies. Now this relationship is somewhat different on the one hand from the relationship, let us say, of the Damodar Valley Corporation⁸ and the Government—the Damodar Valley Corporation is a completely Government organization—on the other hand, the relationship of the Industrial Finance Corporation, which lent the money to these people, cannot be equated entirely, as far as I can see, with that of a private banker doing it. So this stands in a third category and because it is an intermediate category, considerations on the other side can be advanced. And for the moment, I do not like to say anything definite as to what the future policy in regard to this matter should be. But I would submit that we should not like, if any undertakings have been given, assurances given, or policies stated, to go behind them so far as the past is concerned, without consulting the parties concerned, and more especially the honourable Finance Minister when he comes back. And then the future policy can also be considered and laid before the House.

It is not merely the question of stating the names of those to whom money has been lent, but the question may arise of putting forward the names of those firms to whom money has not been given or whose applications have been rejected. Now that creates a further difficulty. If we publicize that we have not given money to a particular firm there may be many reasons, and it may hurt their trading. It may be that we did not think it worthwhile, or whatever the reason may be it may hurt their trading.

Then again, if we discuss the internal affairs of a public limited company to whom we had given money, I submit that it would not be in keeping with the normal practice of this House that we should go into details of this kind and various difficulties would arise.

I would submit to the House, that these questions having been raised, we hope to take them up and consider them, when the honourable Finance Minister

8. The Damodar Valley Corporation, an autonomous Corporation, consisting of the representatives of Central Government and Bihar and West Bengal Governments was formed in 1948 to administer and implement the Damodar Valley scheme which included facilities for irrigation and water supply, generation and distribution of electricity, flood control in the river basin, improvement of navigation facilities, and prevention of soil erosion in the area.

comes back, and we should consult representatives of the House too at that time, and have their views, and then inform the House too about this matter.

Secondly, if any Member says that he has information in his possession, which leads him to suspect that something wrong has occurred, we shall very gladly inquire into the matter, if he will place that information before us....⁹ May I say a word, Sir? As the honourable Member has asked me for a day, I am very happy that the House discusses any subject, but it is beyond my capacity to increase the number of days in the year or the month or the number of hours in the day. And we have got not too many days left, we are full up.

On this particular matter that I referred to in my statement, as far as I can see, it has nothing to do with the Bill. It is a separate matter which can be taken up and decided; the question whether information about certain names be given or not does not affect the larger policy of any Bill, or our industrial policy.

9. H.N. Mukerjee wanted the Prime Minister to agree to the allotment of a day or more for the discussion of the basic points of industrial policy.

4. Industrial Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill¹

I do not see, Sir, any connection—and I say that with all respect—between divulging or not divulging these particulars and the continuance of this Bill at this stage. All I have to say is that the Government is not at all fighting shy of divulging anything.² I merely stated that certain undertakings have been given by the Finance Minister to these other persons concerned. And the Finance Minister stated that it is not right for us to upset all the assurances given by Government—I am not going into the merits of the questions—and certainly it is not right when the Finance Minister who was party to that assurance, is not here.

1. Statement in Parliament, 2 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 1427-29.
2. S.P. Mookerjee said that in the earlier part of the debate a suggestion “was made that the names of the companies to whom assistance had been given” by the Industrial Finance Corporation should be disclosed. The Prime Minister, sympathizing with the Members’ suggestion, desired that “all the facts” might be placed before the House. H.N. Mukerjee appreciating his views, asked the Government to “divulge” the particulars.

Now, we can examine the past and consider what should be done, and what is perhaps easier would be to examine the future too as to what should be done. This is not a very intricate matter. I look upon it more from the point of view of having given an assurance and that we should not break it without proper steps, enquiry, etc., and a reference to the people concerned, that is all.

As for the postponement of this³ Bill, I understand that would create considerable difficulties if it is postponed because that will hold up certain matters, certain finalizations of certain loans from the International Bank.⁴ So, it would not be desirable to postpone this Bill, Sir....⁵

Sorry, Sir, this is not a matter for the Select Committee to consider.⁶ The question that is raised is not going to be decided by the Select Committee....⁷ We did hope, Sir, that this Bill might be enacted by the end of November, from the point of view of that loan, because there is a possibility of things happening in regard to the rate of interest and, in fact, we have slightly overshot the mark and I submit that at this stage to postpone it or delay matters might not be to our advantage. And I do not really see any necessity for it. I think this House considered to a fair extent on the last occasion, and I believe some amendments were also accepted and I am told—naturally I am not seized of every detail—that special consideration has been given to these amendments and such as can be accepted have been or will be accepted.

3. S.P. Mookerjee proposed postponement of consideration of the Bill until the House had "an opportunity of knowing all the facts."
4. An Indian Delegation in USA had negotiated a loan of Rs. 8 crores for the Industrial Finance Corporation from the World Bank and were awaiting a word in confirmation from the Government of India about passage of the amendment Bill for finalization of the loan to be made available during latter half of December 1952. In the event of delay in passage of the amendment, the World Bank reserved the right to change the conditions of loan consistent with the changes in the international money market.
5. At this point, Lanka Sundaram enquired whether the Government would reconsider sending the Bill to the Select Committee.
6. Here, the Chairman remarked that the idea was that the Bill might be referred to a Select Committee.
7. S.P. Mookerjee explained that the reason for sending the matter to the Select Committee was not only to consider the names of particular companies to whom assistance had been given but also to enable Members to present their viewpoints so that with the combined efforts of the Government and others a revised Bill might be formulated.

II. SCIENCE

1. Need for an Imaginative Approach¹

I am happy to be present here today not only because of the importance of the subject but also to pay a tribute to the work done by Indian engineers. The words "Irrigation and Power" excite my mind, and all kinds of ideas come into my mind—ideas of history and the long perspective of human progress. I do not know what kind of history books are written nowadays for the schools, but the real histories which should count, are histories which trace humanity's progress. The biggest development in the history of humanity was the discovery of agriculture. Later comes irrigation. It would be a fascinating subject to find out how the development of irrigation has affected human progress. With that, you would touch the development of various devices and techniques involved with agriculture, ultimately coming to the uses of power.

There are the themes overriding the so-called national conflicts and boundaries which affect the whole human race. In spite of the fact that we have developed so much in the application of science, our minds remain narrow and limited, and cannot get over the narrow boundaries of geography and of the mind. When I look at the map of India I think of the great mountain chain, which is a boundary of the frontier of India, rises up like a sentinel. It has been the inspiration of so much of our culture and thought in the past. I also think of that mighty chain, as a suppressed source of vast energy. The energy flows out in great rivers descending from those mountains—watering the plains of India, and running into the sea. It also takes the shape of minerals and the rest of it. Here is a mighty reservoir of energy. If only we could utilize it to full purpose, what could we not do of it? This is not a dry or dull subject for me, it is a subject of adventure and excitement. I should like you to consider it in that way, because then you give life to something that is dull and dry.

As a politician and as one who meddles in many other things not directly connected with politics but, with a politician's outlook, I have to deal with many difficult kinds of materials. I know that you can measure, with your techniques and rules, the hardness or the strength of this metal or that, of

1. Speech at the silver jubilee celebrations of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, 17 November 1952, File No. 17(107)/48-PMS. Also published in *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, Vol. 2, 1949-53, Publications Division, Government of India (New Delhi, 1967), pp. 65-73, and in *Jawaharlal Nehru on Science and Society*, Baldev Singh (ed.), Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Publication (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 94-99.

stone and iron and what not. How do you measure the content of a human individual? You deal with something which you can more or less understand and lay down averages and the like. But a politician has to deal with human beings as material, not stones and steel and iron and the like—and that is not only a difficult material, but an exciting material because it is a live material, a growing material, a changing and dynamic thing. No two persons are alike. When you deal with stones, cement, steel and iron, if you deal with them in a dead way without that feeling of building life, or something that is akin to life, then you are second-rate men. You have not grasped the problem; you are just people sitting down with pen and ink on a table writing down figures and calculations. These may be useful, of course, but you would have lost the essence and the meaning of the work you are doing. That of course applies to the politician also. It applies to every profession. A politician who may look at problems in a narrow way, forgetting the wider context, the wider objective which is dynamic, growing. Most of us grow in years—we grow static in mind. It is extraordinarily difficult to prevent one's growing static. One loses that resilience of mind that is a necessary concomitant of life. When that resilience goes then a person begins to recite pet phrases and pet dogmas, whether it is religion and whether it is science and whether it is any other branch of human activity. That mind is a dead one, which has lost the capacity for growth. When a man says "We know this, you do not" I suspect him; I feel that he has lost touch with something that was growing, that he has got left behind. So in the work you do, it should be infused with life and adventure.

Think you are building a bridge. What does it signify? Not a bridge only, something much more. You are making a river valley scheme. See the vast things that flow from it, not only in the shape of canals and irrigation and hydro-electric works and industry and all that. Certainly these are important but something even more important is the progress of humanity that it brings about. All that comes up from what you may do, whether as a chief engineer or a small engineer or a mechanic or even as an unskilled labourer. All of you should feel this way and should be fired with that imaginative approach. It is said that imagination is so lacking today. We work in grooves. Well, too much imagination may lead us astray. We have to have our feet on the ground. But too little of it is also deadweight.

Here in this city of New Delhi, we could do with a great deal of more imagination. A man who sits in an office becomes static and a deadweight. And that is why, if I may make a personal confession, I want to run away from New Delhi from time to time, rushing about from place to place. I want to get out of the deadly, static atmosphere of this place, which cannot think, which forgets that there are human beings in India, which thinks in terms of paper and files and ink and all that, which thinks in terms of figures. Figures are not human beings; figures are only hints or some suggestions as to what

human beings are. I go out and I see the faces of people, of my people and your people, and derive inspiration from them and derive, what is much more important, something dynamic, something growing. I grow with them, and to some extent, I get in tune with them, and I hope, to some extent, I also affect the mood and tune of their minds.

Engineers are rather fortunate, because they do not always sit in an office. If engineers do that, they are likely to deteriorate, even first-rate engineers. Unless you go down to the field, do the job yourself, and do not consider any job too low for you, you will not maintain that direct contact with the living thing that you are building. A bridge is a living thing if you look at it imaginatively; everything is a living thing if you look at it with that eye of imagination because of what it means to humanity. It is part of human progress, of human life. Therefore, you are fortunate because you work in the field, which an average person sitting in an office does not get to do.

Now, you know that even our ideas of education which are very slowly being given effect to—I wish, the pace was faster—revolve round what is called Basic Education. There are many virtues in Basic Education, but the main thing is not to repeat something from a book; you get the smallest child to do something. Of course there is nothing specially Indian about it. That is modern education everywhere. There is a certain twist given to it in India certainly, notably by Mahatmaji, which we are trying to follow up, though slowly. What is Basic Education, again? Getting down to the job with your hands and feet and not talk about it. I am tired of people who merely talk about things. Because, however wise you may be, you can never enter into the spirit of a thing if you only talk and not do it.

So also are scientists. They do very good things—but there is a tendency, I find, for them to do a wonderful experiment and it remains an experiment after that. The next stage somehow does not follow. Of course, they may say it is somebody else's job to do the next stage. But I think, if the scientist had that practical outlook in him he would try to do it himself or get somebody else to do it. I think this association of thought with action is of the utmost importance. Thought without action is an abortion; action without thought is folly. They must be allied and they must be allied in your life and mine and everybody else's, whatever we may do, whether it is education, whether it is some other profession or some particular sphere of activity. Fortunately, as I said, in an engineer they are normally allied and therefore an engineer perhaps keeps fresher, than others do. Also the engineer is actually building something; he is not planning for others to build. Now, there is a great deal of difference between people making plans or issuing directions from an office, and doing the work actually. The man who does the work in the field is actually creating something and there is nothing like actual creation to make the individual grow or the community grow.

You are fortunate, but you are fortunate only to the extent you realize that fortune and live up to it. If you also become static under the enervating atmosphere of New Delhi or wherever you live, well, all the worse for you. However high your intellectual attainments might be, you lose the living touch and it is the living touch that counts in life, whatever you may do or may not do.

Now, you mentioned, Sir, in your address, something about some materials, some samples being sent for testing to distant countries.² I confess I was surprised to learn that. It may be of course that some particular object sometimes may have to be sent abroad, but normally for such a process to be adopted here seems to me an amazing confession of our weakness and inability. What are all these dozens of laboratories here for, our scientific institutes and research institutes, if you have to send things for testing abroad? I think this matter should be looked into.

If I may take this a little further, I am not at all enamoured, and as the days go by, I become more and more suspicious, of the crowds of people who go out of India for so-called education. There has been a change in this undoubtedly from the old days, from my days when I went abroad, when the great majority of Indian students, went to the United Kingdom, chiefly, in the hope of later adorning the profession of law. Well, some of them did; most of them did not. It is far better now, because people go more for technical studies. And such information as I have goes to show that the average of Indian students in England and America is a good average. I dislike and hate nothing so much as the approach which narrows the minds, the narrowly nationalistic approach in any matter, whether it is education, science, culture or anything, an approach which starts by thinking that we are all in all, we have attained the summit of wisdom, and we need not learn anything more. That approach itself denotes a static condition. Anything that is static becomes stagnant and leads to ultimate death. I am all for opening our minds to every kind of knowledge and information that can be obtained. I am all for free intercourse with the other countries of the world; I am all for inviting others to come here, to learn from us and to teach us, from every country wherever it might be. I want no barriers. It is not with a view to having a barrier that I say, what I am going to say.

Having explained my basic position, nevertheless I feel surprised at this excessive enthusiasm for people to rush abroad to learn something—and it is just amazing how many people are constantly going abroad. A year or two

2. M.S. Thirumale Iyengar, the Chief Engineer of the Tungabhadra Project delivering the Presidential address of the session of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power referred to the Point-Four programme stating that the Bureau of Reclamation in the USA was helping India by testing aggregate samples sent from various dam sites in India.

ago, I think, we became rather alarmed at this prospect. I am not talking for the moment of students. Students should go, but I should only qualify that by saying that students should go if only they are capable of profiting by going. Not everybody whose parents happen to have superfluous cash need go, but people who can profit and learn certainly should go. I am talking for the present of others. In the course of the last two or three years, there is an abundance of all kinds of scholarships, fellowships, this, that and the other. So we became rather alarmed at the large number of people who went, including a very large number of officials of the Government of India and State Governments who, instead of doing their job here, were constantly trying to learn something from there. Very laudable, no doubt. Then we tried to make a rule that nobody should go who is in Government service, without special reference to, often enough, the Cabinet itself. The result of that rule was that half the Cabinet's work was to consider these applications! It is amazing. The other day, I had a chart prepared of how many people had gone and it astonished me to see the number. It ran into many hundreds in the course of one year, of officials who were supposed to be working here going off to learn something. I agree that we should aim at higher efficiency; we should learn; our officials should go and learn. But it is the scale at which this has happened because of the availability of all kinds of scholarships, fellowships and things like that. And people feel that we are not paying for it, that the United Nations is paying for it, that FAO is paying for it, that somebody else is paying for it. So there is a tendency to accept something, not realizing that it is not for nothing.

First of all, a good part of the expense does fall on us. Secondly, we lose the services of a highly paid man for a period. Apart from that, there is another aspect of this problem. That applies to students as well as to others who go abroad. We want to learn the highest technique. We want to make our people as efficient as anybody in the world. But we should like them to be efficient and yet to fit into the scheme of things in India. Obviously, the highest type of efficiency is the type which can utilize existing material to the best advantage and if one has to work in India, as an Indian must do, then he must know how to work in India. It is no good a man coming back from America and telling me: "I will do this and that if you get this and that equipment from America." If you cannot get all kinds of expensive machinery which we have not got, which we cannot afford to get, he bemoans his lot and says "How backward we are, we cannot do this, we have not got this and we have not got that" but he gets frustrated and the very special knowledge that he has obtained is of precious little use to us because his mind has been somehow conditioned to a different environment. That environment is very good but it so happens that our environment is different. And the result is we cannot profit by all the time and energy and money spent on the education of a student or an official,

whatever he is. You have to function in India; you have to function with the material and the environment of India and you have to make that go as far as possible. Certainly we shall get equipment and machinery from abroad where needed, but it should only come when it is absolutely needed. And as far as possible it should only come once, twice if you like, and we should produce it later. What is this business of our constantly thinking in terms of a different environment, different equipment, and different apparatus and different everything, shouting for it, not realizing the resources of India, the poverty of India, and all that. You may put up a magnificent structure somewhere, which may function, of course, and which may yield some results; but it should not be merely a showcase which does not fit into the general scope of the development of India.

In this connection, I entirely agree with the President in what he said of the far greater importance of our development of smaller valley systems, instead of getting tied up with enormous undertakings. We must develop India as a whole. We are not out to develop one little part of it, developing it a little more than the rest. So the more we spread out development, the better it is. Everything of course has to be judged ultimately from the general progress, development, advancement of the human beings involved, not of putting up a show-structure for others to see, just to show off your skill. I do not mean that we should not experiment. Otherwise we do not progress, our levels remain low. There is always a difficulty. Whether you look at the political, economic or any other field you feel two slightly contradictory tendencies. One is the tendency to centralize. Now, centralization is important in the modern world; it is inevitable whether it is Governmental, or anything else. It may give you better results, it may produce better efficiency and all the rest of it. But a stage arrives in the process of centralization when perhaps efficiency does not grow, it lessens. On the other side, you have the other feeling, shall I say, the growth of freedom, individual freedom, human freedom. Undoubtedly, the greater the centralization the less the individual freedom although some better results might be obtained. Therefore some people talk of the processes of decentralization and prefer them, because they allow the individual to grow more. But there are certain things in modern life, very important things, which cannot be decentralized if you want any progress at all. Well, you have got to balance all these things, but the main thing is that the growth of the individual, the group, the human being cannot be imposed upon him. A human being grows, well, ought to grow as a flower or a plant which grows. You cannot pull it out; you can water it, you can help it grow; you can give it good soil; you can put it in the fresh air or in the sun. But it has to grow itself; you cannot make it grow by force. Sometimes many of our people think that by some decree from above, you could make something grow, but you do not. You can help the growth of the person by that. It is a static mind that thinks

that things can be done by decrees, when you have to carry the human mind with you and prepare the ground for its own growth.

I do not know if what I have talked is relevant or not to irrigation and power. But being somewhat imaginatively inclined, my mind runs off in various directions. I was talking to you about the effect the map of India with the Himalayas, produced on me, the tremendous source of power there running to waste often enough, the potential energy which is there, which you can tap. I wonder if ever there will be somebody wise enough and knowledgeable enough, to write the story of our rivers. What a wonderful story it would be. Let us take the story of the Ganga. It will be the story of India, Northern India more especially, far more living and real than all your trumpery history books that you have; it will be the story of the growth of Indian culture and civilization; it will be the story of the growth of the cities along the Ganga; it will be the story of the water of the Ganga and the Gangetic valley helping irrigation; it will be the story of the rise and fall of empires; it will be the story of human life developing, people coming from the north-western frontier, whether Aryans or other races, coming up to the broad plains of India and stopping at the Ganga. It will be a magnificent story, if it could be written properly. Here is something which is not for the engineers to write; it is not their job. But I want the engineer who works on these rivers to have that imaginative approach to this problem. Then you will see the water become alive, the water you deal with. Even the stones that you deal with tell a story. I should like you not only the big engineer, the middling engineer, but the small engineer to think in this way and to convey something of this exciting approach to the worker there in the field. Make him realize that he is also working with live material, even though it might be stone or steel and that it will give birth to further life. Let him be the partner in this adventure which you are starting. Ultimately if you approach your problems in this way, the results will be far speedier. But other results will also follow. The worker and the engineer will also progress and advance and become better men and women.

2. Uses of Rare Earths¹

Your Highness,² Mr Choksi³ and Friends,

This factory,⁴ which I am supposed to open has in fact been functioning for some time. This was what Mr Choksi said in the closing sentences of his address. Now, some button will be pressed and some shutters will be going up, just an act to delude the public to imagine that it is going to begin now! But, that is a small matter.

I wonder how many of you who are present here appreciate the fact that this factory is not just a factory. In fact, it is something other than just providing employment to a number of people here, desirable as it is. It is not just a little bit, a little step, towards the industrialization of India. It is something different in quality; it is not a quantitative thing, because it deals with substances which are playing and are likely to play a very significant part in human development or human destruction.⁵

So far as we in India are concerned, we have not got the resources to think in terms of those weapons of destruction. What is more important, we have no intention, no desire, to do so, and in fact, our desire is definitely and deliberately not to do so. Therefore, if we think of these matters, we think in terms of peaceful progress, of atomic power used for peaceful purposes, and that is very necessary in a country like India.

Even so, when people talk glibly about the atomic bomb or the hydrogen bomb or fissionable material or of monazite—these terms become words of mystery and power, something like, as in the old days, the priests used to throw about words surrounded by mystery. Now, the modern scientists, taking the place of the high priests of old, use these terms and frighten the public with them, as the old priests used to do. Undoubtedly it is a fact that scientists

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Rare Earths Factory, Alwaye, 24 December 1952. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in Baldev Singh (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru on Science and Society*, (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 99-105.
2. Maharaja of Travancore.
3. J.D. Choksi, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Indian Rare Earths Limited.
4. The Indian Rare Earths Ltd. owned jointly by the Governments of India and Travancore-Cochin was set up in April 1952 at Alwaye, Travancore-Cochin for processing monazite sands found along the coast to produce rare earth chlorides and carbonates and trisodium phosphates. The factory started production in July 1952.
5. The Atomic Energy Commission planned to build another factory for extraction of uranium and thorium—fissionable substances—from the waste eliminated by the plant at Alwaye.

are important, or rather, the stuff they deal with is important, not so much they as individuals. And so, these questions which revolve round, the concept of atomic energy become important whether you look at it from the point of view of war or peace. As I have said, so far as we are concerned, we look upon this question entirely from the point of view of peaceful development, and there is no question of our even thinking in any other way because we have neither the resources nor the wish to do it.

I am not a scientist enough to talk about these matters with any degree of clarity or precision. Even previously, but since last evening, Dr Bhabha⁶ has been trying to instruct me as to what I might tell you in more or less clear language so that you might understand something about not only what is going to be done in this factory, but the results of that. But the joint efforts of Dr Bhatnagar⁷ and Dr Bhabha have not succeeded in making me quite so confident of what I might say on the subject. To some extent I do understand; but it is one thing to understand and it is quite another thing to make others understand. And I fear lest, in using these terms and words and phrases, I might expose my ignorance. But, fortunately, for me, a little pamphlet has been provided for some of you if not all, which gives you some essential and basic facts. That will help you somewhat to understand. And in addition, I have been provided with other brief notes to refresh my mind on the subject.

Some years back—I think it was in 1948—that the Atomic Energy Commission of India was constituted by the Government of India.⁸ It was a wise thing the the Government did, because atomic energy is a vast resource for power of the future, which can be used for good. And like everything else which can be used, it can be misused also. It can be used for human development, and it is quite likely—I do not mean it as a prophecy—that in the course of the next decade or two, it might change the face of the earth, quite sufficiently. We live in an age of technological change and progress—whether it is progress or not, but anyhow there is change. And that pace of technological change becomes more and more rapid, almost maddening, and thereby resulting in all kinds of changes in our environment, and we find adjustment increasingly difficult. We, I say we, the people all over the world—find it increasingly difficult to adjust ourselves to this changing environment.

6. Homi Jehangir Bhabha, the atomic physicist, was the Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy at this time. He was also a Director of the Indian Rare Earths Ltd.
7. Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, a scientist, was Secretary to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research at this time and also a Director of the Indian Rare Earths Ltd.
8. The Commission was set up in August 1948 under the Atomic Energy Act of 1948 to survey the country for minerals useful in the release of atomic energy; develop such minerals on industrial scale; undertake research connected with atomic energy; train and develop necessary scientific personnel and to foster fundamental research in nuclear science. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, pp. 43-45.

While we use the products of science in many ways, the odd thing is that, while we physically use them to a large extent, we do not adapt ourselves mentally to this changing state of affairs, with the result that there is a tremendous lag somehow, and maladjustment, all over the world. You might indeed draw the inference that it is because of this maladjustment that we have most of our troubles all over the world, including international conflicts. There is a lack of realization that the technological changes that have come about in the world have made the world different, that we are making it different, and we cannot live in an isolated way, among nations or within the nation, and that we almost sit on each other's doorstep or lap all the time, and have either to pull together, co-operate together, understand each other, or destroy each other. There appears to be no third way about it.

Here in India, there is a very extraordinary amalgam, of many things good and bad—where we have some of the latest types of technological advances and where we also have the most ancient types functioning and where we have the highest and the advanced type of minds functioning and fairly ancient superstitions at work too! Of course, in every country there are these amalgams and mixtures, but perhaps in India, that is even more marked. It is interesting here to start this Rare Earths Factory which is symbolic even more of the future than of the present, symbolic of the direction in which we are looking, that is, the direction of growth through science, and the implementation of the discoveries of science. That does not mean, of course, that we uproot ourselves from the soil on which we live and where we have grown, because any people that uproot themselves fade away. They cannot survive without roots, they can't even profit by the sun. They have to have roots in the soil, like a plant, or a race, and derive sustenance from it. But the plant requires the sun too, and the fresh wind too, and if you cut yourself off and put up walls all around you, well, then you cease to get that fresh air and fresh sun, and wither away, as we did as a race for hundreds and hundreds of years.

So that, apart from the various very important uses to which the products of this factory will be put, apart from its helping our country and particularly this State of Travancore-Cochin to go ahead, there is an additional significance attached to this factory—that it is a symbol and a promise of the future for us. Therefore, I attach far greater importance to it than, may be, to a much bigger factory which may grow up in any part of India.

I just mentioned to you that about four and a half years ago, we formed the Atomic Energy Commission consisting of three eminent scientists, Dr Bhabha as Chairman, Dr Bhatnagar, and Dr Krishnan,⁹ who is the head of our National Physical Laboratory in Delhi, and we passed an Atomic Energy

9. K.S. Krishnan. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of the Indian Rare Earths Ltd.

Act¹⁰ too because it became essential to control the development of this work and of the minerals etc. connected with this work. It is quite impossible, obviously, for the Atomic Energy Commission to function if private interests or sectional interests were free to do what they liked with this very valuable material which go towards the making of the various ingredients etc. required for atomic energy or for like purposes. Normally, people thought more in terms of uranium than anything else in connection with the atomic bomb or atomic energy. As a matter of fact, uranium exists only in very small quantities round about Travancore-Cochin, although, fortunately, you have got plenty of uranium in other parts of India, notably Bihar. We have to look at this problem of gradually developing atomic energy for social purposes. We have to look upon it from an all-India point of view. We cannot deal with it in one place, because the material is spread out. Even our factories will be because some are required here, some elsewhere. It has to be considered, from the all-India point of view to make the best out of the material. From the all-India point of view, our resources are very limited compared to the enormous resources of some great countries. Of course, the United States of America is far ahead of others, from the point of view of resources. Nobody quite knows what the Soviet Union's resources are. But they are very considerable, and they have gone pretty far too.

We are not out to compete with anybody, but we do want to do this work ourselves—not to be helpless, dependent upon others, to co-operate with others in this task. Our financial resources are, nowhere near those of other countries. But we certainly have scientific talent of the first order so that we may go ahead with this by ourselves or in co-operation with others. Anyhow, this is not a question which can be tackled in India except on an all-India basis, I repeat that, because sometimes people think that because there is a certain raw material in a particular State, it can be considered and dealt with on behalf of that State rather than on an all-India basis. That is neither feasible nor desirable. The big work cannot be done in that way, and that is why the Government of India passed that Act under which notifications are issued controlling the export or the utilization of various minerals and substances connected with this atomic energy work. As a matter of fact, that is also the way to make the most of it, even for a particular State concerned, because if this whole work progresses, it brings rich dividends with it.

10. The Act passed in 1948 enabled the Government of India to control and foster development of atomic energy for purposes connected therewith, particularly control of plants designed or adopted for production or the use of atomic energy and the utilization or the export of substances such as uranium, thorium, plutonium, etc.

Mr. Choksi was telling you¹¹ that unlike normal factories, more especially unlike Government concerns, here is this factory which even before I have come to open it has started paying dividends. It is very extraordinary. The factory being owned jointly by the Government of India and the Government of Travancore-Cochin,¹² well, we jointly profit by it. But, if I may say so, profit is subsidiary. It is important, no doubt, and it will grow, no doubt, and the Governments—both India as a whole and of Travancore-Cochin—are likely to profit much more, not by this factory alone, but by this joint work of development. And so apart from this State being in a sense an important centre of the development of this new phase of work in this country or in the world, this will lead, I have no doubt, to other activities from which the State will derive benefit.

People talk vaguely about the atomic age. I believe there is something in it, though not in that rather crude popular way of thinking, but because we are on the eve of changes—technological, scientific and others—which will change the structure of modern life fairly rapidly. It is seldom realized how tremendous has been the change in the world during the last hundred years or so. We are accustomed to it and we take it for granted, what has happened in the last hundred years. Those changes are continuous and the process does not stop. Nevertheless, sometimes, they come in rather rapid strides, and I am inclined to think that we are likely to have, in the next decade or so, some big spurts in the direction of these changes, which will affect not merely external but the very texture of human life. Because anything which affects our entire environment, anything which affects our methods of production and distribution, anything which brings great sources of power under human control, is a tremendous factor. It changes the life for you, and you may adapt yourself to it and profit by it, or you may go under. So, when this kind of thing is happening, what is important is—the very first thing is—that we should be wide awake, alert, and not passive and static.

People talk about the industrialization of India—we want that industrialization. That does not mean of course, that agriculture in India becomes less important. It will always be most important. Village industry and cottage industry also will be very important for generations to come, may be for ever. Even so industrialization is important. But I sometimes get an idea that many of our business magnates—owners of factories and industries, think of industrialization as some mechanical process like putting some penny in the

11. Requesting Nehru to inaugurate the factory, J.D. Choksi said that even while the factory was being constructed the French concern with whom Indian Rare Earths entered into agreement for technical assistance had been processing monazite on their factory account at Paris with the result that even now they had earned some profit.
12. The subscribed capital of rupees eighty lakhs was paid by the Government of India and the Travancore-Cochin Government in the proportion of 55:45.

slot machine—you put money at one end and industrialization comes out of the other—also dividends at another end, as something—as if industrialization is something which you can buy with money. Well, money has some importance in this life, but I think it is terribly overrated and the sooner we realize that the better. One wants money to do things. You cannot unless you have got the right men, and the right competence and the right way to do many things. The sooner this is realized the better. Industrialization is not putting money—a penny in the slot machine and out comes a factory. It requires trained human personnel. It requires a mental approach. How did this industrialization affect the world? Because, science came into the picture. The giant strides and the implications of science and the results of science brought this tremendous change, which changed the world more in a generation or two than it had changed far a few thousand years previously. As I have so often said from the point of view of transport or travel or the mode of communications a hundred years ago or a hundred and fifty years ago was exactly the same as it was a thousand years ago, or two thousand years ago, or any previous period. That is so, and then suddenly this change: science comes in and upsets so many things, in particular communications. And it goes on upsetting them, with the help of the steam engine, the railway train, the steamship, the aeroplane, and the jet engine and radar and wireless and telegraph, and telephone—these are communications; they completely upset life. So, I repeat, industrialization is not a penny in the slot business, as many of our businessmen seem to think. It requires a scientific background, a scientific approach, a scientific mind and a scientific temper. And it means that we grow it in our country, not hire it from outside. Certainly we hire it; we take help from outside where necessary. But, if we have not developed that temper here ourselves, it does not matter if all the bright scientists of the world come here. We do not grow, although brick and mortar factories and buildings may go up.

One of the most important things that have happened, is the building of a number of great national laboratories all over the country—research institutes, laboratories and the like, which will, I have no doubt, produce results, but the main result I am interested in is affecting, what I could call, the ‘mind’ of India, the ‘temper’ of India. Now, I should like to point out that even our big scientists are not always really scientific in mind, which I find often they are not. They are scientific in their laboratories; take them outside and they appear to be very frail human beings. They make mistakes about the simplest of things. But that is the fault of our age. We specialize so much that we lose sight of other things. Today, you know more and more about some odd things and nothing at all about other things. We become clever and clever and more and more foolish, or less wise, at the same time.

Anyhow, one of the big things that is happening in India is the development of these laboratories. It becomes a starting point for an adventure of the mind

and of thought. I want the people of India to share in that adventure of the mind. For it is an exciting business. And I do not see why you should not enjoy this exciting business and I do not see why you should not enjoy this excitement of the mind, of seeing the future gradually develop in bold relief.

I do not know if it is worthwhile for me to tell you the very useful facts that Dr Bhabha has given to me in a little note which I have before me. As you will see from the book you have been supplied, and as Mr Choksi told you, India has the biggest deposit of monazite. And monazite contains all kinds of what are called 'rare earths'. These rare earths are necessary, not only from the point of view of atomic energy, but from a large number of other points of view. You will see a chart in that book, monazite yielding all kinds of things—uranium for atomic energy, thorium for special alloys for industry, special glass and alloys for jet engine. Not that everybody knows its importance since it is in mysterious words nobody understands. I have already told you that the scientists now want to become some kind of a mysterious high priests, so that we may give them full praise without understanding anything—polishing or enamelling of cast iron and steel, polishing of optical glass, tinkling of optical glass, carbon for arc lamps—all these things. Most of the production of this factory is likely to be exported and bring good money in the process. I understand the factory will enable India to supply one-third of the total world demand for rare earths. This is a great step forward.

As you know, this factory is the result of co-operation between the French Rare Earths Factory¹³ and our own scientists. And I would like to say—something about it because this kind of question has often been asked in Parliament: we have been bitten so much in the past by foreign concerns coming in, planting themselves here to the disadvantage of India; that, naturally, Parliament is anxious not to get entangled in anything of that type. But it is obvious that everything depends on the way things are done. Obviously we want co-operation; it is something good to give it and take it. We take it—and co-operate, and there is absolutely no reason why we should not co-operate with foreign concerns or foreign governments on that basis. Take the atomic energy business. It is perfectly clear that other countries are much more advanced than we are. If we can learn something from them, we will learn. Fortunately, we have something to give them which they want. So we make a bargain: we give them something that they want from us; and we take something, technical knowledge, know-how, etc. which we want from them. There is nothing mysterious about it. It is a good, frank, honest bargain on both sides and both profit by it. As far as I know, our relationship with the

13. Societe de produits Chimiques des Terres Rares, Paris, were the consultants giving technical assistance to the Indian Rare Earths Ltd.

French Rare Earths Company, has been completely above all, a straightforward business in which we have profited and I hope they have profited too. And I am very glad that perhaps the Chief Director of that Company, Bluemensfeld is here today. We welcome that co-operation on that basis, which is to our mutual advantage.

I have no doubt that in regard to atomic energy work in future, we shall co-operate with other countries, and so far as we are concerned we draw no line on any country. Any country which can give us what we want, with which we can have what we consider an advantageous arrangement, we shall take it and give it what we have in exchange for what it can give.

As you have been informed, this factory, in the very first year of its existence has made a small profit of a few lakhs. This was really by having monazite treated for themselves by the French concern. But probably the annual profit of this will go to over Rs. 30 lakhs very soon. And remember, half of it will go to the Government of India and half to the Travancore-Cochin Government.

But, as I pointed out to you, its being commercially and extraordinarily profitable venture is rather by the way. Its importance lies elsewhere. We did this not to make profit, although profit is good, but for other reasons, for more important reasons, because we are concerned with what are called 'strategic materials' which are very important. Nowadays, some of these become more important still because of the increasing use of jet engines. While thorium is what is called a 'secondary atomic fuel', it is of great importance for the atomic energy development in the future. It is secondary atomic fuel remember, the primary one is uranium—and here in Travancore-Cochin, you have not got the primary fuel in any quantity, there is very little. You have got uranium much more in Bihar and elsewhere in India. But the secondary fuel can be used together with the primary, which becomes very helpful. Therefore, in order to make this really profitable, you have to combine activities in Travancore-Cochin and Bihar and other places. There again, you come up with this working on all-India basis.

I might inform you it is not much of a secret—that the Atomic Energy Commission has drawn up a plan for the development of atomic energy in India during the next four years and this has been agreed to by the Government of India. This includes the setting up of a medium-size reactor within three years. I have absolutely no intention of telling you what a reactor is! You will find it out for yourselves later. A medium-size reactor is something which helps you in experimenting and getting to the next stage of producing atomic energy.

The Government of India attach great importance to the development of atomic energy because atomic energy will make a very important contribution to the world resources of power for industrial use, social use, in the future.

Now, Mr Choksi has told you how rapidly this factory has been built. Construction started in March 1951—in effect, really it was in June 1951—completed by July 1952, and the factory was in regular production by August. Thus, within less than a year and a half, right from the beginning, this whole structure has been put up and has been working for some time now. I must congratulate all those concerned who put up the factory in such a short time, and in particular Mr Choksi, the person who is responsible for all that is being done here in regard to this factory. Mr Choksi referred to how four years ago we happened to be in Paris together,¹⁴ and the first talks took place about this with the French concern and amongst ourselves. From those early days Mr Choksi has taken great interest in it, and in fact has shouldered the responsibility of putting it up. He has given a lot of time and energy in an honorary way and there is no doubt that this factory owes practically, if not everything, a very great deal to him and his energy. And I should like to express the Government of India's appreciation of the work he has done in regard to this factory.

I need not say much about the three high priests who form the Atomic Energy Commission in India, namely Dr Bhabha, the Chairman, Dr Bhatnagar and Dr Krishnan, except to warn you not to allow them or any other scientists, to develop as high priests—if we want them to do good work.

14. Nehru visited Paris from 15 to 17 October and again from 26 October to 3 November 1948.

III. EDUCATION

1. Value of Basic Education¹

I am visiting Sewagram after three years. I have not come just to attend this function, but I have had a feeling that it is time that I visit Sewagram and Wardha and so I started on a pilgrimage.

1. Speech at the inauguration of Sewagram Rural University, Sewagram (Wardha), 1 November 1952. From *The Hindu*, 2 November 1952.

The Government of India are in full agreement with the principle behind *Nai Talim*² and are doing something although in their own way, to give it a place in the general education system of the country.

The work of the Talimi Sangh³ should be seen from an experimental point of view and the benefits that could be derived from it determined. It is not advisable to mould the whole educational system in India on Basic Education lines immediately in view of the present world situation. The question is how far a thing could be developed as often things lose their quality in the process of development after a certain extent.

It is my firm belief that we cannot develop our educational system quickly and steadily if we depend on financial considerations. In that case we may have to wait for years and we may not be able to go forward at all. It is a happy augury that Basic Education tried to show a way to progress in the educational sphere without such expenditure.

I often undertake lengthy tours in the country. I do not know if the people of the places I visit are benefited from these tours, but I am certainly benefited. I am able to get into my mind different pictures of India and can see the unity in diversity of our country.

I welcome Asha Aryanayakam's⁴ suggestions in a speech earlier for introducing Basic Education among the tribes of Assam for their literary and economic advancement. I am speaking neither as Congress President nor as Prime Minister. I have no doubt that Basic Education is the right way to reduce illiteracy and unemployment in the country. I am glad to see the foundation laid by Mahatma Gandhi taking shape now owing to the tireless work of his followers who are continuing the mission undertaken by Gandhiji even after his death.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave in his message sent on this occasion has observed that science and non-violence could be effectively combined for human progress. He has touched the right point. But if we simply say Ahimsa and do not keep pace with the fast-changing world, Ahimsa will have less effect.

2. *Nai Talim* (New Education), expounded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1938, was based on the principle of "learning through activity" and aimed at making students self-reliant, imbibe cultural values and be instructed through the medium of vernacular language. The scheme laid stress on learning some crafts at the school stage such as agriculture, spinning and weaving, carpentry, leather work and various domestic crafts.
3. The Haripura Congress in 1938 decided to establish an all India education board to start an immediate programme of basic national education called the Hindustani Talimi Sangh which came into being at Sewagram in April 1938 to propagate *Nai Talim*.
4. (1892-1969); wife of E.W. Aryanayakam, a well-known Gandhian and constructive worker. She was incharge of Sewagram Ashram and worked with her husband on programme of *Nai Talim*; later joined Vinoba Bhave's Gramdan and Bhoodan movements.

2. To Panjabrao Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
November 5, 1952

My dear Panjabrao,

Thank you for your letter of November 3rd.

I suggest that you should discuss this entire matter and your proposals² for spreading education with Maulana Azad.³ I would further suggest that it is better to lay stress to begin with on the earlier stages of education, notably the primary stage. Personally I believe in the basic type of education.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(107)/50-PMS.
2. Deshmukh proposed one-teacher schools which, he felt, could give employment to six and a half lakhs persons by the beginning of 1956. He wanted the Centre to take the responsibility of expansion of primary and secondary education. He felt that his scheme alongwith the expansion of education would provide solution to unemployment problem.
3. Union Minister of Education and Natural Resources at this time.

3. To Asha Devi Aryanayakam¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1952

My dear Asha Devi,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th November.

The press report is not correct in many respects. The world situation does not come in the picture at all. What I said² was (speaking from memory) that while the Government had generally accepted Basic Education, there were many varieties of it. Speaking in my personal capacity, I wanted to give my full support to Basic Education or *Nai Talim*. It had already passed the stage of experiment and had justified itself. It might have to be adopted to different parts of the country having regard to conditions there. We should proceed experimentally from this point of view, that is to say, the basis was accepted,

1. File No. 40(96)/49-PMS.
2. See *ante*, pp. 115-116.

but variations might be made where necessary. I was referring rather to minor variations and not to anything fundamental.

A very minor variation which appears to me quite necessary is, not to thrust down our songs, etc., as they are, on the tribal areas. Thus, *Raghupati Raghava Rajaram* is totally incomprehensible and without meaning to the tribes of the North-East Frontier. So also some other minor parts of the curriculum which might not suit there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi
November 12, 1952

My dear Maulana,

A deputation headed by Dr. Zakir Husain² came to see me about the Jamia.³ They gave me a copy of the letter they had addressed to you as well as other papers.

You know what a high opinion I have of the Jamia. I have not that high opinion of most of our other educational institutions. But I definitely think that the Jamia is a fine institution and deserves support. I think we should support it to the best of our ability.

The Jamia does not fit in with our normal rules and regulations for schools, colleges, universities and the like. I suppose that is why it is a little difficult to help it. As a matter of fact, its chief virtue is that it is different and better than our other educational institutions. It would be a tragedy if we tried to make it conform to the old type. I was told that it had been suggested to them that they should take their college to Aligarh and their school might be put under the Delhi State Government. I dislike this idea very much. It would mean the end of the Jamia and the fine experiment they have carried with

1. JN Collection.

2. Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University at this time.

3. Jamia Millia Islamia was founded at Aligarh on 29 October 1920, in response to a call to boycott the schools and colleges run by the Government. It was transferred to Delhi in 1925. In 1963, it was given the status of a deemed university by the Government of India. Besides the formal education, Jamia also has facilities for non-formal education.

such great success. We should encourage such experiments and not bring up out of date rules to smother them.

I do not myself think that it will be desirable to give the status of a university to the Jamia. If we do so, inevitably the Jamia will have to be looked at from a different point of view and its freedom of growth will be prevented. I understand that the object the Jamia people aim at is to have a rural university unlike others. That is good. Why not leave it to them to develop according to their own lines and not put them in a straitjacket?

Therefore, it would not be desirable to accept them as a normal university. We should leave them as they are and allow them to develop. For this purpose, we should help them financially to the best of our ability. They should have some certainty about the future and not live on *ad hoc* grants from time to time.

As a matter of fact, Dr. Zakir Husain, after some talk with me, came to the same conclusion. He does not press for a university, but he does press for help.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Krishna Kant Vyas¹

New Delhi
November 12, 1952

Dear Vyasji,²

...Since you have referred to this question of a University, I should like to tell you what I feel about universities in India today. I think they are not functioning satisfactorily at all and I am thoroughly dissatisfied with their work. Their standards are getting lower and there is a great deal of intrigue about some of them. I dislike this so much that I would not like any new University to be opened on the old model. What has happened frequently enough is that people start universities for reasons of prestige or something else without any adequate

1. JN Collection. Copy sent to Mishrilal Gangwal, Chief Minister of Madhya Bharat. Extracts.
2. (1910-1973); General Secretary, Central India States People's Conference, 1936 and 1942-49; President, Madhya Bharat Press Advisory Board, 1949-50; Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-56.

preparation for it. No doubt a few individuals might profit by it, but this is bad for education and our standards progressively go down.

Surely what we want is education, not universities. If a new university is started, it must fulfil all manner of essential considerations. It must give really good education of the modern type and not be merely an examining university doling out degrees. It would be wrong, I think, to start a university without the fullest preparation. Personally, I would like only teaching universities to be started. A mere collection of colleges is not a university.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Overseas Scholarships¹

Some time ago I drew attention to the large number of students from India who go abroad, chiefly to the UK or the USA. Many of these go privately and do not make good at all. They are a great drain on our foreign exchange resources without any subsequent benefit accruing to us. I suggested that this matter might be enquired into and some fairly strict rules laid down about students going abroad.

There is another somewhat related question. Quite a large number of Indians go abroad now under some scheme, or other, of scholarships, such as the Fulbright scheme.² At the same time crowds of people come to India, chiefly from America, as experts. It is true that the expenditure involved is mostly met by the USA or some organization.

We should always welcome any real experts when they are needed and we cannot shut our doors to merit at any time. But I am beginning to doubt the value or expert knowledge of many of the so-called experts who are descending upon India in such large numbers.

1. Note to the Ministries of Education, Home Affairs, Defence and Finance, 13 November 1952. File No. 40(88)/49-PMS.
2. James William Fulbright (1905-1995); US Senator from Arkansas, 1945-74; Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1959-74. On 1 August 1946, Harry S. Truman, the US President, signed the Fulbright Act, moved by Senator Fulbright which provided that upto 20 million US dollars could be earmarked for promoting educational exchanges between USA and other countries and that upto 1 million dollars could be spent each year where such an agreement was made.

This afternoon I happened to meet an American educationist who had come here under some such scheme. He was an interesting person and, in the course of the conversation, he himself mentioned why we tolerated this invasion of persons, who were styled experts but were frauds from that point of view. He said that he was surprised to find that a foreigner who came here was often preferred to a local person, who knew much more of the subject.

Later in the evening I met Shri B.N. Rau³ who asked me why we sent rather undesirable persons as Fulbright scholars (or perhaps under some other scheme). He said he had seen some in New York and they did no credit to our country at all and he felt embarrassed at what they went about saying.

I think that we must tighten up our controls both in regard to those who go out under foreign scholarships and those who come in as "experts". This passion for getting outsiders should be checked, unless there is special need and unless there is very special knowledge on the part of the person concerned. We are getting into the habit of accepting a proposal because somebody else is paying for it or partly paying for it. That is bad habit and should be discouraged.

3. Judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague at this time.

7. Ideal of Visva-Bharati¹

As Acharya of Visva-Bharati, it would have been my pride and pleasure to be present at the convocation of the University² and to welcome in person the President who is going to grace the occasion with his presence. I regret greatly that other duties have prevented me from being present on this occasion. On the day when the convocation is held, I shall be far away near the southern tip of India. I would, however, like to welcome the President, and to express the happiness all of us feel at his visit to this institution which Gurudeva built up through many years of labour and dedication.

I am glad that the authorities of the University have decided to confer on this occasion honorary doctorates on two veterans of Visva-Bharati, Shri Nandlal

1. Message sent to Visva-Bharati University for the convocation ceremony on 18 December 1952. File No. 40(117)/50-PMS.
2. It was held on 23 December 1952.

Bose,³ the great artist, and Shri Kshitimohan Sen,⁴ the scholar. In honouring them the University honours itself and pays tribute to their eminence in their respective fields and their life-long devotion to the educational ideals of Gurudeva.

This is the first occasion on which Visva-Bharati will confer its own degrees on its students, as a statutory Central University.⁵ I am not enamoured of degrees and it was not for awarding degrees that Gurudeva built up this institution. He wanted to train students in an atmosphere of freedom and joy so that they might participate, in their later years, in the creative activity of a free India. Degrees, however, have their uses, but only if they are not looked upon as ends in themselves. The ideal to be aimed at is that of a harmonious physical, intellectual and moral development. Gurudeva taught this and Visva-Bharati must ever remember this and actively work for it.

3. (1882-1966); well-known exponent of Indian arts; Principal, Kala Bhavan, the school of arts at Santiniketan, 1922-51.
4. (1880-1960); educationist and scholar; joined Visva-Bharati in 1908 as a teacher and worked there in various capacities for about fifty years; Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, 1953-54; wrote among others, *Madhyayuger Sadhanar Dhara* (1930), *Mediaeval Mysticism* (1935), *Bharat men Jatibhed*.
5. On 22 September 1951, Visva-Bharati was formally inaugurated as a Central University by Abul Kalam Azad, the Minister of Education.

8. Importance of Adult Education¹

The importance of adult education in a country like India and its place in the Five Year Plan cannot be ignored. Without an organized movement to spread social education the Plan cannot be expected to achieve much.

The object of the Plan is not only to put up factories or to develop river valley schemes or raise production, but the whole objective of the Plan is to produce human beings who might live better cultured lives. Education must naturally play a vital role in the improvement of human material.

1. Speech at the inauguration of Third National Seminar on Adult Education for neo-literates at the Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 20 December 1952. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Statesman*, 21 December 1952.

Literacy is not everything. I have come across many people with university degrees but found them uneducated. On the other hand there are illiterate peasants who are really educated. I found them more integrated human beings though they cannot write their names. I have great respect for the illiterates of India. Judging them by my standards, they are wise and cultured people than the so-called literates. It is quite absurd to call them uncultured and uneducated. Let us respect the average illiterate of India and not think that we are far above him. I doubt whether we are above him at all.

The aim of social or adult education is not only to teach man to read and write but to carry conviction to his mind and thereby impel him to learn. In other words, fostering the development of an adult's mind can be a good definition of adult education. The attempt to teach an illiterate person must not be superficial but it should be related to his work; his ideas and his plan of life, as without that the results would not be enduring.

IV. ART AND CULTURE

1. Change in the National Anthem¹

This is too bad and cannot be allowed.² If you think the word Sindhu should not be there because Sind is no more with us, you must remember that there are lakhs of Sindhis here. It is wrong to change the actual song composed by Rabindranath Tagore. There are many parts of the country to which it does not make any reference at all and then we have thousands of Sindhis amongst us. This is a song for the whole of India. Besides, while changing the song, you are robbing it of its poetry.

1. Address to the Congress sevikas, Bombay, 6 December 1952. *The Hindu*, 7 December 1952 and the *National Herald*, 8 December 1952.
2. At the conclusion of Nehru's address to the Congress workers there, the Congress sevikas had sung a changed version of the National Anthem, in which the word 'Sindhu' had been replaced by the word Kamrup, the old name of Assam.

2. The Gandhi Memorial¹

May I add, Sir, that a final decision is not likely to be arrived at for some considerable time.² In spite of course of the importance of the Memorial—or rather because of it, we do not wish to hurry in any way, but to consider it in all its aspects, to consider the views of eminent architects from abroad, in fact, we have received some, and of course of our own architects and others, and consult the Committee of the Gandhi Memorial Fund³ which is interested in putting up these buildings. Apart from that there is the Gandhi Memorial Museum and others.⁴ We want the whole thing to be not in isolated patches, but to fit in with each other.

So, the matter does require a great deal of consideration and although we should like to start as soon as possible, it is better to delay and have the proper thing rather than hurry and do perhaps the wrong thing.

A. Kale: May I know whether the design submitted by Mr. Karmarkar from Bombay is under the consideration of Government?

JN: I do not know, Sir. If he had sent it must have been considered.

1. Statement in Parliament, 17 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol IV, Part I, col. 1703.
2. Replying to a question by S.N. Das about the delay in submission of the report by the Gandhi Memorial Design Committee, Swaran Singh, the Minister for Works and Housing, said that as the Committee appointed in 1950 had not yet finalized its report, there was delay in its publication.
3. Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Gandhi National Memorial Fund) was established in New Delhi after Mahatma Gandhi's death in order to conduct and promote constructive activities associated with Mahatma Gandhi and to acquire and preserve places associated with his life and work. At the end of 1951, the Nidhi had collected about Rs. 10,60,00,000 from public donations.
4. Trustees of the Gandhi Memorial Fund collected Rs. 10 crores to construct Gandhi Museums in Delhi, Sewagram, Sabarmati, and Madurai, and village centres called 'Gandhi Ghar.'

V. LANGUAGE

1. To Vinoba Bhave¹

New Delhi
December 4, 1952

Dear Vinobaji,

Please forgive me for writing to you in English. I am very hard pressed for time and this saves time. Indeed the delay in my answering your letter has been partly because I wanted to write to you in Hindi. I am again going out of Delhi early tomorrow morning. Before I go, I want to send you this letter.

About the Gram Udyog Board,² I would gladly help it in every way. Indeed I have told them that I must be invited to all their meetings. But it is against our rules and convention for the Prime Minister to be the Chairman or even a formal member of such a Board. I put this matter to the Cabinet too and they felt that we should not break our convention. I am thus rather in a difficulty. I shall see how matters function and, in any event, I shall take great interest in it....

I quite agree with you that the Nagari script should be used for our various languages in India. That would be a great help in many ways. The difficulty is that the languages issue raises passions. I am quite sure that there would be an uproar in Bengal if we suggested to them to give up their script and adopt the Nagari. The best thing is to carry on propaganda for this without trying to impose it.

As for the Osmania University, I also agree with you that the Nagari script should be used. But again, any such proposal would meet with fierce resistance in Hyderabad. Indeed, even the idea of having the Osmania University as a Central University³ is being opposed by many people.

1. File No. 2 (600)/51-PMS. Extracts.
2. All-India Village Industries Association, started in 1934 at Wardha by Mahatma Gandhi for revival and improvement of village industries, after merger in 1950 with Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, an umbrella organization of various associations, was engaged in implementation of constructive programme under the auspices of the Gram Udyog Board of the Sangh.
3. The Osmania University, a residential and an affiliating University, was established in Hyderabad in 1918. The Government of India, in April 1952, set up an official committee to implement the decision to reconstitute the Osmania as a Central University. In November 1952, an educational experts committee under the chairmanship of Narendra Deva was appointed by the Government to advise on educational and other allied questions relating to reconstitution of the Osmania as a Central institution.

...We are following with great interest the wonderful work you are doing and wish it every success. Apart from the practical results obtained, the psychological effect of it is very great. I hope, however, that you will not overstrain yourself and that you will look after your health.

I am writing to Maulana Azad about your proposal for the Osmania University.⁴

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. See next item.

2. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi
December 4, 1952

My dear Maulana,

Vinoba Bhave is very anxious to make the Nagari Script the common script of India for the various languages, more especially for Gujarati, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, etc. I am sure this is a good idea and would help greatly in the development of all our languages and in more people knowing them. But I fear that if we made such a proposal now, there would be an uproar in Bengal and in South India.

Vinoba Bhave has, however, made one specific suggestion and that is, we might start with this in the Osmania University. This does not mean that we should put aside other scripts. Certainly the Urdu script should continue. But he wants the principal medium of instruction to be in the Hindi script² and more especially for Kannada and Telugu writings in the Nagari script. I agree with him. Marathi of course has practically the same script as the Nagari.

I agree with this, but I fear that if we made this proposal now, there would be an outcry in Hyderabad. We can, however, keep it in mind and gradually encourage this.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 33(26)/48-PMS.

2. In his reply on 8 December 1952, Maulana Azad expressed confidence that in the course of time for a great many of the Indian languages there would be a gradual adoption of the Devanagari script and for Gujarati and Marathi languages it had already been done to a large extent.

I. BHOODAN MOVEMENT

1. To P.Y. Deshpande¹

New Delhi

November 7, 1952

My dear Deshpande,²

Your letter of the 6th November.

I am very sorry to learn about Vinobaji's physical condition and also that he feels rather depressed.³ It is natural for sensitive and idealistic persons to feel depressed, but I do hope that he will not permit this occasional depression to affect the great work he is doing. I am convinced that his Bhoodan movement⁴ is of great importance. It is important not only because of the actual land received but even more so because of the psychology created in the country.

So far as Government is concerned, and more especially the Central Government, it is difficult to give him any active help. State Governments can do so much more.⁵ Government help might produce some results here and there, but in the balance I think it might take away somewhat from the virtue of that movement. That is to say, the slight element of Government pressure might come in. I should like to avoid that. But as for our sympathy and any facilities that can be given to him, I would gladly go as far as possible.

I understand that in Uttar Pradesh the response to the Bhoodan Yagna was fairly good.⁶ I was happy to learn this. Bihar is in a very bad way at present from the Congress point of view.⁷ Indeed, we are considering what we can do

1. File No. 2(600)/51-PMS.
2. Purushottam Yashwant Deshpande (1900-1986); participated in the freedom movement and jailed in 1932 and 1944; editor, *Nagpur Times*, 1948-62; Member of Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; author of *Palikade* (1927) and *Nava Yug* (1941).
3. Deshpande had written that having recently fainted during his walking tour in connection with Bhoodan movement, Vinoba Bhave had in a mood of depression hinted at disbanding his team and carrying out his mission alone.
4. A movement started in 1951 by Vinoba Bhave, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to bring about a peaceful agrarian revolution through collection of land from the landowners as 'gift' and its distribution among the landless peasants.
5. Deshpande wrote that Vinobaji felt that the Central and State Governments were not playing their part well in support of his mission.
6. Starting his campaign from Meerut in Uttar Pradesh on 24 November 1951, Vinoba Bhave could procure 311 acres of land as a daily average while in Telengana and Delhi it ranged between 240 to 300 acres. The UP tour lasted till the second week of September 1952.
7. Deshpande had written that Vinobaji was not satisfied with Bihar's response, especially of the Provincial Congress, to his movement.

about Bihar. It is a tragedy to see that fine Congress province going to pieces because of internal rivalries and lust for power and position.⁸

I hope you will convey my greetings and regards to Vinobaji and assure him that we have attached the greatest importance to his mission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. In Bihar, there was a large-scale enrolment of bogus members as Congressmen and grave irregularities were committed leading to acts of violence in a few places during the conduct of election of delegates to the Hyderabad Congress.

II. HARIJANS

1. The Dignity of Labour¹

I am glad to be present at this *sammelan*. It will be out of place to talk of revolution here. It has become almost a habit with us to repeat old grievances and narrate old tales. I do not mean that we should not persist in righting wrongs, old though they be; but we must, at the same time, be alert and keep our heads on our shoulders. This country belongs to all of us. Before we attained independence our main object was to drive the foreigners out of this land. We talked of social and economic reforms then, too, but our struggle at that time was mainly political.

After the attainment of Swaraj, economic and social problems have begun to loom large before us. There may be differences of opinion about these problems but the question is how to solve them. We talk of *Gandhivad* and other *vads* or 'isms; but our chief defect is that we are more given to talking about things than to doing them. We seem to think that social and economic reforms can be achieved merely by passing resolutions or enacting legislative measures.

You ought to give thought to your problems but I would ask you to broaden your vision and think of India, of *Bharat Mata*, as a whole. Who is *Bharat Mata*? It is you—the *janata*—and the question before us is how to raise the economic standards of this *janata* i.e., the nation.

1. Address at the inauguration of the Harijan Convention, Wardha, 1 November 1952. Original in Hindi. From *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-1953* Vol. 2 (Publications Division, New Delhi, 1967), pp. 62-65.

Giving government jobs to a few people will not solve the problem of the crores of Indians who are unemployed. It is not possible for the Government to find employment for everybody. If unqualified people are employed, the country will suffer. Let all those who are engaged in an occupation do their jobs well, for production is proportionate to the work done. The prosperity of a nation depends on its capacity for production and on a rational distribution of wealth. In order to ensure the latter, we must remove all the present bottlenecks.

A revolution cannot increase our wealth, which really calls for hard work. After the Revolution of 1917, the Russians had to work tremendously hard before they could reach their present position. They had their Five Year Plans and laboured with diligence and patience for them. The people gladly endured hardships and suffering so that the foundations of their Republic may be true and strong. The Russian Revolution took place thirty-five years ago and it is only now that the people are beginning to gather the fruit of their labours. For the first decade, they had to work hard and suffer even more than they did under the old regime; but they had courage and confidence. Revolution can remove an old regime but it cannot make a nation wealthy overnight. To improve their lot, the Russians toiled and sweated and have now come into their own.

From Socialist Russia to Capitalist America is a far cry. It is true that America is two and half times as big as India but the ratio of American production is far higher than ours. They have devised means of increasing their wealth. The average income of a working man is about a thousand rupees a month. The American people recognize the dignity of labour. Even the sons of the rich earn their living while they learn. They think it derogatory to live on the earnings of others.

We have got to change our mentality. At present we are apt to look down on manual labour and that tendency is responsible for our present plight. There are two kinds of unemployment in our country—there are people who do not find work and there are those who are not willing to work. During my recent tour of Assam I came across a young girl, who was carrying a load of firewood on her head. I stopped and spoke to her. I was surprised because she spoke perfect English. She had been educated in England. Her parents had lost their all in Pakistan and were reduced to penury. In spite of her background, she did not hesitate to do manual work. The most important thing is the will to work. The prosperity of a nation is judged by the number of people who are employed. Unemployment is the bane of a nation.

I shall now come to an important social problem. It cannot be gainsaid that the Harijans have been oppressed for ages. Certain cruel customs have sprung up and they cannot be eradicated merely by legislation. Even so, I am sure that the present world conditions are bound, sooner or later, to bring

about a basic change in the situation. If we want to prosper as a nation, we must put a premium on efficiency and competence and, therefore, only those who are competent should be given employment in the Government. Nepotism, favouritism or reservation will lower the standard of government work. It worries me to find our standard of efficiency falling. It will be dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue, because in the next four or five years new responsibilities will devolve on us.

It is wrong to think the government services are there to maintain the people. In advanced countries, it is no honour to be a government servant. It is only in backward countries, where there is a great deal of unemployment, that government services are given undue importance.

The test of competence lies not in mere possession of a university degree. Our greatest responsibility today is to give every child—boy or girl—equal opportunity. My heart saddens when I see our young children going about half-naked, half-starved. It is our duty to supply them with proper nourishment and clothing. We have a glorious past and our history goes back thousands of years; but our civilization had its evils also, the caste system not the least of them. We must draw lessons from our past and rise to new heights.

III. GENERAL

1. The Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, 1952¹

Mr Chairman, I have been listening to the speeches delivered here for some time and I thought that with your permission I should also say a few words. I was eager to speak particularly because my honourable friend from Ballia² spoke on Hindu culture and religion and other matters. Ballia is a district of my State and it is known for sturdy and good men. But till now I did not know that it was a centre of Indian culture and it also gave forth the light of Indian culture. I also have some knowledge of Indian culture. I too have studied a little of it and know something of it. If the picture of Indian culture presented by my honourable friend is really true, then I am surprised and depressed at it. Those who have been students of history and particularly of Indian history, know what heights the Indian culture once reached and how it uplifted and strengthened India and influenced other countries of the world. They also know that a time came when those heights could not be retained. The high culture

1. Statement in Parliament, 20 December 1952, *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. II, cols. 2737-46, Original in Hindi.
2. Tarakeshwar Pande.

might have remained what it was but the people fell. A living, springing, kicking, dynamic thing like the Indian culture was caged. If a thing is caged and its growth is stopped, it shrivels up and perishes after some time. Indian culture was glorious and dynamic and remained alive even though it was encaged. If we look into Indian history we would come to know that there was a period when the people of India went to the four corners of the world with the mission of propagating their culture, their religion, and their arts, and earned fame for themselves. Then came a period when in the name of that very Indian culture it was said that the person who went out of India was an antagonist of religion and culture. Such a person was excommunicated. If any one touched any other person he fell from his religion, if he took his food with any other person, he again fell from his religion. Our glorious Indian culture was reduced to this plight. Some of our countrymen made it the religion of the kitchen. Our living, dynamic, elevated, extensive and elastic culture was confined to a corner, encaged and made the religion of the kitchen. Such questions arose as to who should be touched and who should not be touched and people fell from their religion by going from one place to another. The Indian society was thus weakened, shackled and encaged.

Not only myself but everyone who knows even a little of this country and is interested in it, respects Indian culture. His dignity lies therein. But Indian culture is not confined to a few people who think themselves to be its custodians. This is objectionable. Is Indian culture confined to those people who blindfold themselves down to a particular place? Should we not take a forward step? We should think about it. This is a small Bill³ that you are considering and you will accept it but the question involved in it is very serious. It is a matter of vital importance how we build a new India. This is a great historic question. The political progress of India has taken a new turn—India has become independent. For the last four or five days you have been considering the Five Year Plan also. You should read and understand the proposals envisaged in the Five Year Plan. We have not gone far but that is another thing. This Five Year Plan means an economic turning, economic advancement and progress for our country. In the present times, political progress alone is not enough because that in itself gives no strength.

Thirdly, there is the social question. So long as society does not take a forward step with open eyes, political freedom and economic advancement alone are not enough. So long as there is no all-round progress, mere advancement is meaningless. Therefore, the social question is very important.

3. The Bill dealt with application of the proposed act overriding existing custom, law or enactment except as provided specifically, governing a Hindu marriage, including restitution of conjugal rights, judicial separation, termination of marriage, divorce and conditions for divorce, punishment for bigamy, jurisdiction of courts and a procedure governing alimony, custody of children, disposal of properties, etc.

You should consider as to what should be your outlook. Some people say that Indian culture is at the root of our mental outlook and that it has been responsible for the advancement of the people of this country for hundreds and thousands of years. You should preserve the fundamentals and strengthen the root. But if you preserve the root alone and do not allow it to sprout and grow into a tree with branches, leaves and fruits, you cannot profit by it. You have to develop it. What is society after all? We as individuals change every day. Yesterday is past and dead but we are alive today. The past is dead but we are alive in the present. Every day, every minute, we change. Childhood, youth and old age come and slowly go and the same story is repeated over again. The society also advances and changes likewise. The social change may, no doubt, be so slow as not to be visible. It is sometimes slow and sometimes very fast. The society changes and grows. What is a society? To take the example of a child. It puts on a particular suit of clothes but when it grows, the suit does not fit in and obstructs its growth. Wise men prepare loose clothes for their children so that they may grow and after some time they change them. Whenever they think it is necessary to change the clothes of their children they change them. A coat or a shirt, cannot stop the growth of a child. It will hurt the child, but it will grow. Even if you do not change the coat in time, the child will grow—if not in any other way, by tearing the coat. In the same way, the society will surely grow and change. If the child is not dressed in loose clothes, it grows by tearing the clothes. This tearing of clothes by society is called a social revolution. It is a big revolution. Wise men do not allow their clothes to wear out so much as to be in tatters. They change their clothes in time. Social changes take place like this. The fundamentals do not change but small things change. A person may say that in the past we rode chariots and therefore in the present times also we should travel by chariots. No doubt, chariots are good but would anyone like to go to Bombay in a chariot or in some other way? The times change and the society changes with the times. If any society does not change, it becomes backward, as has been the plight of our society. We are trying to go forward again and to be in time with others.

There is one thing more. People talk of Hindu society. What is a Hindu society? Just think. Has Hindu society one form or one complexion? Just visit different places in India. I have had occasion to travel throughout India. I saw that Hindu society was in different forms. I ask, what is Hindu society? Hindu society is a power but it has different forms. It is because it is not restricted and has different forms at different places and it is powerful. The fundamentals are the same everywhere but every place has a different form according to its needs. This is the secret of its strength. To take up this very Bill which provides for divorce, everyone knows that excepting a few upper classes, eighty per cent of the people have this custom. If you say that these people are not

Hindus and that excepting those belonging to a few upper classes, the rest of the people are not Hindus, it has a far-reaching effect and you restrict yourselves by excluding those people. At one time you ex-communicated a number of people. That was not a good thing. You thought them to be Harijans and untouchables. You repent now and try to win them over. There are all kinds of people and all kinds of rules and regulations in Hindu society. There is nothing in this Bill, which is not there already in Hindu society, in the whole of Hindu society. Even if you say that this is prevalent at one place and among some people, still we are not taking a big step. I have no doubt, that before the advent of the British, the Hindu society had become restricted for some time and it became all the more restricted after the arrival of the British. Our progress had stopped. If you look at our literature, you will find that our ancient literature is of a high order but the literature of this intervening period is stunted and so are the arts. Our progress stopped and we became narrow-minded. We accepted the old light but did not allow the new light to enter our minds. Still the Hindu society had some potential for progress because it was dynamic. You know what the Hindu Law was. Like the British Constitution the Hindu Law was also unwritten. The phrase used is "Hindu law and custom." Custom formed a vital part of Hindu Law. Customs were very much respected. There were all types of customs and at places altogether diverse in nature, but they were dynamic, elastic and progressive, they were not rigid. The British Raj made them rigid and restricted them by laying down a code and framing the Hindu Law. How did they restrict them? Their advisers informed them of all the customs prevalent at that time and also those described in ancient books. The British codified them and thus restricted them. The power of Hindu society of gradually changing was restricted. It was all the more restricted during the British regime. Thereafter no change could be brought about by customs. If it had to be brought about, laws had to be framed. Previously there was an invisible change in Hindu customs and the society changed. Now for every change recourse is taken to law-making so that gradually customs may come into existence. We have again to blow life into the Hindu society and create in it a potential for progress so that it may grow and gain strength and, inspired by its basic culture, may progress itself and make the country progress. That is why this Bill has been brought forward. I think you know its history. We were entangled in the Hindu Code Bill.⁴ We were entangled because

4. The Hindu Code Bill, drafted by B.N. Rau Committee was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in 1947 and referred to a Select Committee of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) in April 1948. The revised draft was discussed at length by the Provisional Parliament, but due to the controversy it aroused, the Bill could not be passed and it lapsed with the dissolution of that Parliament. Later on, the Government announced that it proposed to bring forward the Bill in separate parts for the purpose of facilitating discussion on it and its subsequent passage by the Parliament.

we tried to include in it too many things. The result was that years passed by and no forward step was taken. Therefore, we are trying to introduce it piece-meal so that there may be calm and quiet discussion and we may arrive at a decision and thereafter we may take another step. I support the motion for circulating the Bill for eliciting public opinion thereon. I do not fear that the people will oppose it. It is possible that among the people some one may oppose it, and some one may not oppose it....⁵

I was saying that this has been discussed a lot and therefore I did not worry about it. We want to take a firm step and we want to take it early. We do not want to waste much time. At the same time, we want that no one should have a complaint when we want to do something for the society, we should take a firm step. Therefore, I do not think that there is any harm if this takes even three to four months. We should take a firm step and arrive at a final decision. I do not fear opposition. If it is feared that our society will not accept this legislation, what is the use of bringing it forward? In such a case it will not be possible to enforce it and it will fall to pieces. Society cannot be changed by laws on paper. I again support the Bill....⁶ As I have just now said, for the simple reason that if you put up the whole thing today, it will take so much time that it will never be passed. From practical experience we find that those who may oppose it here or elsewhere can delay matters indefinitely. Therefore, we want to take it in sections and decide one thing at a time. If you want to dispose of the whole thing, it may take two or three years' time....⁷

Of course, it is our idea to have a Joint Committee of the two Houses on this after it comes back from circulation and then proceed with it....⁸

If I may say so, the whole picture, as a picture, has been there for years now. You may change bits of it. Suppose we take something like adoption separately, it is a separate subject. You can fit it in.

5. C.G.K. Reddy, a Socialist member from Mysore, said that the honourable Leader of the House had "invited opposition by his speech."
6. Bhupesh Gupta, Communist Member from West Bengal, wanted to know why the Hindu Code Bill was not presented in its entirety.
7. N.G. Ranga, Krishikar-Lok Party Member from Madras, wanted the Government to see the Bill through before the next session was over.
8. Referring to Nehru's intention to discuss the Bill piece by piece, Reddy pointed to the danger of one part getting in conflict with the others. The Vice-Chairman observed that in such an event the object of the Bill might be defeated.

YOUTH AND CHILDREN

I. YOUTH AND CHILDREN

1. Work Should Be Your Motto¹

From time to time a number of youth movements and student organizations were started in the country. But it pained me to see that these organizations wasted most of their time in passing lengthy resolutions and engaging themselves in small quarrels. The young men should discard narrow outlook and petty feelings which are responsible for the downfall of India.

Narrowness of vision is most inconsistent with the rapidly changing world of today and if we want to raise our people from the depths to which they have fallen then we must try to understand the problems with an open mind. I do not like young men blindly following or criticizing a particular country or ideology. We must adopt good things from wherever they are found. We have to take a lesson from countries like Germany and Japan which were completely devastated in the last World War but have again developed their industries in a short time. Their remarkable recovery after the War has been entirely due to their traditions of doing hard work. People of China are also most hard working and that is why they could progress in a very short time. Honest devotion to labour and work are the key to success. Even Gandhiji taught us the dignity of labour. Charkha is the symbol of the dignity of work and is an excellent method to keep the idle masses engaged. Do some constructive work every day; make your hands work and feet move. Youth has to counteract the tendency to look down upon manual labour and only honest labour can help do it. It is regrettable that there is little appreciation for labour in our country. A country which does not know the value of work and has no respect for labour is doomed.

Communalism is harmful and it is like putting the clock back by six years. Its poison has affected its champions so much that their vision has become circumscribed. It has already done immense harm to our country and its recrudescence will be a disaster. It has kept the country divided for centuries and given a distorted picture of our ancient culture and heritage.

Students must take part in politics and try to study and understand the various problems, but if taking part in politics meant neglecting studies then I am not in favour of it. A student after finishing his studies is welcome to be a politician if he so chooses, but both study and active politics cannot go

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Convention of the Youth Congress in Varanasi, 23 November 1952. From *The Leader*, 24 November 1952.

together. Young men who want to become engineers, doctors or specialists in any other branch of study have to receive proper education. But it is a strange paradox that no such study, they seem to think, is required to become politicians. This tendency is dangerous, because politicians have to deal with complicated problems involving human beings.

Youth movements are meant to train the youth for the future and prepare them to shoulder responsibilities when they grow up. Youth movements are not for solving our political problems or indulging in political activities.

Students should therefore take interest in politics only academically. Mere imitation and blind condemnation are equally bad. Therefore, do not imitate anything foreign because it cannot give us strength or be of enduring value.

Though I was connected with the earliest youth movement in India which began in 1928, I was later estranged from it by the scramble for positions which the movement showed after the assumption of power by the Congress in 1937.

Take it from me that honestly you do not understand the problems, which are so intricately inter-connected that it is not possible for you to sit in judgement on them.

Therefore, there should be only one resolution before the youth—that of work. This convention should therefore not indulge in passing verbose resolutions on matters of national and international importance but chalk out a programme relating to youth and work it out.

2. Youth and Manual Labour¹

I have read the comments of the Additional Secretary² on the proposals of the Planning Commission.³ I think these comments are not based on a full appreciation of that proposal. The proposal involves certainly social service of some kind or other. But the object is not to have social service but is definitely

1. Note to the Ministry of Education, 25 November 1952. File No. 17(248)/51-PMS.

2. Humayun Kabir.

3. It was proposed that students between eighteen to twenty two years of age except when medically unfit, should in the course of their education devote a period extending from 6 months to a year in doing manual work on community projects, irrigation works, road construction and slum improvement projects, etc. as a part of national service.

to discipline our people in manual work and the like. This principle has been accepted both by the Cabinet and the Planning Commission and we can hardly go back upon it at this stage on the ground that compulsion is bad. If compulsory military service is accepted by many countries, certainly compulsory labour service is much simpler and less objectionable.

I do not agree about the risk of unwilling young men being compelled to go to rural areas, etc. There are some risks in every course that we adopt and the biggest risk is not adopting any course. There is risk indeed in sending people to schools and colleges where, as we see, many of them adopt undesirable course. Are we, therefore, to shut up our schools and colleges?

In fact it is to remove or lessen that risk in our schools and colleges that this proposal is made. It is also meant to improve the nation physically and discipline it and produce a healthy respect for manual labour.

These young men can certainly be used for education, etc. But the whole basis of the scheme is that they must themselves do physical labour and be disciplined. In addition to them, they can do the other work.

I do not quite know what the Planning Commission has written. But the present plan, I believe, is to start with voluntary camps with certain inducements attached to them. Thus it should be made quite clear that only persons who have been through these camps will be taken into Government service and the like.

The main consideration really is the expenditure involved. I think that, properly done, the expenditure should be less and the output greater. However, it is best to start on a relatively modest scale and learn from experience.

3. Children Are the Treasure of the Nation¹

Education does not mean simply cramming up of books and passing certain examinations. As a matter of fact, a good system of education has the least number of books as it lays greater stress on practical training. The primary aim of any system of education should be to so mould the character of students as to help them face life with courage and determination. The basic education has to be adopted as the foundation on which the whole system of education is to be built in the country.

1. Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of a Shishu Mandir (Montessori School) at Bhilsa, Madhya Pradesh, 30 November 1952. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu*, 1 December 1952.

I feel sorry that a large number of children in the country have no proper facilities for an unhampered growth of their personality. Efforts are being made in that direction and I want that the children should be treated as the treasure of the nation which has to be cared for and properly looked after. The children of today have to play a significant role in the future development of the country. In their eyes I see the future and wish that they should not be deficient in any respect. I am confident that if given full opportunities most of the children of this country will not be found lacking in the qualities that help men become great. We must maintain unity in the country and from their early childhood, children should be taught this fundamental lesson which will prove beneficial to the country as well as to them.

The child is most receptive in the early stages when it should be given proper education and training to help develop its personality. To ensure a bright future for the country it is essential to pay adequate attention to the children of the nation who have to play a significant role in the making of future India.

4. Shankar's Weekly Children's Number¹

I am happy to see how Shankar's² Children's Number is growing in size and helping the children of many parts of the world to know something of each other. It is becoming a true children's international forum and the thousands of pictures and stories and articles that it receives every year teach not only the children but I hope, also their elders the lesson of common humanity and of friendly co-operation. That is a lesson of vital importance to us all today. If the elders fail in learning it, I hope the children of today will be wiser than the elders and will understand that this great and fascinating world of ours, with its infinite variety, is yet one world, where all of us should try to make friends with each other and work and play together. I hope that they will learn to discard hatred and violence which disfigure and destroy all that should be cherished in this world.

So, through the next Children's Number, I send my affectionate greetings to all the children to whom it may reach and my best wishes for the year to come.

1. Message to the *Shankar's Weekly*, Children's Number, 22 December 1952. JN Collection.
2. K. Shankar Pillai, Editor of *Shankar's Weekly*.

1. Upliftment of the Tribals¹

I arrived here from Calcutta² and via Gauhati in the afternoon for a lunch.

2. I met two deputations; one from the United Khasi Jaintia Hills and the other from the Garo Hills. They consisted of MPs, MLAs, and Members of the two District Councils.

3. I addressed a very largely attended public meeting³ later and afterwards had a talk with the Ministers of the Assam Government.

4. Tomorrow I shall see more delegations and meet other people. I am noting down today's reactions and impressions.

5. On the 7th June, 1952, I spoke at the Scheduled Tribals Conference in New Delhi.⁴ I spoke on the spur of the moment. That speech of mine has been quoted in the addresses that were presented to me. The Governor had copies of it printed and distributed to all officers and others. Finding that speech had produced an impression, I got a copy and read it again this evening. I think that it expresses my point of view as well as I can put it and, from the point of view of basic approach to the problem of the tribal people, this speech might well be considered as laying down the general policy.

6. It is desirable that this should be borne in mind because there is still, I find a good deal of confusion in the approach to this important question and well-meaning people act in a manner which, I think, is not right and which is likely to produce undesirable consequences.

7. We use the word tribal people or Scheduled Tribes and think of them as if they were more or less like each other. As a matter of fact, there is infinite variety among them, variety of every kind, and it is hardly possible to lay down the same rules as applying to all of them. Most people in India, when they talk of tribal people, probably think of the Bhils, the Santhals and the like. I think it should be borne in mind that the Assam tribals are different from the others and should be considered rather separately. Among the Assam tribes again there is a very great variety. There are the Khasis, who are fairly highly developed and who can hardly be classed with the other tribes, and there are the Nagas, some of whom are head-hunters. Between these two there are many varieties; even among the Nagas there are numerous tribes. In fact, to describe that group as Nagas is very misleading, because they are not one group. This mistake was perpetrated by the British and we have kept it up.

1. Note, Shillong, 19 October 1952, JN Collection.

2. Nehru as Prime Minister undertook for the first time a tour of some tribal areas in Assam from 19 to 25 October 1952.

3. See *ante*, pp. 3-9.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, pp. 370-377.

8. A fact to remember is that these people of the Frontier areas never came in contact with our freedom movement. They were isolated and kept apart from it and, therefore, they were not prepared psychologically for the changes that have taken place. They had hardly come in contact with Indians as such and most of their dealings in the past, were with the British officers and foreign missionaries. Thus they lack the feeling of oneness with the rest of India or the Indian people and are greatly afraid that their small numbers will be swamped by others and that they would lose their distinctive customs and culture, apart from suffering economically. Their minds are full of apprehension about the future.

9. The problem essentially, therefore, is how to remove this fear and suspicion from their minds and how to make them feel at one with India. Everything else is subordinate to this, even economic betterment, although that is highly important. It was, no doubt, with this idea that the makers of the Constitution drew up the VI Schedule and made some special provision for these tribal folk.⁵ Whether that VI Schedule is adequate or not, I cannot say. I rather think that some changes in it might be necessary, even though that involves a change in our Constitution. I would not hesitate to make these changes if they serve to remove the feeling of apprehension from the minds of these people.

10. In the past, they have largely dealt with British officers or foreign missionaries, who have, no doubt, instilled in them a feeling of slight contempt for Indians as weak people and who have, at the same time, made them a little afraid of the mass of India. For this reason we have to start not only from scratch but behind scratch and have to remove the impression that was previously created in their minds. This requires a very friendly approach on the one hand and firmness, where needed, on the other. As far as I can see, this can be done and no great damage has been done thus far. Generally speaking, tribal people are in a questioning mood, trying to find out what is going to happen to them. (This is not merely a question of Constitution but of governmental and human behaviour). Their attitude thus is a mixture of hope and apprehension and every little incident emphasizes one or the other aspect.

5. The constitutional provisions for the administration of the tribal areas of Assam including NEFA were based on the recommendations of the North-East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas Sub-Committee, presided over by Gopinath Bardoloi and A.V. Thakkar as one of the members. The Sixth Schedule provided for autonomous District and Regional Councils, which were primary representative bodies and had the power of law-making in certain specified fields such as management of a forest other than a reserved forest, inheritance of property, marriage and social customs, assessment and collection of land revenue and imposition of certain specified taxes. These Councils also had judicial powers, civil and criminal, subject to the jurisdiction of the High Court as the Governor may from time to time specify.

11. I would except the Nagas from the above, because the Nagas are definitely non-cooperative and even to some extent hostile. I refer particularly to the Nagas of the Hills Districts here and not to the Nagas elsewhere. These Nagas here have prevented, by their disciplined and their very effective non-cooperation, the formation of a District Council for them as provided for in the VI Schedule.⁶ All the other District Councils have been formed. Recent reports indicate that these Nagas are becoming slightly aggressive, though no major incident has yet taken place. The person who appears to hold authority amongst them is Zapu Phizo.⁷ I met this man twice and formed a poor opinion of him. His demand on behalf of the Nagas is for independence. I have explained to him and to others in the clearest language that this is nonsense and we are not going to consider it. In spite of this, however, the hostility of these Nagas appears to continue and Zapu Phizo talks about going to the UN or doing something else. He takes up, more or less, the proud attitude of not acknowledging the Government of India or at any rate somewhat ignoring its directions. I think we can ignore Zapu Phizo as a person. Too much importance has been attached to him in the past. But he represents some kind of widespread feeling among the Nagas. That is important.

12. I have referred to the human approach. I have an impression that this has been lacking. Indeed, Ministers hardly ever go to these areas in the interior and have to rely on reports of some local officials. Even officials at headquarters seldom go there. The approach thus, instead of being human and personal, is very largely official, departmental and bureaucratic. This latter approach cannot succeed in gaining their goodwill or understanding.

13. I propose to visit the Naga territories soon,⁸ or some of them and shall note down my reactions then. For the present, I have met representatives of the Khasi and the Garo Hills. I cannot easily distinguish between these various types. But the Khasis rather stand out. I find them a very attractive people and generally fairly well educated. Indeed, their standard is at least as high as the normal standard of others in Assam or elsewhere. In addition, they are far more disciplined in common with other tribal folk. I think we should definitely encourage them in every way. We should encourage others also. But probably the field to choose from will be greater among the Khasis. They should not be made to feel that they are inferior in any way or are dominated over by others. This approach could be helped much if the Khasis, as well as some others,

6. See *ante*, p.7.

7. Leader of the Naga rebels and founder-member and President of the Naga National Council since 1949.

8. Nehru alongwith U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, undertook a tour in March 1953 of the Naga areas on both sides of the Indo-Burma border.

were associated more closely with the working of Government. I should have liked to see Khasi officials in the Secretariat apart from clerks. It would be a good thing if there was a Khasi Deputy Minister. There is at present a Khasi Parliamentary Secretary. It would be better to have a Khasi in a more important position.

14. But even more important than ministership is association with the working of the Secretariat. I would commend this to the Chief Minister. I have an impression that the Secretariat work is done in an official routine way and does not think much of the personal touch or the human approach.

15. Both the Khasis and the people of the Garo Hills laid stress on the conditions of scarcity and poverty prevailing over considerable areas, more particularly those adjoining Pakistan which have very bad communications with the rest of the State. There is no doubt that Partition has fallen heavily upon them and many well-to-do people among them have been reduced to destitution because of the stoppage of the normal trade between their part of the world and East Pakistan.⁹ Requests were, therefore, made to me for immediate relief chiefly in the shape of public works. These works are likely to be road-making. The point that was stressed was that of urgency.

16. On the recommendation of the lengar Committee,¹⁰ some arrangements have been made for supplying rice to them at the Shillong rate. That means that a transport subsidy is paid by Government. That is an improvement. But it does not get over the difficulty of people there not having the resources to buy rice even at that rate. The only way out appears to be to take up some development scheme which is part of our Five Year Plan and which will give immediate relief to a considerable number. The scheme must be the construction of roads first of all and later other things.

17. No one on these Hills should really starve, because they have all kinds of cheap and good fruits. They produce a vast number of oranges. They also produce pineapples, bananas, potatoes, sweet potatoes, Indian corn, or maize and a little tapioca. I have no doubt that, if properly organized, what they produce should be enough. It seems necessary, however, that our experts should advise them and help them in changing, wherever necessary, the nature of their cultivation. But, in any event, some relief will have to be given. I understand it has been agreed to build some roads there, but some routine comes in the way. Also the heavy rains prevented much being done in the shape of public works.

9. These people had suffered greatly from the Partition of India as their markets had been cut off completely and they could not get essential articles such as rice, etc. Their economic status having been adversely affected, they were living in conditions of scarcity and poverty.

10. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol.19, p. 198.

18. The Khasis pointed out that their District Council could not function effectively for lack of funds. They wanted help. The Assam Government has given each District Council Rs. 30,000, just to start working. Obviously this does not go far. It appears that no land revenue is collected and any attempt to introduce land revenue would, I was told, lead to a revolution.

19. Another matter on which they laid stress was that of Rs. 4 lakhs and odd which had been put in a separate account for the development of these areas but which was taken over by the Assam Government and merged in its own funds. Technically and legally the Assam Government was right. But this has produced a bad impression. They want, therefore, to get this money back as also half share to future revenues of a particular kind.

2. The Sentinels of the Frontier¹

I call upon the nation to declare war against poverty, disease and unemployment and to work hard for the common prosperity of the country. I also warn you against communalists and other destructive elements undermining the freedom of India and weakening the nation in other ways. We shall make no compromise with communalists and other destructive elements, and we will fight them to the last. I call upon the people to co-operate with the scheme drawn up by the Government under the Five Year Plan which can change the present picture of India and bring prosperity to the country.

The people of the State should remember that tribal population of Assam are their countrymen. I therefore specially urge the students and Congress workers to visit the tribal areas to educate them and to understand them.

I have come to Assam to meet and understand the tribal people. Assam is surrounded by foreign countries and the borders of Assam are inhabited by tribals. Therefore, there should be better understanding and feeling of trust between tribals and the people living in the plains. The Britishers tried to divide tribals and the plains people to serve their purpose. Some of the tribals are demanding separation from India, but we will have to make them understand the futility of the proposal. We will have to make our borders strong and united...

1. Speech at a public meeting, Tezpur, 21 October 1952. From the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 22 October 1952. Extracts.

I would like to see the progress of those industries, say a factory or some industry that would produce something concrete and provide employment for the unemployed in the country. I may warn my countrymen that unless they do away with this growing feeling of lassitude and casualness, their future will be nothing but disastrous. The need of the hour is hard work on the part of the people. If the people co-operate with the Government in executing these plans and projects with their hard work, then the future of the nation will surely be bright.

As a frontier State Assam has certain special problems as well as responsibilities. Many other States in India probably have such problems, but these problems are not so diverse, as the people in other States are not so different from one another as the people inhabiting Assam are. In solving all these problems and in leading a State on the path of progress to contribute its share in the progress of the country, the people of Assam have to move very cautiously. You should develop a broad outlook and look upon the whole of India as your home. You should not indulge in fruitless bickerings over provincial or religious feelings.

Constitution does not allow the domination of one part over the other, be it on a provincial, religious or any other ground. All people should be allowed to manage their own affairs as they like and any imposition will be disastrous.

My only advice to you is to love the tribal people. Do not hate them. Do not consider them lower than yourselves. Try to learn their way of life, their language and customs. You should neither try to impose anything on them contrary to their customs, nor try to change any of their existing institutions, for that would wound their feelings. All progress comes slowly, and by slow and steady endeavour alone you can improve the lot of the tribal people.

3. Equal Share in Prosperity and Freedom for Tribal People¹

I am happy to come and meet the tribal people. I assure the Nagas that they will be allowed to manage their affairs as soon as it is practicable.² I never wanted to interfere in their own matters. I want them to prosper.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Mao, on Manipur-Naga Hills border, 24 October 1952. From the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 25 October 1952.
2. A Naga deputation sent by Phizo met Nehru at Mao to reinforce the demand of Naga sovereignty. Nehru told them that the Government was not prepared to discuss this issue any more.

India achieved freedom five years ago and now the citizens of India, irrespective of distinction of caste and creed will have to equally share it. In India there was no ruler and the ruled; all were equal.

I have not come here as a great ruler, but as a friend and comrade of the tribals. As a result of the last elections, I have become the Prime Minister of the country. In the past we had rajas and maharajas as rulers, but now we elect our Chief Ministers and the President. One day a Naga boy or girl may become the Prime Minister or the President of the country. You have some of our officers to administer this part of the country; they do not come to rule over you but to help you and look after you. It has only been five years since we became an independent nation. It will, therefore, take time to achieve what we want to. I know there should be roads, schools and hospitals in these areas, but these things cannot be had all on a sudden. All our countrymen whether they live in the hills or in the plains, should equally prosper; you should not feel that there is any difference between Nagas and other people. We are all comrades working together for the welfare of the country.

As I am also from the hills I can appreciate the problems of the tribal people and feel quite happy and at home among them. Having gained the freedom, the problem is how to make the people prosperous. I will try to do whatever is possible. The tribal people have every right to claim that they should be at liberty to control their local affairs. The Government of India does not wish to interfere with their customs and way of living.

I am aware of the territorial division of the Naga population between Manipur and the Naga Hills. Some of these people are for administrative purposes in Manipur area, while others are in the Naga Hills. This is for administrative convenience.

4. Caution against 'isms' and Slogans¹

In the ancient times, India became great because our ancestors kept their minds open to new ideas and to all new developments in the outside world and showed adventurous spirit when they undertook perilous voyages across the high seas and cultivated great minds.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Agartala, 25 October 1952. From the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 26 October 1952.

In later period, that spirit almost disappeared and India degenerated because she lost contacts with outside world, while internal quarrels weakened the nation making her a prey to foreign aggression.

Modern India should derive inspiration from our ancient history as well as learn lessons from the world outside. We cannot grow by closing our doors and shutting ourselves in dark cells.

Tribal India with its rich traditions, customs and language is a part and parcel of India. It will be absurd to think that there should be only one religion and one way of thinking in India. Followers of different religions and shades of thought must live in peace with each other in our country. The principle of common nationality which we have accepted as one basic principle had enabled us to throw open the citizenship of India on the basis of equality of rights and privileges to everyone irrespective of his religious views or the place or region he might belong to. It should, however, be the common duty and concern of all to always keep in view the goal of the national progress and not remain preoccupied merely with our parochial or sectarian interests in our thoughts and actions.

The task before us is to build a socialist State in India that will benefit the millions. Our leadership is at stake as to whether we could bring about in our country a unity both in thought and action out of the diversity that characterizes India with the ultimate aim of fulfilling our cherished dreams.

Now that political freedom has been achieved we can study and decide what changes we should make in our social structure to ensure better living for the crores of people in the country. Uplifting the thirty-six crores of Indians is not an easy task. This cannot be achieved by mere shouting of slogans. Hard work and great toil on the part of each and everyone of us will be needed for this.

There are so many 'isms' in the world but none of us can ever conceive of doing anything in effecting the desired change for the better without hard work and mutual understanding among the people.

I urge you to eschew violence. Violence in whatever form it may appear does not pay. We should realize that in India violence and hatred and separatist and disruptive tendencies have no place. There are people who talk of revolution without knowing that the meaning of the word never connoted terrorism, loot and oppression of the people.

We want to transform the society so as to become healthy. This is a matter of life and death for us. Violence and disruptive activities will take us farther away from our goal. Two things we should avoid definitely namely thought without action and action without thought. Disruptive activities will only stop the progress of the nation. I warn those still harping on violence to bear in mind that violence breeds violence. Happily, India now is strong enough to crush any violent movement. I request you to calmly ponder over the

consequences of violence which will cause definitive harm to the country in every respect.

In this connection a recent change in the policy of the Communist Party of India indicates a growing realization that violence will not take place in this country and that social transformation cannot be brought about by that method. You should avoid narrow outlook and learn to co-operate with one another and appreciate persons having different views. It is by the interaction of ideas that we will grow stronger. Narrow outlook is the very anti-thesis of culture and progress. I believe that we have nothing to be afraid of because the culture of India is strong enough to help us resist any undesirable influences of foreign culture.

5. To U Nu¹

New Delhi

October 25, 1952

My dear U Nu,

I returned this evening from a tour of the north-eastern border regions of India. On my return I recieved your letter of the 17th October.² In this letter you suggest that I might postpone my visit to the Naga areas of India. As a matter of fact, I have already gone there, or at least some of them. It is not an easy matter to visit to many of these areas because it takes too much time. I can only go to places where there are airstrips. I spent one week in all these border regions, more especially the borders of Tibet where we have recently added to our administrative apparatus. Our officers and others have normally to go there by road and it takes them sometimes some weeks to reach there. We send supplies by air droppings.

When you suggested that I might join you in visiting some of the Naga areas in Burma, I welcomed the idea. I welcomed it specially as that would give me another chance of being with you and discussing matters with you. If it is possible to arrange such a visit some time in March or so, I shall certainly

1. File No. 8/248/53-PMS.
2. U Nu, the Prime Minister of Myanmar, wrote that due to heavy rains landing on the airstrip in the Naga Hills had become unsafe and Nehru might therefore postpone his visit to Naga Hills and arrange a separate visit in February or March when he might include a visit to the Naga Hill areas of Myanmar also. He also mentioned about the "New Life in Backward Area" scheme covering health and mass education introduced in Myanmar. U Nu also suggested that Nehru might consider the possibility of a meeting of Prime Ministers of India, Myanmar and China.

try to come. But before this can be fixed, the airstrips have naturally to be put in proper condition. Our Air Force people, more especially when they are carrying me or any important guest, are very particular and I have to bow to their decision. Flying over these hills and landing there requires great care. In fact, I myself noticed these difficulties during my last week's flights over the mountains. Only two days ago, one of our Air Force aircraft, which was engaged in dropping operations near the border of Tibet, came to grief.

I am looking forward to your coming here for the ceremonies to be held at Sanchi at the end of November.³ You have not written about this to me, but your Ambassador⁴ communicated with us on this subject. I am glad to know that your wife and daughter will also be coming. I hope you will be our guests in India and will be able to stay with me in Delhi for a little while. We can go together from Delhi to Sanchi. I shall be grateful if you will let me know what kind of a programme we should draw up for you in India.

In some of our tribal areas in the north-east, and this includes one of the Naga areas, we have constituted District Councils with some autonomy. These District Councils are very largely elected and they have certain powers within these areas. Nearly all these District Councils have now been formed, except one which relates to a particular Naga area. It is called the Naga Hills District Council. The Nagas of course are spread out in other places too, notably in Manipur State. We are having co-operation from them elsewhere, but in the Naga Hills District, there has been some trouble. A man of the name of Zapu Phizo has been demanding complete independence for that area. It is obvious that we cannot think of an independent country, tiny in size, just on our border. It could not possibly function. We are agreeable to autonomy in a large measure. The result has been that the Nagas in this particular area have non-cooperated and refused to elect their District Council.

During the British period, all these hill areas were grossly neglected. Some educational work however was done by missionaries, American or British. Now we are proceeding with spreading our administrative apparatus there and concentrating, first of all, on communications, i.e., roads and sometimes air strips. Without roads nothing can be done. Schools are being opened also.

When you come here, we can discuss these matters further and profit by each other's experience.

With all good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The relics of Sariputta and Maha Moggallana, two chief disciples of Lord Buddha, were being brought from Victoria and Albert Museum, London, to be consecrated in a new *Vihara* built near the Sanchi *stupa* on 30 November 1952.
4. U Kyin was the Burmese Ambassador in India at this time.

6. Visit to the North-East Frontier Areas¹

...This visit of mine to the North-East Frontier was, if I may use the word, rather extraordinary because I saw new aspects of India and new types of people, completely different, and my whole conception of what are called the tribal folk has changed. Take the Khasis in the Shillong area. I think their general standard is higher than the average standard anywhere else in India. I am talking about the general standard of their education. They are chiefly taught by Christian missions with the result that there are quite a number who know English. In fact, when I asked in Shillong in what language I should address them, there were more people knowing English than Hindi. The number is not so important because it depends on opportunity. They were a fine lot of people, quite intelligent. They talked to me in a straight way. One or two addresses I got were remarkably well drafted. I do not know who drafted them for them. They were very well drafted—I am not talking about the style—but they were rather courteous and frank and they had expressed themselves quite frankly. There were no inhibitions.

The Khasis are probably the most advanced. The Lushais probably come next. Again it is, as I said, a question of opportunity. I met all these people. The women especially are most attractive—I am not talking about their physical appearance. When the Iengar Committee went there, they came across a girl with a heavy load of wood on her head. They were surprised that she could talk in very good English. They found out that she was a college girl and because of the economic depression, she was suffering. The women there are healthy, strong, attractive, generally of the Mongolian type. Take the Nagas. I could not go to their remote villages but when I had a meeting, people came all dressed up.

The Nagas are most remarkably attractive, both men and women. The Nagas in the remote villages go about practically naked with 6 sq. inches of cloth floating about in front of them, but fine physically, deep chested, with good legs and not afraid of anyone. They talked to me in a straight way. I was told that in the army they have about 500 Nagas in the battalion. They all talk very highly of Nagas as being fine soldiers, quite loyal, etc. There were some Naga doctors too. Given the opportunity they will come up very well.

Then there were the Abors, the Abathamis and the Daflas. I saw them at a place called Ziro. The other day an aeroplane accident occurred in Ziro. A

1. Impressions given at a meeting with the officials of the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 26 October 1952. JN Papers, NMML. Extracts.

place like Ziro is, normally, about three weeks' journey over the mountains. They are all frightfully disconnected. It is in the middle of the hills, full of cultivated fields. Communication is only by air. They have built air-fields there, not so good but they are functioning all right. The private air companies that normally go to these places do a fine job. They have got fine pilots. One is an Englishman or an Anglo-Indian, who is supposed to be the topmost man. We flew over Tawang. Of course, we could not land there. But when we went up we got lost in the clouds and ultimately we had to come back. The maps were not very accurate and not in big enough scale to show each valley so that once you turn into a wrong valley, you go all along in the wrong direction. We understood that thousands of people were waiting for us, and mind you, they had come after many days journey for the meeting. Of course, they all felt disappointed. There were people who had walked for seven or eight days, one person said he had walked for twenty days. We could not go to Tawang.

I wanted to fly over Walong. We did not miss it, of course, but I did not wish to press our pilot who was rather nervous. So we decided to go back. We went half way to Walong. If we had a man who knew the area, we could have visited the place. We went on and turned round to Ziro and spent several hours there. The Political Officer there is one Mr. Menzies, an Anglo-Indian type of officer with a Lushai wife—a very fine woman. He has been living there completely cut off from the rest of the world. Occasionally some plane comes to bring in supplies. The people there are rather backward. They never wash. The reason given is that if they wash, they feel cold. But their methods of cultivation are remarkable. They have made canals and water channels high up in the mountains and bring water to their fields. In fact our Governor of Assam proposes to send some people there to study these improved methods of cultivation.

Coming down to the Naga Hill area, I did not go to the Naga Hill District from Manipur. I went to a place called Mao. There were two or three gatherings. The Nagas were very friendly. They gave me spears, etc. You might have heard of what happened in Kohima, I mean the recent unfortunate shooting incident? For the last five or six months, the local Nagas, including the students there, have been becoming progressively aggressive. A Naga boy was arrested for theft. He was produced in court and he felt very weak and more or less fainted. The Naga story was that he had been beaten by a constable or a sub-inspector. The result was that the sub-inspector, when he came out, was assaulted by the Nagas and was given a beating. Later they surrounded the court house and broke some panes. Then an officer, I think of the Assam Rifles, was going on his motor bicycle. This officer, apparently, was very unpopular and the Nagas surrounded him and gave him a beating. This continued for some time and it was then that one of our men fired a revolver

and killed a Naga. The man who was killed was some sort of a judge. The Assam Government has, of course, appointed a Committee of Inquiry consisting of a Judge and another person who is some sort of a Commissioner (an Englishman). The other story is that this Naga boy who was arrested had never been beaten but the constable in question was unpopular. He was in court and they thought that the boy had been beaten by him. I sent the Brigadier² of the Assam Rifles to enquire and report to me. I have got his report. The report is that the boy and the constable had nothing to do with each other.³ The constable was unpopular and the Nagas thought that he had done it and they beat him. I think a Captain in the Assam Rifles⁴ also got a beating. It seems he misbehaved himself. He drinks a lot and his transfer has already been ordered. All these excited the Nagas. When I went to Mao I was told that a number of people had come for the Naga National Council. They gave me a long memorandum, highly offensive and insulting. My own impression was that the Deputy Commissioner⁵ of that district was not at all up to the mark. He is an Assamese. It is largely due to his lack of competence that all these things happened.

Then we went to Manipur. We met the Manipuris, the Nagas etc. The Nagas are very much advanced. In Manipur, the Maharaja⁶ had put up a show of Manipur dancing and Naga dancing—a very fine show artistically and aesthetically and extraordinarily good. I am not talking about the style of dancing. The Naga dancing was, of course, perfect. The same might be done elsewhere too. As a matter of fact, we may have it here on the Republic Day. It is not the style but the way it is done. I have seen some Manipuri dancing here and also some Naga dancing. In fact, it was done by our Naga soldiers in our army and the general effect of it was rather extraordinary. The whole atmosphere created by the song was terrifying—not only the vitality and the energy but the artistic features of it. The Nagas are a fine lot. They are not the kind of people who can be subdued. They take a life or give a life.

In Tripura again, I could not go to the Lushai hills. The way they live completely cut off is extraordinary. In real life they have no clothes at all. I

2. Brigadier Bhagwat Singh, I.G., Assam Rifles.

3. On 18 October 1952, a demonstration was held in Kohima to protest against the alleged torture by the Assam Police of a Naga boy. Accidentally, a Naga demonstrator was felled by a police officer, who was surrounded and badly beaten up by other demonstrators. A colleague of the police officer opened fire and killed a Angami Tribal Court Judge who had intervened to save the wounded police officer. An enquiry commission, later, exonerated the police officer of any wrong doing.

4. Captain Virik.

5. S.C. Kagi.

6. Bodh Chandra Singh.

intended to go to their headquarters town by car but the road gave way and so I could not go there. The whole communication system of Tripura passes through East Bengal. In fact, even now, in spite of everything, our Chief Commissioner has to go from one part of Tripura to another through East Pakistan.

I do not know about the racial background of the Nagas. They are spread out over Burma and India. There are dozens of tribes—separate tribes—they are vaguely called Nagas. There is no single language. There are many dialects and they do not understand each other. Therefore they cannot easily combine, although there is some racial affinity. Many of these names have been imposed. For instance, they objected to the name Lushai. The Lushais are a very small tribe but the British called the whole area ‘Lushai area’....

I propose to write a note⁷ about my North-East Frontier tour. I should like to do it in the next one or two days, because otherwise impressions will fade away. I shall write a note which will be sent to Ministers, Heads of Missions etc., but not to the public. About my speeches, I do not know how far they have been reported in the press. First of all, the whole approach to this, the whole conception of these tribal areas was completely wrong. Of course, one does not expect much cultural advance from them. We must leave them to themselves giving them opportunities for education, etc. These people will, I think, be a great strengthening element for India, if properly handled.

Some of the qualities which these people have are not to be found in the North-East Frontier people. The NEF people are tough but the tribal folk have character. I met some of their officers, especially one or two Englishmen or Anglo-Indians. Mr Menzies, for instance, struck me as a very good officer. There is another man who had been there. He came to see me. He has left service and has gone to tea planting. He is an Englishman. The Assamese rather deliberately impose themselves on these tribal people. There is a movement in Assam for what they call “making the Province homogeneous.”

The Khasis came to me and asked me “what about our language. The missionaries have written some books in Khasi language. We are learning that language. We are supposed to learn Assamese. We are supposed to learn Hindi. We must learn English also—on the whole four languages in three scripts!” It is terrible. They suggested that they might study Assamese in Nagari script. The Assamese language is their *lingua franca*.

I feel that these people should be given as large a measure of autonomy as possible. Unless a person is thoroughly acquainted with them and is accepted by them, he does not fit in there at all. The officer must have the feeling of human sympathy and kinship: otherwise he cannot work there. The average Indian does not possess that. I am sure an officer working there should have

7. See, *post* pp. 160-172.

more allowances. Probably one thinks it is a less expensive life that he leads there but it is not so. Everything has to come to him from Calcutta and other places by air....

One rather odd thing is this. The North-East Frontier Agency covers the entire border from Tibet to Burma except a little bit. Why that bit has been left out, I do not know. It would be better if they controlled the whole border....

The political consideration is there. If these tribal people are not treated well, they will become the opposition and join the Muslim Leaguers. The Khasis are separate and the Assamese are separate and they do not mix. We can think in terms of a common judicial authority or a common Governor. As much of local autonomy as possible should be given to these tribes. In Tripura I found that it has a most ancient history running to thousands of years. Everywhere, in these places, the desire is for schools and communication is rather a pressing thing.

7. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi

October 26, 1952

My dear Jairamdas,

I have just replied to your telegram about Brigadier Bhagwat Singh's report about the Kohima incident on 22nd October. Bhandari² also gave me a report,³ which I enclose in original.

The effect of these reports on me is firstly that certain sections of the Nagas, probably including the students, have been progressively becoming more aggressive and losing such respect as they had for governmental authority. This is not a good thing. The whole incident appears to have been the result of certain accidental happenings and there is no appearance of planning in it. The Deputy Commissioner does not come out well of it. He appears to be a weak man, unable to deal with a critical situation. I feel sure that a more wide awake person might well have dealt with the situation better and prevented it from developing as it did.

As a judicial enquiry has been ordered and probably started, it is best to await the result of that enquiry. It is quite possible that the local Nagas might boycott it. That should not prevent us from going on with it.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. S.K. Bhandari, representative in the North-Eastern Areas and Orissa.

3. See the preceding item.

The report states that Captain Virik was unpopular with the Nagas and was even beaten on a previous occasion. Such a man should not have been kept there, more especially as he has not a good reputation otherwise. It is not stated what action was taken when he was previously beaten. Surely something ought to have been done then.

The Deputy Commissioner's behaviour in trying to plead with the Nagas when they were beating Captain Virik, seems to be extraordinary. That is not the way to deal with a situation like this....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Character and Culture of the Tribal People¹

My recent tour² of the North-Eastern Frontier Areas proved not only exceedingly interesting but, if I may say so exciting to me. It was in the nature of a discovery of new and fascinating aspects of India. I learnt much by it which I could never have done by reading reports. I think also that from various points of view, my visit did good in many ways. I spent just about a week there, constantly moving about by air or car. I visited parts of the hill areas of Assam, the North-East Frontier Agency, Manipur and Tripura. I had intended going to the Lushai Hills district also, but the only approach was by road, a long journey and a breach had occurred on the road, which prevented my undertaking this journey. I was very sorry to miss this area, which from some points of view especially deserved a visit.

2. Flying in these hill area is fascinating with their numerous and tortuous valleys. It is also not free from risk if any clouds are present, which is often the case. To fly right above the clouds has no value, except perhaps to reach a particular destination. Even that destination is missed as I missed it twice in

1. Note on a tour of the North-Eastern Frontier areas. The first twenty paragraphs were written on 27 October 1952 and the remaining on 29 October 1952. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 25(6)/52. PMS. This note was sent to all the Chief Ministers, the next day. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 3, pp. 147-163. (New Delhi, 1987).
2. From 19 to 25 October 1952.

spite of repeated efforts. I wanted to visit Tawang, near the Tibetan border. This is a place of some importance to us as we had recently extended our administration to it some two years back. It was on our side of the McMahon Line, but it had not been occupied by us and was practically under Tibetan control till then. In fact our going there and occupying it, led to protests from the then Tibetan authorities. It had thus some political importance. It was not possible to land there as there was no airstrip. To go by mountain path was many weeks' journey. We had decided, however, to fly low over it and had announced this fact. We carried some flowers to throw over the monastery there. But we did not succeed in finding the place although we flew round about it for some time. Later we heard that hundreds of monks and nuns, as well as the neighbouring village population and our Assam Rifles, had gathered there just to see us in the air. They had come from long distances on foot and it was a great pity that we lost our way. On another occasion, we intended flying to Walong, also another of our posts near the Tibetan frontier. Here too, we could not land. As a matter of fact we would not reach the place because of low clouds.

3. These places are cut off from the rest of the world and can only be reached normally by long marches along the mountains. Supplies are sent to them by air and are dropped from the aircraft. Two days after our attempt to reach them, an Indian Air Force aircraft, carrying supplies, came to grief in these very mountains. This was evidence of the risky nature of flying there. And yet, these flights have been going on for a year or two regularly and they had become almost a routine for the men of our Air Force as well as for a private air company which is especially engaged for the purpose. I was full of admiration for the pilots.

4. I do not know what ideas most people in India have about tribal folk. My own general impression has been largely derived from such people as the Bhils, the Santhals, the Gonds, etc. For my part, I like these somewhat backward or even primitive people, but I recognize that they are primitive in their normal ways of life. Given the opportunity, however, some of them can make good in other ways also. During my visit to the North-East Frontier, I had to change my conception of these tribes. I found a great variety of them, differing from each other very greatly. Some of them were undoubtedly rather primitive, but many of them were remarkably developed and advanced. Indeed, it is quite absurd to call them backward. An average crowd of some of these tribes would probably be more advanced in many ways than an average crowd elsewhere in India.

5. I do not propose to give lists of these tribes or to deal with them separately, but I should like to mention that the Khasis struck me as very advanced as well as attractive people. So also the Lushais. Their women are intelligent, attractive and hard-working. Generally speaking, many of them

have been educated in missionary schools and can speak English. Indeed, the proportion of people speaking English was higher than I would find in most other parts of India. An instance that was mentioned to me threw some light on these people and more especially on their womenfolk. A bright-faced girl was carrying a heavy load of wood. She was asked some questions and, to the surprise of the questioner, she spoke in excellent English. She was a college girl. But because her family had suffered in recent years, chiefly owing to the Partition, she was carrying these loads just to earn some money for her parents. I could hardly conceive of any girl of a like station elsewhere in India doing this kind of work.

6. What appealed to me about all these tribal people was not only their physique and health and straight-limbed bodies but their frank demeanour. They looked one in the face and were not afraid or inhibited, men and women alike. Altogether, they struck me as a fine lot of which any country can be proud. Almost everywhere there was a passion for education. The two principal demands were for roads and schools. I can well imagine that given these communications and schools, they would advance rapidly and be a credit to the country in many ways. Even now many of them occupy responsible positions and do well. Even the Nagas, who are supposed to be very primitive, profit by education. They make very good soldiers. Our Army has a battalion of them, and so also the Assam Rifles, and their officers spoke in the highest terms of them.

7. The names of the tribes are somewhat misleading. The Nagas consist of many entirely separate tribes with different languages or dialects and not too much contacts with each other. The name, "Naga", has been imposed upon them. The Lushai is a generic name to a large number of tribes living in what are now called the Lushai Hills. As a matter of fact, only one small tribe there is really Lushai and the others object to this appellation. They want their name changed to "Mizoram". The Garos would like to be called the "Achiks" which, according to them, is their real name.

8. We have looked upon the question of the tribes as a social problem, which of course it is. But in these North-Eastern Frontier areas, it is very much a political problem also because of the frontier and because these people are culturally related to the people on the other side of the Frontier, e.g., the Tibetans or Burmese. The whole area as all real frontier areas are, is full of these mixed racial types with a Mongolian element present in greater or lesser degree. The languages they speak are numerous. They have no written script and it was the missionaries who taught them the Latin script and wrote grammar and dictionaries for them.

9. Another fact to be remembered is that all these tribes and other people in these areas were almost completely cut off from the rest of India during British rule. Few of them came out of their areas and few from outside went

there. The British did not like this journeying to and fro. Thus they never experienced a sensation of being in a country called India and they were hardly influenced by the struggle for freedom or other movements in India. Their chief experience of outsiders was that of British officers and Christian missionaries who generally tried to make them anti-Indian. As Indian independence gradually approached and it became obvious that British rule was coming to an end in India, some of these British officers and Christian missionaries induced them to think in terms of independence. This had some effect on some sections of the Nagas.

10. Generally speaking, these tribal people have marked customs and ways of living, which are different from those of the Assamese and thus they have not mixed and do not even now mix easily on the social plane. There is a feeling of separateness in these tribes and some apprehension that they might be merged in the sea of Indian humanity, that they might have to give up their customs and ways of living, that they might even have their land taken away from them.

11. There is a tendency in Assam for what is called integration of these tribes and for the establishment of a homogeneous State. This really means merging in a cultural and like sense the tribal people into the Assamese. I think that this is not a desirable movement and instead of achieving its objective, will lead to conflicts and difficulties. There is bound to be a process of assimilation, but this will have to be developed by itself through education and contacts without any special effort. Indeed the effort should be in retaining their individual culture, much of which is certainly worth retaining. They have an innate sense of art and are a strong and virile people. It would be a great pity if in this respect they were brought down to a lower level, even though they might advance in some other ways.

12. The first problem we have to face there is to inspire them with confidence and to make them feel at one with India, and to realize that they are part of India and have an honoured place in it. This can only be done by allowing them to retain their own cultural traits and habits and leaving them to develop along their own lines without any compulsion from outside.

13. In some places the question of language was raised. Thus a Khasi or a Lushai learns his own language, which is the medium in the primary schools. He has to learn Assamese also and Hindi and English. The Khasi or the Lushai language is written in the Latin script. The Assamese is written in a slight variation of the Bengali script. Thus not only have several languages to be learnt but their scripts. This is a great burden. It is true that Assamese has become, to some extent, a *lingua franca* in those areas. A Khasi told me of this difficulty and asked me if Assamese could not be written in the Devanagari script, as this would make it easier for them to learn both Assamese and Hindi. I think there is much in what he said.

14. The people near the Tibetan frontier were till recently under some kind of a Tibetan administration. On the whole, some of them appeared to be pleased with the change-over, as the system of forced labour, etc. had now disappeared and some attempts had been made to improve their lot. Their representatives asked me repeatedly for schools, roads and dispensaries. On the other hand, in some other areas bordering on Tibet, I was told that comparison was being made with conditions on the Chinese side and that this was not always to our advantage. Many of our people go across the border to work on the other side and get good wages. They say that the Chinese are building roads and schools, etc. In fact, it appeared that the Chinese treated our people somewhat better than they treated the Tibetans.

15. Thus the problem of these areas is to make the people feel that they have perfect freedom to live their own lives and to develop according to their wishes and genius. India to them should signify not only a protecting force but a liberating one. Any conception that India is ruling them and that they are the ruled, or that the customs and habits with which they are unfamiliar are going to be imposed upon them, will alienate them and make our frontier problems more difficult. It was glad to see that the Governor of Assam, Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, was very sympathetic and friendly to the tribal people and fully appreciated the policy that we had laid down. His chief difficulty, and indeed this is a common complaint, was lack of funds. Schools are relatively cheap and they are in high demand. Communications are expensive, and yet, without communications, nothing can be done. During the British period these areas were left completely undeveloped and it is exceedingly difficult now to move about in the interior. Probably the worst developed area of all lies in the Lushai Hills, but really this applies to most other parts also. Post offices are very rare, telegraph offices are rarer and of course telephones practically non-existent. I was told that it took a month or more for a letter to reach some parts of the Lushai Hills.

16. As I wandered about these areas, New Delhi, with all its paraphernalia of Government, seemed to be very far away and I realized that the reverse was also true. These areas, so full of promise and with such a fine and often sensitive and intelligent population, were hardly remembered by New Delhi. In a vague way no doubt they existed as some outlying tract which had to be kept going. But there was no intimate appreciation of their existence, their difficulties, and their problems. Certainly no feeling that these people would add greatly to the strength of India as well as to their own prosperity, if properly helped. I wish that more people from New Delhi visited these areas and came in contact with these very attractive, intelligent and hard-working people.

17. Many of these tribes, notably the Khasis, Lushais and the Garos, have suffered greatly from the Partition of India. All their communications system

led to Eastern Pakistan and their markets lay there also. These markets have now been cut off almost completely and they cannot get necessary articles, such as rice, etc. Large numbers of prosperous people have been reduced to poverty because of this, and yet they produce oranges in very great abundance. All bananas, pinapples, potatoes, Indian corn, sweet potatoes and, to a slight extent, tapioca. They are good cultivators. I noticed how the Khasis took advantage of every strip of available land in the mountains. Sometimes there was terrace cultivation which was good. In other areas the usual form of cultivation is what is called "jhooming" or a shifting method of dry cultivation of paddy. The forest is cut down and used for this kind of cultivation and then that patch of land is left and people move on to the next. This is obviously very harmful. Possibly this growth of "jhooming" cultivation is also partly responsible for the floods.

18. These people realized that changing conditions required them to change what they cultivated. I was asked to send them experts to advise them as to what to do. All of them wanted markets for oranges, timber, bamboos, etc. Some cotton also is grown, but this is short staple. It was not used locally and used to be exported to foreign countries to be mixed with wool.

19. A proposal was made for arrangements for cold storage of oranges. If this was done, it would prove very helpful indeed to the people there, more especially the Khasis. I was told that a plant of this kind was estimated to cost about 4 or 5 lakhs of rupees. This would save them about ten times that figure annually. Some such proposal was examined some time ago. I think that we should consider this afresh as soon as possible.

20. Airstrips were asked for and people offered to make them for us. I think that we shall have to make a number of airstrips because roads over the mountains will take a much longer time. That airstrips need not be very long ones. It would be enough if small planes would land there. I am told that our Air Force people, as well as civil aviation, do not approve of small planes flying there. I do not myself see why this should be so provided the small plane is two-engined. Probably a helicopter would prove of great use. Indeed a helicopter appears quite essential. If there is an accident, there is no way to reach the place within a reasonable time except by a helicopter.

21. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution provides for the formation of autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the hill areas of Assam. This, if I may say so, was a very wise provision. It is quite essential that these tribal people should be given the largest possible measure of local autonomy. According to the Constitution, there should be six autonomous District Councils. Five of these have been formed, but the sixth, in the Naga Hills District, has not been formed because of the non-cooperation of the Nagas there. They demand an independent State, which is rather absurd. But they have another grievance. According to them, the understanding arrived at on their behalf

with Sir Akbar Hydari, then Governor of Assam, was not given effect to in the Sixth Schedule. In so far as this is so, we should be prepared to honour that understanding and even to vary the Sixth Schedule to some extent. That question, however, does not arise at present, though I should like to consider the grant of further powers to the District Councils.

22. The Constitution lays down that each District Council for an autonomous district shall consist of not more than 24 members of whom not less than three-fourths shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage. The stress is on election and on a limitation of nominated members. In effect, however, this has been interpreted as limiting the elected members to three-fourths only. This system of nominations has given rise to trouble in one district (I think that is the Khasi area) where demonstrations took place against nominations and firing had to be resorted to. In the other autonomous districts, no particular objection has been raised to the system of nominations. I do not think that the system of nominations is good or, at any rate, that it should extend to one quarter of the total members. As we have to produce a sensation of real autonomy, we should reduce this nomination to the lowest figure, if we keep it at all. It may be necessary to reserve a right to appoint one or two competent persons who might not be elected or to give representation to some minority group. I should imagine that it is enough to have two nominated members for this purpose, or at the most three. It should be possible to make this change even now in the Khasi District Council by getting three nominated members to resign and then having an election for this. This would undoubtedly create a good impression.

23. The real problem of the District Councils, however is that of finance. They have very little money and everywhere I was asked for more financial assistance. The Assam Government has given Rs. 30,000 to each District Council for initial expenses. This does not go far and it is difficult for these people to raise much money from their own resources right at the beginning. It is very important that this experiment of District Councils should succeed. Their members are anxious to justify themselves and to do something, but they cannot do much in existing circumstances for lack of money. The success of these District Councils would be a tremendous factor in this area. It would affect immediately the Naga area also, where thus far no such Council has been constituted.

24. The Khasi District Council raised a question of a sum of about Rs. 4.5 lakhs which has been kept in a separate account for them previously for the development of these areas. This sum, however, was taken over by the Assam Government. This has caused a good deal of resentment because the money was really earmarked for that area. I mentioned this matter to the Chief Minister of Assam and he informed me that there were legal difficulties because that money had automatically become part of the consolidated fund of the province.

It is obvious, however, that any legal difficulty can be got over and, if necessary, the money can be given as a grant by the Assam Government. The Chief Minister appreciated this argument and the demand and was inclined to view it favourably. I hope that this money will be given to the Khasi District Council. That would solve their immediate difficulties. The other District Councils will, however, remain still in an impecunious state and something will have to be done for them. They are even prepared to take loans.

25. There is also the question of their annual revenue from some kind of taxation. In many of these areas, there is no land revenue system and there are not many possibilities of raising money, at any rate to begin with. This matter might be explored.

26. As I have said above, no District Council has been formed in the Naga Hills District. The situation there is a difficult one and so-called Nagas National Council headed by Zapu Phizo, commands considerable influence and is non-cooperative. Indeed, during the past few months there have been many incidents which indicate that the Nagas there are becoming more and more aggressive. Even while I was in the neighbourhood, an incident took place which resulted in the death of a Naga leader and injury to some of our officers. The Assam Government has appointed a committee for a judicial enquiry into this matter. Apart from the fact of this particular incident, it is quite clear to me that it is of the highest importance to appoint the right type of officer in these areas. Perhaps it is not easy to get the right type of officer, but he must be found. The wrong type does a great deal of harm. The Nagas, as most other tribal people, respond fairly easily to a friendly approach. They are proud and sensitive and do not like being treated as subject people or being looked down upon in any way. An officer has both to be friendly and understanding, and, at the same time, firm and very wide awake. I had the feeling that the situation in the Naga Hills would have been much better if it had been handled a little more competently by the local officers and if some officers who were notoriously unpopular had not been kept there. Also, any attempt to impose new ways and customs on the Nagas merely irritates and creates trouble.

27. The Assam Government appears to feel that the tribes are the responsibility of the Government of India and hence perhaps they have not in the past paid quite so much attention to them as they might have. The Government of India undoubtedly has a certain responsibility but so has the Assam Government also. The economic structure of this region has been upset by the Partition and is also inevitably undergoing a change because of other reasons. During this period of transition, some help to them appears essential.

28. Complaints were made to me by the Khasis round about Shillong that land there, which had been deforested, had been given to non-Khasis, usually to clerks, etc. who had come from the plains below and were employees in

the Secretariat. This has been resented by the Khasis who feel that if land was available, it should have been given to them. The impression, therefore, has grown that the people of the plains are encouraged at the expense of the people of the hills and there is an apprehension that a deliberate attempt is being made to increase the non-Khasi population of Shillong so that they might be ultimately in a majority. Land always, and more especially in this area, roused people's passions. Our Constitution has very rightly made an exception to the Fundamental Rights for the purpose of protecting the rights of the Scheduled Tribes in land and other property.

29. Owing to the Partition chiefly, people living on the border areas have suffered greatly and their resources have been completely exhausted. In fact, as our Secretaries Committee reported, they had obviously become impoverished and had suffered from lack of adequate nutrition. Thus there is lack of purchasing power and unemployment. An urgent request was made to me for some kind of relief work especially in the Khasi area. This appears to be desirable, particularly in the form of roads.

30. In some of these areas, there are some kind of chiefs or siems. There is a demand for their removal by the District Council concerned. Legal opinion was taken and I believe our Law Ministry advised that this could not be done without payment of some compensation to them for the income in kind that they used to get. The sum involved, I think, was Rs. 8 lakhs and it was proposed that this should be paid in instalments. It is obvious that the District Council is in no position to pay this compensation and they want the Assam Government or the Central Government to do so, even though this might be in the form of loan advanced to them, which might be gradually paid off. I might mention that some of the chiefs also came to see me and did not particularly appreciate the idea of their being deprived of the privileges they had so far enjoyed.

31. Round about Cherrapunji, there is fairly good coal for lime, but transport is difficult and it can only be used in the neighbourhood.

32. I was repeatedly told that no responsible office was held in the Assam Secretariat by any of the tribal people. Even in the Tribal Department of the State Government, there was no such person. A good deal of importance was attached to this. I think that it is desirable to appoint someone in the State Tribal Department, so that they might have a feeling of being connected with the working of Government.

33. We have a Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the Government of India.³ He has done good work and he has some local representatives. I found that this representative for the North-Eastern areas (he is supposed to cover Orissa also) was a good man but he appeared to be

3. L.M. Shrikant

rather frustrated. It was not quite clear what he could do except to send reports occasionally. He was anxious that something should be done and was disappointed at this slowness of progress. Partly this is due to the fact that enough importance has not been attached to these tribal people; partly to the Government machinery. There is too much rather than with a population of a few hundred thousands. And yet I think that it would be very unwise to merge them in some other States. That would create dissatisfaction and problems. Both are in their way very distinctive with a special cultural development and both have a longish past history of their own. Both produce fine handicrafts. Indeed all the tribal people produce finely and artistically woven textiles which exhibit a remarkable sense of colour.

in India (excepting of course the classical dances like Bharata Natyam) seemed pale and insipid in comparison with this show at Manipur. The dancers were professionals and had many years of hard training. But no amount of training can give that artistic touch and vitality which I found there, unless the people possess it.

38. Manipur textiles are famous and should certainly be encouraged in every way. One of the complaints made to me was that of a sales tax on handmade textiles. As I looked at these textiles there, a feeling of regret came to me at the advance of our so-called civilization which might in the future push out these textiles and replace them by mill-made cloth. Indeed a worthy Marwari gentleman suggested to me, to my horror, that a textile mill might be started in Manipur.

39. The women of Manipur dominate the scene in the State. They are the workers and the producers; the men apparently prefer generally to relax and allow their womenfolk to earn money for them. There was a very large bazar, called the Women's Bazar, where hundreds of women had stalls and not a man was visible, except possibly as a purchaser.

40. Both in Manipur and Tripura, there was the demand, strongly expressed, for what is called a democratic form of government, which meant an assembly, ministry and presumably all the paraphernalia that accompanies them. The fact that they had Chief Commissioners governing them, hurt their pride very much. I think that very early steps have to be taken to vary the present system at least. We have already passed legislation authorizing the appointment of advisers. This is least that should be done as soon as possible. I rather doubt if this will satisfy the people there. I think that a beginning should also be made, in Manipur especially, in the constitution of a municipality, local boards and gram panchayats. That will be a sound foundation for future growth. Ultimately, I think both Manipur and Tripura should have something much more than advisers. At the same time, I cannot view with any pleasure the expensive apparatus of an autonomous state being introduced in these small areas. There is no reason why there should not be a common Governor, or a Lieutenant-Governor and a common High Court as well as possibly some other common features in services. To that extent they might be attached to Assam, the Governor of Assam being their Governor also. But I feel sure that it would not be desirable to merge them in any greater degree in a bigger State. For Manipur to lose its distinctive character and culture would be a misfortune. Manipuris, I might add, are an amazingly clean people and one does not see a person wearing dirty clothes as is so common in the rest of India.

41. Manipur has apparently always been a self-sufficient or even small surplus area in regard to food and possibly in regard to clothing also. The price of rice, I was told, till a few years ago was Rs. 5 per maund. Only a year or so ago, it was Rs. 10. Then it started rising steeply and reached the

figure of Rs. 45 or even more. This was a tremendous shock and caused great distress. I do not know all the details of the story, but obviously the principal reason for this was the export of 4,000 tons of rice from Manipur to Assam. I suppose Assam's need was great, but that need was met at the cost of great scarcity and much misery in Manipur. People naturally did not like this early fruits of their close association in an independent India and compared it to their previous more prosperous condition when there was no lack of rice. I was told that later some rice, about 400 maunds, was sent from Assam to Manipur. This was a very small fraction of what had been taken away. There is strong feeling on this subject and repeated demands were made for an enquiry as to who had bungled. The poor Chief Commissioner at the time had to suffer most from this resentment. I hope that in future, no such considerable export of rice will be encouraged from this small area.

42. Owing to the scarcity thus caused and also to floods which caused some damage, there was a demand for relief. Some relief was given. The new crops are supposed to be good, in spite of the damage caused by the floods.

43. In Manipur there was some feeling of resentment at land being given to refugees from East Pakistan. But there were really not many refugees, probably under 500. In Tripura, however, there was a flood of these refugees and in recent weeks, I believe, about 50,000 more came. This had created a difficult situation. There was apparently plenty of land available there, but owing to lack of communications it could not be easily reached. The town of Tripura, which had a population of about 20,000 four or five years ago, has now a population of 70,000 in the municipal area and 150,000 if the suburbs are included. The municipality is rather primitive and cannot possibly cope with this. It has no resources. It had only two taxes—a kind of income-tax and the other a latrine tax. Evidently it was not thought fit to encourage latrines too much.

44. To my great regret, I could not visit the Lushai Hills District. I had hoped to go to Aizawl, headquarters of the District, but the one passable road was partly washed away by the rains. This District is more cut off from India than any other part and lacks communication even more than the other hill areas. It lacks post offices and telegraph offices. And yet the Lushai people are fine and very attractive. Many Lushais came to see me elsewhere and begged for roads, post offices and schools. Also for landing strips for aircraft.

45. To sum up I would say that all this North-East border area deserves our special attention, not only of the Governments, but of the people of India. Our contacts with them will do us good and will do them good also. They add to the strength, variety and cultural richness of India. As one travels there, a new and vaster richness of India comes before the eyes and the narrowness of outlook which sometimes obsesses us, begins to fade away. One feels that India is not just one particular part which we might know intimately, but

something infinitely more—a meeting place of all manner of races, languages and cultures. Rabindranath Tagore wrote in one of his famous poems about India:

No one knows at whose call so many streams of men flowed in resistless tides from places unknown and were lost in one sea: here Aryan and non-Aryan, Dravidian, Chinese, the bands of Sakas and the Hunas and Pathan and Mogul, have become combined in one body....

9. Tribal People of Assam¹

Jawaharlal Nehru:Lastly somebody said, "Assam Border." What do you want me to tell you?

Question: It will be interesting to hear about the border areas and the conditions there.

JN: I went there and came back so full of those areas and the people there that I have been talking about little else since then. Wherever I have spoken, I bring in those borders and the tribal folk, because I have been tremendously impressed by those people, as they are a very fine lot, and for anyone to imagine that most of these border people are backward and all that is grossly mistaken. Of course, there are certain primitive types there, but I am talking about the big tribes, the Khasis, the Lushais and others who are very attractive, hard working and intelligent and important for us because of their border position. I should like our Government to help them, to the best of its ability. What they want are, first of all communications, roads, secondly, schools—it is extraordinary, their passion for schools—and thirdly, hospitals and dispensaries. These are the three things that they wanted....

Q: Did you find many Chinese there on the eastern border?

JN: I did not see a single Chinese. I met a large number of people who might be called Tibetans who live in our part of the country. There are many Tibetans

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 2 November 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 74-76, 319-322, 376-377, 410-413, 471-472, 491-494, 523-526.

living on our side. They came long distances. One person came after marching for twenty days, but mostly they came after eight or ten days' march to the place where I held a meeting in the hills. That was a very attractive gathering, colourful. They gave me all kinds of presents. One I have got with me, what is called a Himalayan panda,² just like a bear. It is a baby which is very attractive.

Q: Would you bring it to your next press conference?

JN: It is difficult to bring it. It has rather big claws. There was a pair really but one of them died before they came to me. We must realize the condition on this border.

The lack of communications is something amazing. In the Lushai Hills there is hardly any communication. The Lushais are very advanced people. It takes months for a letter to reach some parts of the Lushai Hills. I could not go to Aizawl because the only road by which I intended going broke down on account of rains. But take the other hillside — the Tibetan side. I wanted to go to a place called Tawang which is fairly near the Tibetan border. I could not land there—it is a month's journey by road—there is no road but by footpath or whatever it is. I said at least I shall fly over it. We sent word that I will fly over it and over a big Buddhist monastery. I decided to take a lot of flowers and throw it from the air on the monastery, but I never reached there. We could not find the place. We flew over thrice but it was hidden in some valley. My pilot had never flown there and what with clouds etc., it was not safe flying there and ultimately I never found it. I was exceedingly sorry and I heard later that thousands of Buddhist monks and nuns had collected there just to see us fly over their hills.

There is another place I went to, a place called Ziro.³ It is the indigenous name and it has nothing to do with the numerical system. This was three weeks' march from the end of the road. I went by air because they had some kind of airstrip which our people had made. This is a District H.Q. and one of our Political Officers of the NEF Agency is there. It was a very lovely valley surrounded by mountains, a broad valley full of rice fields. The local people were somewhat primitive but their agriculture was extraordinarily good. In fact, the Governor of Assam was thinking of importing some people from outside to see their agriculture and profit by it. They bring water down from the mountains and they use bamboo piping and nothing else, from one field to

2. On 22 October 1952, when Nehru visited Charduar and Balipara frontier tract the tribal chiefs presented him with silk *chaddars*, caps, skins of Himalayan bear and a Himalayan panda.
3. Visited Ziro, headquarters of Subansiri district of NEFA on 22 October 1952.

the other. How they bring water by simple devices and how they avoid soil erosion by simple devices is extraordinarily interesting. In this place of course they had not seen carriages or even horses because no horse can go there. The first thing that they saw was the aeroplane which came down then. Our people originally went by road of course and established there the Assam Rifles and some others like the administrative personnel etc.—and then came a plane bringing a jeep along with it. It was the first kind of conveyance they saw and they were very excited about it. They have an exhibition of all kinds of games, very interesting ones though they were indigenous ones—the high jump and the long jump, mounting up poles, etc. It is extraordinary that all these people treat us in a friendly way and they are frank, they look at you in the eye, they are not inhibited and there is a spirit of sturdy independence about them. They want to be friendly and they don't want to be sat upon by anybody.

Q: Did you find them free from the germ of politics? What about the Nagas?

JN: It depends, not all, some were free, some in the remoter parts. But what is politics anyhow. About the Nagas. The appellation "Naga" was, I believe, given by the British to a variety of tribes—twenty, thirty who are more or less, distinct from each other, each speaking a different language. They do not understand each other, the languages are so different. So to call them all by one name is wrong to begin with. It is extraordinary they do not understand each other. But certainly, they have common features. We must forget the head-hunting Nagas, right on the Burma border, they are far away. The Nagas that I met were quite attractive people with fine features, deep chested and quite frank. And all these people, I must say, are very artistic. I saw a dance show at Manipur—not only the Manipuri dance but also the Naga dance, and I must say I have seldom seen a more artistic and aesthetic performance—not the jumping about, the devil dance, but quite artistic and a very fine performance.

There are some Nagas in particular areas, who have been asking for independence, as in the Naga Hills District. But there are many other Nagas elsewhere who do not associate themselves with this. I addressed some meetings of them.....

10. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi

November 10, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

Deshbandhu Adhikari came to see me today. He has been working at Imphal with the Nagas on behalf of the Adimjati Sevak Sangh.² He has established an ashram there and people speak well of this ashram. He gets on well with the Nagas. He has had some financial help from the Gandhi Memorial Fund.

As I am greatly interested in the Nagas and the difficulties we are having with them, I discussed the matter with him. A suggestion that he made struck me as good. This was to the effect that a centre of work among the Nagas should be created at Mao which is in the Manipur State but bordering the Naga Hills District of Assam. I went to Mao during my recent tour³ and had a good meeting of Nagas there.

Mao is a good location. While it is in Manipur, it commands a considerable power in the Naga Hills District which is giving us so much trouble. I think it would be highly desirable for us to encourage work at and round about Mao. Probably Adhikari would be a good man to do it, as he is there at Imphal and has an ashram there. He seems to be the right person. Purely official work does not go far. I want to influence the Nagas of the Naga Hills District as well as the Nagas in Manipur. I am, therefore, inclined to help Adhikari to open a centre there. He can report to the Chief Commissioner⁴ and keep him in touch. I do not think this is a very costly business. It is not much good asking the Chief Commissioner to give him money as his resources are limited. Can we make some special provision for it and watch results?

I was on the point of giving a small sum, about Rs. 2,000/- to Adhikari today for his Naga work, but then I desisted as I began to think on bigger lines.

I am convinced that what these tribal areas require is basic training. I have suggested to Medhi, Assam Chief Minister, and Jairamdas that they should invite the Hindustani Talimi Sangh at Sevagram to take charge of an area in the Naga Hills District and open basic schools there. They agreed to the principle and will probably communicate with Aryanayakam.⁵ This area is the

1. JN Collection.

2. Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh was founded in 1948 by Thakkar Bapa, a Gandhian social worker, for social, economic, cultural and educational upliftment of the tribal people in India.

3. See *ante*, p. 173.

4. V.L. Nanjappa.

5. E.W. Aryanayakam.

place where Zapu Phizo is giving us trouble. Government agencies cannot function with ease there.

I would apply the same rule to Manipur or, at any rate, to a part of it. But to begin with, I think it would be worthwhile and much cheaper, of course, to allow Adhikari to expand there.

Adhikari is here for the next ten days or so, and if you would like to see him you can send for him.

I enclose two papers he gave me.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

11. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
November 10, 1952

My dear Jairamdas,

Your letter of November 8th about basic education in the tribal areas. You know I entirely agree with you. I spoke about this matter to Medhi also and he agreed.

I do not think there should be any question, for the present, of additional cost. Let us take the money which has been allotted for it and start with that. The proper course appears to be to approach Aryanayakam and give him a relatively small area to begin with. A whole district would be too much, I think. Anyhow that is for you and Medhi to judge. Let him tackle basic education as such, that is the seven-year course from 7 to 14. This really includes secondary education also. We must proceed on the basis of basic education continuing even after this. By that time, no doubt, we will have made arrangements for it.

I am quite sure that basic education will be approved by the Nagas and others and it is not necessary to educate public opinion about it. Indeed, the Nagas at Sewagram were quite clear that this was better than the other ordinary education. The best thing to do, even from the point of view of public opinion, is to start in one place and let the people see.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

12. To B.R. Medhi¹

New Delhi

November 12, 1952

My dear Medhi,

As you were going away, I mentioned to you about the necessity for encouraging the tribal people. I think that one of the most important things that we should aim at is the success of the District Councils that have been established in the autonomous areas. If these Councils are successful, then we go a long way towards the solution of these problems in those areas. It is obvious that these District Councils cannot function effectively unless they get a good start and have enough money at their disposal. You have given them Rs. 30,000/- each. That obviously cannot go far. In regard to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District Councils, you have given them over four lakhs out of the deposit fund. That will no doubt help.

I hope you will be able to give financial help to the other District Councils also.

The other point I am anxious about is to make these tribal people feel that they are parts of the administration. They must not think that they are governed by somebody else. This makes it necessary to associate them as much as possible with the administrative apparatus. You wrote to me that you had a Khasi Minister, etc. That is good. But I would like something more, more particularly in the administration proper.

In appointing these people, no doubt, you might have to face difficulties with the Public Service Commission, who would want to see certain educational qualifications. I think that we will have to make some arrangements in these cases for the tests to be somewhat different. Educational qualifications are good, but other types of qualifications are even more necessary. The most important one is a capacity to get on in a friendly way with the tribal people and make them feel at home.

You might give thought to this matter and perhaps discuss it with the Governor. The more we associate the tribal people with our work, the more likely we are to succeed in our objective.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to the Governor of Assam.

13. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1952

My dear Jairamdas,

... I have been reading in newspapers of the attempt being made by the Nagas of the Naga Hills District to induce the other autonomous districts to line up with them and demand an autonomous Province as a whole. This makes it even more important for us to get the District Councils functioning fully. If these Councils fail, then some demand of a more far-reaching nature is inevitable. I am anxious, therefore, to help financially or otherwise these District Councils. I wrote to you about this subject the other day as to what you suggest we should do. I am awaiting your answer. I hope you will impress upon Medhi of the necessity for going ahead with these District Councils and not wait for further developments which might prove embarrassing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

14. To Mahavir Tyagi¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1952

My dear Mahavir,²

The situation in the North-Eastern Frontier areas, more especially the autonomous tribal districts of Assam, has been a difficult one. In the Naga Hills District the situation is peculiarly difficult because of the demand of the Nagas there for independence. They are so well disciplined that they have prevented any elections being held there for the District Councils. Not even a nomination came in.

This raises many questions of a political character. This is a border area and these frontier tribal people are tough. They have been mis-handled

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to the Foreign Secretary.
2. Union Minister of Revenue and Expenditure at this time.

somewhat in the past; hence our difficulties. Anyway, we have to be very careful about them now.

These autonomous District Councils that we have created have practically no money to start their work. The Assam Government, which is responsible for them, has given them Rs. 30,000 for each Council as some kind of a loan, I believe. This will take them nowhere. One of the District Councils, namely the Khasia one, has got some money, about rupees four lakhs, which have accumulated in the past in the days of the British Government. So they have something to carry on with. The others can hardly function.

It would be a great pity and harmful if this experiment of District Councils collapses. That would surely mean a demand for something much greater which would prove very embarrassing to us. Indeed, there is already some kind of a demand for an autonomous Province of those areas while the Nagas are demanding independence. I am anxious, therefore, that we should help these District Councils immediately, whatever the form of expenditure of our help might be. This is really the responsibility of the Assam Government, but I fear they are incapable of doing much. I have written to the Assam Government about this, but I wish to tell you how important it is that we should not allow this matter to go by default in case the Assam Government cannot do anything.

Then there is the question of the North-Eastern Frontier Agency which is directly under External Affairs. About this, the Governor, Jairamdas Doulatram, has sent me a letter,³ a copy of which I enclose. This matter will go up the Finance Ministry through External Affairs. This is also very important, politically and otherwise.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Jairamdas wrote on 28 November that he had sent the budget proposals for the North-East Frontier Agency for 1953-54 for consideration of the Ministries of External Affairs and Finance.

15. To B.R. Medhi¹

New Delhi
December 9, 1952

My dear Medhi,
Thank you for your letter of the 5th December which I have read with interest.

1. JN Collection.

I am very glad that Dr. Katju went to the Lushai Hills.² It would have been most unfortunate if he had omitted this from his programme.

As you know, I am very anxious about the work of the District Councils of the autonomous regions. I wrote to your Governor about this. I have a brief reply from him and I am expecting to hear more. Unless these District Councils get going, we are likely to have a good deal of trouble. We must help them to the best of our capacity.

I note what you say about the Pakistan proposal to remove our border Police 500 yards away from the border. I think that your reaction to this proposal is right and at least so far as the civil armed police force is concerned, they should be completely free to go right up to the border.

I am glad that you are providing work to the people of Sylhet-Khasi and Jaintia Hills who have suffered so much because of Partition.

You mention in your letter that a traveller's tax known as the Girls Release Tax is being realized by Pakistani officials on the border. I should like to have more definite information about this. One cannot rely on an odd statement.

We are very worried about the closure of the tea gardens.³ We want to help in so far as we can and in fact our Economic Committee is meeting tomorrow to consider this question again. But it is obvious that no Government can take the whole burden of the tea gardens.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Katju visited in the first week of December 1952.

3. One of the reasons for the closure of these tea gardens was that the commercial banks refused to give them any credit facilities for the current crop as the return on the crop of the previous year had not been remunerative enough due to fall in tea prices.

16. To Shaikh Abdullah¹

New Delhi
December 16, 1952

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

...In one of these large hill areas, the Naga area, there is a demand for complete independence which is absurd, the area lying between Burma and India. We have, under our Constitution, given a considerable measure of autonomy to

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

many of these areas. We have created six Autonomous District Councils, as they are called. These are elected except for two or three persons who might be nominated from such groups as are not represented. They have powers of taxation and expenditure and a good many other powers too. They have just begun and we are very anxious to see that they succeed. If they fail, the problem will become still more difficult for us. These people are, on the whole, a fine lot but tough and not liking to be ruled over by anybody. In some ways they are like the tribes of the North-West Frontier. They make excellent soldiers and, in fact, we have got some battalions of them in our Army. They have a special dislike for the Assamese who, in the past, have tried rather to lord it over them. Frequent incidents happen there. We are now trying to hand over their education to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh of Sewagram which will conduct it on basic lines. This is to avoid the Assam Government doing it directly which would create some opposition and resentment.

I give you this example as it is, in some ways, rather similar to that of Ladakh, though obviously there are differences. The problem before us always is how to create a sensation of self-rule or of partnership in self-rule. If this is not present, then there is frustration. The old days are past now when people put up with anything that was imposed upon them.

I cannot offer you any advice about Ladakh because you know the place much better than I do. I can only deal with the broad approach to the question. I am not concerned at all with Kushak Bakula,² but if Kushak Bakula can get many others to support him because of their discontent, then he becomes a nuisance and a new situation develops. It is wiser to deal with that situation before it takes a head.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. K.G. Bakula (b. 1917); Head Lama of Ladakh; President, National Conference, Leh, 1949-53; Member, Jammu and Kashmir State Legislature, 1951-67; Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs and Trade Agencies, Jammu and Kashmir Government, 1957-62, for Health, Local Self-Government, Ladakh Affairs and Trade Agencies, 1964-67; Member of Lok Sabha, 1967-76.

17. To B.R. Medhi¹

New Delhi
December 17, 1952

My dear Medhi,

As you know, I am very anxious about the proper functioning and success of the Autonomous District Councils in the tribal areas. I have written about this both to you and to your Governor. If these Councils do not succeed, that will mean a tremendous burden on Assam. It will be a failure of our policy.

It seems to me essential that we should help them financially as well as otherwise and give them a sensation of autonomy and self-government. I hope your Government will do its best in this respect. I am prepared to move our Finance Ministry to help a little also.

I am told that the Khasi-Jaintia District Council wanted to give an allowance of Rs. 100 to its Members for touring and others purposes. I think this was a proper and justifiable demand. I am sorry to learn that your Government did not approve of it.² That was unwise and I hope you will reconsider this.

If we do not succeed in winning over these people now, they will go the Naga way and become a thorn in our side. We should, therefore, make them feel that they can function without interference as far as possible. They must have a sensation of self-government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Referring to this allowance, Jairamdas wrote on 14 December that the Assam Government had rejected this particular provision and wanted a reduced amount to be fixed in view of the unsatisfactory financial position of the District Council.

18. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
December 17, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

When I went to the North-East Frontier, I was rather worried by the problems and difficulties of the tribal areas. The North-East Frontier Agency is directly under us, that is, under External Affairs Ministry functioning through the Governor. Then there are six Autonomous District Councils under the Assam Government. In fact these District Council areas are, I believe, two-thirds of Assam Province.

1. JN Collection.

Autonomous District Councils have been created here because of the incessant demand of the people there for a measure of autonomy. Indeed one of these areas—the Naga District—has non-cooperated and refused to elect a Council. They demand independence, which is rather absurd. But others have elected their District Councils. They are, on the whole, good and the people are fairly competent. But they have practically no resources of any kind. Ultimately they will, no doubt, raise some fund by taxation, although that will not be a very easy matter, as the people there are not used to taxation at all. They have also been hard hit by the Partition and their trade with the Pakistan areas is gone. There are hardly any communications there. In any event they cannot function without some initial support. I believe the Assam Government gave them Rs. 30,000 each, which does not go very far for a large area. They have to start from scratch and have practically no offices, buildings, etc., in many areas.

It is of great importance that these District Councils start functioning and the people there have a feeling of self-government within certain limits. Unfortunately there is not much love lost between them and the Assamese. The Assamese rather look down upon them and the others resent this greatly. When I was in Assam, I pressed the Assam Government to help them in some way or other, even by loan, so that they might start functioning. The Assam Government said that they realized the importance of this, but they were hardly in a position to give much help. I do not know what they are going to do, but I expect very little. Meanwhile the situation might well worsen and the whole experiment of the District Councils might fail. I think that we should try to do something to help them, even though it is not our direct responsibility. When things go bad, the responsibility of course inevitably becomes ours.

The Governor has been writing to me about this repeatedly. Today I received two letters from him, copies of which I enclose. He has made various suggestions, among them being that someone should be sent by us to look into the finances etc., of these District Councils.² This would be a good thing. I do not remember how far the team we sent considered this matter. But I rather doubt if they went into it deeply. Jairamdas suggests also that we should provide a special subvention of Rs. 10 Lakhs for all the Autonomous District Councils. That works out about a lakh and a half per district. This is not big for the work. It might even be treated as a loan, though I do not see what is going to be paid back in the foreseeable future.

I should like you to consider this matter, as I wish to avoid trouble in future in this frontier area. It is a good area and likely to strengthen us if properly dealt with. Otherwise it will be a source of weakness.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Jairamdas wrote to him on 14 December.

1. Redesignation of the Service Chiefs¹

I understand that the three Chiefs of Staff have addressed the Minister of Defence in regard to the paper circulated to the Defence Committee² of the Cabinet on the redesignation of the Service Chiefs. They express a wish that they should be given an opportunity of expressing their views at a meeting of the Defence Committee or to the Prime Minister personally.

2. I think we should meet their desire in this matter and therefore this should not be finalized, as suggested, by the 3rd December. At present, most of the members of the Defence Committee appear to be absent from Delhi. I think it would be better to wait till some of them at least return. Whether we hold a formal meeting of the Defence Committee or meet informally can be decided later.

3. Meanwhile, I should like to have some comments on the points raised in the letter sent by Sir Thomas Elmhirst³ on the 25th January 1950 about his designation. Would the change of designation create any formal difficulties, as is apparently suggested, and, if so, how would they be got over?

1. Note to the Ministry of Defence, 2 December 1952. JN Collection.
2. A committee consisting of the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Minister of Defence, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister of Finance, C.D. Deshmukh and Minister of Transport, Lal Bahadur Shastri decided on policy matters relating to defence.
3. Thomas Walter Elmhirst served as Honorary Air Marshal in the Indian Air Force in 1950.

2. The Indian National Army¹

...Now I venture to say that here in this country of India, for the last two generations or so, we have carried on—not we only, I am talking of the country—a struggle for the freedom of India. Many have died in that. Many have been shattered completely. Hundreds and thousands still today are suffering from that. We have tried to help here and there; but there they are. We never promised them anything, because we knew we could not. But I say no group

1. Statement in Parliament, 15 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States)* Official Report, 1952, Vol. II, cols. 1895-1902. Extracts.

of persons who have served India have been helped to the extent that the personnel of the INA in India have been. No other group in India who has taken part in the struggle for freedom has received that much consideration, that much assistance, that much of help as the INA personnel who came back to India. I am not saying that in any spirit of comparison. I merely say that when the charge is made that they have been treated as traitors,² that they have been forgotten and all that, it amazes me... When I compare what the country did, what the Congress did—and the Congress did more than anybody else in this country for them—and what others did, and what the Government did too, and to be told thus that they have been treated in this way amazes me. When I heard the honourable Member who moved this Resolution,³ I had a sensation as if the honourable Member was asleep for the last five or six years, and somebody had woken him up. He did not seem to be aware of all that had happened these five or six years, because, during these five or six years, there had been two or three things. One is of course, that the Government had considered this matter—not once but two or three times. And if the honourable Member thinks that we were compelled to take this decision by the British Government of the day, he is very much mistaken because the ultimate decision that we took, when we took it, the British Government was not here—I leave out doing anything—they were just not here to do anything. It is possible, if the British Government were here in the early days when the matter did come up, the British Government, or such elements of the British Government as were here, might have exercised some pressure, possibly. But simply they were not here, and so the question does not arise. We considered this matter repeatedly with the greatest care, consulting all manner of folk, and ultimately came to some decisions which were announced on many occasions and which I presume are known to the honourable Member too. I can read them out, because the decisions we have taken did not convey anything of the kind that the honourable Member gave about them. I shall come back to this—about the Government decisions.

So far as the non-governmental attitude is concerned in this matter, there was continuously—in spite of the fact that we were going through a time of great stress, strain, trial and difficulty as the House knows, after 1947—the change in 1947, the Partition and all the troubles that occurred and all that—there was continuously the attempt throughout to help the INA personnel in every way, in those particular ways more especially, which the honourable Member referred to as alternatives.⁴ In fact—I regret I have not got the figures—

2. C.G.K. Reddy said that according to Government of India members of the INA were traitors.
3. S.N. Dwivedy moved the Resolution regarding absorption of INA into the Indian Army.
4. Reddy suggested that if for some administrative reasons the INA personnel could not be taken back into the Army they could be absorbed in the police or in other services.

in fact large numbers of the INA have been absorbed in the home guards, the police forces; some of them are high officers in the police, the highest officers in some provinces. And a number of times I myself took this matter up by letter with the Chief Ministers of provinces, by conferences, by personal talks, by personal references, and received reports from them as to what they were doing, and with the Central Government too. As I have said, I do not have the figures at the moment; but I say every possible effort was made, and these efforts succeeded in a large measure too. Apart from that, the old INA Enquiry Committee, the Relief Committee, subsisted.⁵ It is true it did not function very adequately because of numerous other matters; but it subsisted, and throughout this period, it has given help, financial help, or help in employment. There is still an office in Delhi which tries to do its best. Hardly a week goes by when, as Chairman of that Committee, I do not get requests for help to people, and help is given to those who want to.

Another factor has to be remembered when this Resolution is taken into consideration. After the Partition of India a fairly large proportion of the INA personnel went to Pakistan. Not only were they in Pakistan, but I regret to say, they took arms against India in Kashmir. Some of the fairly well-known officers of the Indian National Army were some of the more important leaders of the raid on Kashmir. So, we leave them out, naturally. The honourable Member presumably does not expect us to bring them into the Indian Army—the officers and the men in Pakistan; not only those who are in Pakistan but who actually fought against India, against the Indian troops. So far as the others are concerned, there were a series of decisions here. Ultimately, there was not—we put aside what the British Government had done—that is before we came into the scene, we put that aside completely—the honourable Member might have been perfectly right if he were describing what the British Government did—any kind of stigma attached to them, and opened out all these avenues of service including service in the Army to them. We could not take them *en bloc* into the Army for a variety of reasons connected with the Army—not connected with politics, not connected with any stigma on them, but connected with the Army itself—because, after a large gap of period, all kinds of difficulties arose. The Army is a delicate instrument. The Army at that time was actually being reduced because it was a War Army. It was being reduced in numbers and demobilization was going on on the one hand. Apart from that, persons who had been out of the picture for six, seven or eight

5. In December 1945, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its meeting in Calcutta constituted the INA Inquiry and Relief Committee for the purpose of gathering information about INA personnel and giving immediate relief to those members of the INA and their families who were in distress. Nehru became the Chairman of the Committee in April 1951.

years and who, normally, would have been out of the Army by that period, persons who had lost touch with the growth of the Army and many things—it is not easy to fit them in without upsetting the set-up of the Army. So, the door was completely open to them but, they were to be considered as individuals, not as a group. We gave those—I do not know what privileges, I had better read out—large gratuities which are given to people when they leave the Army, pensions, etc., etc. I cannot say exactly but, apart from pensions, etc., I believe a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs was provided for under the Army Estimates for this purpose, because technically there was some difficulty under the Army Regulations. So, we got over that technical difficulty and provided this sum, apart from sums that were given to them under the Rules.

Apart from giving these—pensions, gratuities and the rest—we left the door open for them to come into the Army—in some cases to the Army undoubtedly, some officers and some others—not very many. As far as I remember, I do not know, because, as I said, there was the question of the age of the average soldier, and, also he was out of touch and to take him at this stage was not proper and so we paid him all kinds of pensions. There was no bar and, as I said, Sir, a very large number of them were taken in the Home Guards, in the Police Services, in the Armed Constabulary and, some of them are occupying very responsible positions today; some are in the Diplomatic Service also and some are in other Services and, very very far from doing anything that might be considered to have flown from a stigma, they have been looked upon with honour and respect. We have tried to encourage and help them; it may be that our help has not been as adequate as people would like it to be; it may be a little less, but, taking everything into consideration, I do submit, Sir, that we have tried to do more, and succeeded in that, for the INA personnel than we have done to any other group or to the vast army of political sufferers in the country whose families had been shattered during the last 30 or 40 years. So that, it does pain and distress me to be accused of treating these people in this way, as though they were traitors and not respected patriots, as though we had not tried to help them in every way. This matter has come up repeatedly. This matter is treated as closed. Apart from everything else, whatever help might conceivably have been given, this lapse of time makes it extremely difficult to take the people back into the Army after ten years. How are they to be taken back, and where? They did not fit in anywhere as soldiers. We would have to give them special training of all kinds. It simply would not work. I am referring to the Resolution⁶ as worded. It cannot be done. With the best will in the world it cannot be done. There were those

6. It said: "...this council is of the opinion that the Members of the Indian National Army should be immediately absorbed into the Indian Army."



AT SANCHI, 29 NOVEMBER 1952



AT A BUDDHIST CEREMONY, SANCHI, 30 NOVEMBER 1952

difficulties. Now, apart from undoing what the British Government had attempted to do—the stigma, etc., by classifying them into groups and so on—I will just read out what all has been done. I am talking about the last six years. The stigma attached to the ex-INA personnel was removed and the individuals were made eligible for re-employment in the Indian Army if they were otherwise suitable. Those who were re-enrolled were treated as ex-soldiers of the Indian Army to all intents and purposes. In the case of officers who held commissions in the Indian Army prior to their joining the INA the normal rules were relaxed. The officers too were eligible to get *de novo* permanent or short service commissions. Those officers who held permanent commissions in the Indian Army were not required to appear before the Services Selection Board. A liaison officer was appointed in the Ministry of Defence to assist the Ex-INA personnel in finding employment under the Government of India and State Governments. Individuals who had been previously dismissed or discharged were granted (1) amounts standing to their credit including deferred pay on the date of their capture by the enemy where not already paid; (2) amount equal to three months' pay and allowances including deferred pay of the substantive or war substantive rank held at the time of the discharge or retirement; (3) service pension including muster pension and gratuity under normal rules; (4) war gratuity and contractual gratuity under the existing rules. And in addition to all these, lump sum grants were made to those who were disabled or were dependents of those who died while serving with the INA. On top of that, a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs was set apart for these concessions, and the actual expenditure on this account was Rs. 31 lakhs.

Sir, this is what was done from the Defence Ministry side. You will see that everything possible was done excepting taking them back *en masse* into the Indian Army, which at that time, for a large variety of reasons was found very difficult, and, I submit, correctly found to be difficult. It was not a question of their patriotism being challenged. It was a question of getting people into the Army who were particularly suited for the Army at that time. You cannot play about with the Army. And normally the door was open. And what was done I have mentioned. A great deal was done, and to some extent it was done with the cooperation and help of the INA officers and men themselves. In fact there was a committee of their own people who used to advise us and even now it is going on, and even now I am in charge of a fund to give relief to ex-INA officers and men and hardly a day passes by when some case does not come up recommended by the INA officers themselves to me, and I deal with the matter, and normally relief is given.

I really do not know what more could have been done or can be done now. In any event I would point out to this House that the Resolution as framed has no relevance to facts and it is not related to facts. It just cannot be accepted....

I thought I dealt with that.⁷ We tried to give every weightage. That is to say, instructions were given to give weightage, and actually, to my knowledge, weightage was sometimes given. Speaking from memory, I think apart from the Central Office here, we had an office in Lucknow, and an office in Bombay, which specially dealt with the matter, which kept themselves in constant touch with the State Governments and pressed on their claims with the State Governments. And the State Governments, I know, were favourably inclined and wanted to do it; and in fact my answer to the honourable Member's question is that weightage was given. When the honourable Member referred to the figure of 15,000, I would like to know whether it includes the number who went to Pakistan....

About one-third roughly went to Pakistan and remained there. Let us say, two-thirds are here: let us say, 10,000. A very large number of those got service in the police, in the Home Guards and other services. Really the number therefore is reduced. I have no doubt at all that even now there are people who are in difficulties. I know personally because cases come to me day after day. They are in difficulties, and we are trying to help them. I do not mean to say that we help everybody generously, but we do try to do so, and I think the problem has been solved, not one hundred per cent, but to a very large extent we did meet the difficulties that had arisen.

7. Reddy enquired whether the INA personnel as such were given weightage for recruitment in Services other than the Army and was it done as a rule to all the fourteen thousand people.

REFUGEE REHABILITATION

1. To Mahavir Tyagi¹

New Delhi

November 27, 1952

My dear Mahavir,

Your letter of November 25th² about the Faridabad Development Board. I have not read chapter 10 of the report³ fully, but I have glanced through it. This does reveal a woeful state of affairs. At the same time I am not quite convinced in my mind whether certain features of this scheme were kept in mind by your investigator. From the financial point of view, his report must be presumed to be correct. But it is possible to have some explanations in regard to some matters. Speaking entirely from memory, one or two explanations suggested themselves about buildings etc., to me.

But I need not go into this. The question now is what to do and how to do it. I agree with you that the present Faridabad Board can serve no useful purpose any longer.⁴ What will take its place? A departmental committee, I fear, will not be able to give the time and energy to it that is necessary, unless some top-ranking man is put in charge by the Ministry and has the backing of the departmental committee behind him. No such place can be run by a committee consisting of officers who have much other work to do. Barve⁵ was appointed there. He is good, but apparently he is functioning more as a Joint Secretary of the Finance Ministry now.

1. File No. 29 (197)/50-PMS.
2. Tyagi had sent a copy of the report prepared by E.S. Krishnamoorthy, member, Central Board of Revenue, who had been asked to investigate and report as to how the expenditure had exceeded the sanctioned budget of the Faridabad Development Board and who were the persons responsible for it. The Board was founded in 1949 to build a township for the displaced persons from West Pakistan.
3. It pointed out to the objectionable manner in which the Board managed its finances and kept its accounts and referred to lack of clear-cut division of responsibility between the Board and the Ministry of Rehabilitation resulting in the Board functioning without control of the Ministry. The report recommended regularization of the excess expenditure of Rs. 50 lakhs.
4. Tyagi suggested winding up of the Board and placing responsibility of the township on the Ministry of Rehabilitation who might be advised to appoint a departmental committee with representatives of the Ministries of Finance and Rehabilitation and an official of the Punjab Government to look after the affairs of the township.
5. Sadashiv Govind Barve (1914-1967); joined ICS in 1935; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1952-55; Secretary, Government of Maharashtra, 1957-61; Minister of Finance, Maharashtra, 1962-63 and Industry, 1963-65; Member, Planning Commission, 1965-67.

I suggest that the first steps you should take are to have a talk with Ajit⁶ both about the past and the future. Someone, either you or Ajit, should have a talk with Hirday Nath Kunzru⁷ also.

I do not know if your investigator sent for Sudhir Ghosh.⁸ He should be sent for and asked for his explanation of the various errors of omission and commission.

At the present moment, I believe that in fact the Ministry is in charge. If not, the Ministry can take full charge, even though the Faridabad Board continues in name for a while. We can deal with that later. Some delay will not make such difference, provided the Ministry is in charge.

I believe a small Executive Committee was appointed by the Board at its last meeting. I do not quite know what the Committee has done or is doing.

We must look at this matter of course from the point of view of financial ethics. But we must also look at it from other points of view, that is, we should not take any step which upsets things in Faridabad and creates a serious problem there, such as unemployment etc. Also the various activities going on there, cooperative and other, should not be stopped.

Ajit Prasad is fully acquainted with this matter. You should have a full discussion with him. I am sending a copy of this letter to him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Ajit Prasad Jain, Union Minister of Rehabilitation.
7. Became Chairman of the Faridabad Development Board in 1950.
8. A Congressman; as Deputy Rehabilitation Adviser, Ministry of Rehabilitation, looked after Faridabad township project from 1949 to April 1952.

2. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1952

My dear Ajit Prasad,
Your letter of the 29th November about the Faridabad Development Board. This was written before you had received my letter on this subject dated 27th November addressed to Tyagi.²

1. File No.29 (197)/50-PMS.
2. See the preceding item.

I agree with Paragraph 7³ of your letter. I agree also with Paragraph 8⁴.

About Paragraph 9, i.e., the Indian Cooperative Union⁵, there should certainly be an enquiry as suggested⁶. But one should always remember, as you have yourself mentioned, the peculiar difficulties under which these cooperative societies functioned and the fact that they were of refugees. We would hardly treat them as normal cooperative societies with adequate funds at their back. In fact it was a way of giving relief. Also, the Punjab Cooperative Act⁷ is peculiarly out of date compared to Bombay and other places. The Assistant Registrar there created so many difficulties that I had to write to the Governor once and the Governor put matters right.

You suggest the appointment of a committee⁸ by me. I do not quite know how committees as such can carry out enquiries. Nevertheless, if you suggest some suitable names, I shall consider them.

As for suitable machinery for the future, it seems to me that your Ministry should carry on till you have given fuller consideration to the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Jain proposed that the past transaction in excess of the sanctioned budget for the Board might be regularized and such expenditure as was needed for inescapable commitments might be sanctioned. He wanted that the Ministries of Rehabilitation and Finance "should examine the entire financial situation of Faridabad and write off a part of the expenditure made on works of relief."
4. Jain wrote that pending fuller examination of the detailed recommendations, he was taking immediate action on Krishnamoorthy's observation on the stock pile of the building material by passing orders that the Ministry of Rehabilitation should utilize as much material as was in excess of the requirements of the Board and sell the remainder by auction.
5. A voluntary non-profit organization established in 1949 and devoted to economic and social development through cooperation. It undertook a programme of refugee rehabilitation at Faridabad through co-operative effort.
6. Jain referred to Krishnamoorthy's recommendation for full enquiry into the entire working of the Indian Cooperative Union with a view to judging the financial viability of the enterprises started by them or by their subsidiaries and the supervision of the subsidiary societies as per the rules and regulations of the Punjab Cooperative Department.
7. Under the Punjab Cooperative Societies Act of 1912, the recovery of loan from a defaulter involved long and tedious process and control over poorly managed committees was also not effective. Besides, the cooperative inspectors and auditors also did not fulfil the required standards of competence and integrity.
8. He suggested the appointment of a committee to look into the functioning of the Indian Cooperative Union and a technical institute to judge the remunerativeness of the enterprises started by them and also to find out the employment opportunities provided by such enterprises and suggest new lines of development.

3. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
December 3, 1952

My dear Ajit,

I wrote to you last night about Faridabad Board. In so far as the Indian Cooperative Union is concerned, I have been thinking as to what course we should adopt in regard to it. It seems to me that we should be rather careful in not doing anything which makes it difficult in future for social workers to give their services. When in a matter of relief or rehabilitation, we lose money, as we often do, we accept the fact, unless there is some corruption. Private social workers or indeed any private persons are not usually welcomed in governmental organizations and they find it difficult to function there and yet we have to encourage them to do so. Our Five Year Plan consists very largely of how much help we can get from private individuals.

To appoint anything like an official committee of enquiry into the Indian Cooperative Union would probably not help and might create difficulties. It would create an impression of harassment of public workers, who have tried to give their services for a public cause. If, however, there is any serious matter, then of course one should take that up as such...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(197)/50-PMS. Extracts.

I. CHRISTIANS

1. To Ravi Shankar Shukla¹

New Delhi

November 28, 1952

My dear Shuklaji,²

Some time ago Rajkumari Amrit Kaur sent me some papers³ about complaints received from Christians in various parts of the country in regard to discriminatory treatment, both individually and collectively. I spoke about this matter to you, I think, when I was in Nagpur. Some papers were sent to me about this. I am enclosing these papers. I shall be grateful if you will look into this matter, because we do not want our minorities to have any feeling of unfair treatment.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33 (111)/52-PMS.
2. Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, at this time.
3. Amrit Kaur pointed out to the harassment suffered at the hands of the non-Christians by Christian missions engaged in educational and other such work in Madhya Pradesh.

2. Problems of Christians¹

At the interview I had with the Catholic Bishops, they expressed their satisfaction in regard to the visa question. They then referred to the question of educational and like assistance for backward classes among the Indian Christians. I told them that our policy was to help backward classes regardless of religion, to the extent of our ability. But they could not have the political privileges in regard to election, etc., which had been given to the Scheduled Castes.

1. Note to the Home Secretary, 28 November 1952. File No. 2(238)/48-PMS.

2. They were most concerned with the Public Trusts Act in Madhya Pradesh² and Bombay³ and stated that these came into conflict with their Canon law and therefore with their religion. I did not go into the details with them. I said that I could not quite understand why any supervision of Trust accounts by the Government should be considered a religious question. Anyhow, this was a matter concerning State Governments. At the best, we could advise them if we thought this necessary. They should try to convince the State Governments and I was sure that they would give them every consideration in this matter. As far as I remember, the archbishop of Bombay said that he would send me a note on this subject. I have not received one yet. It is possible that I may have got a wrong impression.

3. Then they referred to family planning and we had a somewhat desultory discussions. I told them that in this matter Government was not committed to any particular methods, but we did not wish to ban any method either. We were prepared to try and experiment with any methods before coming to any final decision.

4. They referred to the Indian Institute of Social Order at Poona⁴ and wanted me to commend its work. I asked them for a note. They have sent this to me and I shall probably send them some kind of an answer. I believe this Institute is doing good work under the Director, Father D'Souza.⁵

5. The point to which the Bishops attached the greatest importance was the Public Trusts Act of Madhya Pradesh and Bombay. They were much concerned about them and repeatedly referred to them. This might be enquired into and reference made to State Governments.

6. Finally, the Bishops assured me of their whole-hearted support of the Government and promised more especially their cooperation in all schemes of development and planning.

2. The Madhya Pradesh Public Trusts Act 1951 (Madhya Pradesh Act 3 of 1951) envisaged registration of all public trusts before the Registrar i.e., the Collector of the district in the State, who could also fill up the vacancies in trusteeship and in case of trust property not being managed properly, direct the trustee or trustees to seek court directions.
3. The Bombay Public Trusts Act, 1950 (Bombay Act 29 of 1950), required maintenance and annual audit of accounts by every trustee or a public trust.
4. The Institute was established (1) to spread the social message of the Catholic Church; (2) provide theoretical and practical training for this work; and (3) to serve as a centre of information about the social work being done by the Catholic Church.
5. Jerome D' Souza (1897-1977); joined the Society of Jesus at Shembaganur, 1921, member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50; member, Indian Delegation to the UNO between 1949 and 1955 and again from September 1955 to September 1957, Director, Indian Institute of Social Order, Pune, 1951-56; also member, Advisory Committee, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Indian Council of Cultural Relations and the UNO Panel for International Arbitration, 1956.

3. No Religion is Foreign to India¹

Every Indian has to realize that the various religions and creeds and faiths that exist in India are as much of India as any other, and that we are all partners and sharers in that great inheritance. We may follow our different paths according to our own conscience or belief and faith, and each person must have that perfect freedom, but to imagine that those who follow a slightly different path in faith are somehow foreign to India is historically wrong and in fact.

The fact that a religion or truth came from another country do not make it anything that is foreign to a country. Truth is truth wherever it may be.

St. Thomas² landed at the port of Malabar in the year 52 A.D. Since India had then become a vast centre of culture and was attracting a large number of foreigners, it was quite possible that St. Thomas came to this country in the early phase of Christianity and began to spread his Gospel.

There is a lot of ignorance in North India about the traditions of the South. It is necessary therefore that every part of India should know the background of the other.

In a big country like India, people tend to become ignorant of the other parts of their country. But this is not desirable.

I deprecate the tendency on the part of the people to live in narrow shells and develop a narrow nationalistic outlook as this is not consistent with our modes of thought and culture.

1. Speech on the occasion of the celebration of St. Thomas Centenary, New Delhi, 14 December 1952. From the *National Herald*, 15 December 1952.
2. He was one of the twelve apostles of Jesus Christ.

II. BUDDHISTS

1. Opening of the Sanchi Vihara¹

The occasion of the opening of the Sanchi *Vihara*² is a memorable one. More especially is this so in the world of today with all its fear and hatred and

1. Message on the occasion of the opening of the Sanchi *Vihara*, 12 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. On 30 November 1952, Nehru performed the opening ceremony of the new *Vihara* adjacent to the grand old *stupas* in Sanchi where the sacred relics were enshrined.

actual and incipient violence. Sanchi, with the ever-present memory of the Buddha, becomes a symbol and a warning to us. It is not by fear or hatred or violence that we shall solve the problems of our country or of the world. It is only by remembering afresh and by endeavouring to act up to the teaching that illumined India two thousand five hundred years ago that we are likely to emerge out of the gloom that surrounds us.

So on this occasion we go on a pilgrimage to Sanchi and offer our homage to that great son of India and pray that we might have the wisdom and strength to tread the path he pointed out.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi

November 27, 1952

My dear Sri Babu,²

Thank you for your letter of the 26th November³ about Bodh-Gaya temple.⁴ I had a talk about this with your Governor, Shri Diwakar.⁵ I gathered from him that it was very difficult to hand over to the Mahant the parts he wants. Perhaps there might not be this difficulty about the Rest House. About the rest, there would be, as they are well within the temple.

I am inclined to think that you should take up a strong line with the Mahant and tell him that we propose to go ahead and if he wants to go to law, we shall face him there. If necessity arises, we shall face him there. If necessity arises, we shall pass fresh legislation. We have had too much shilly-shallying about this matter. We are going to put an end to this.

1. File No. 2(271)/48-PMS.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar at this time.
3. Sri Krishna Sinha wrote that his Government had taken over the management of the Bodh-Gaya temple through legislation and appointed a Committee to look after its management. The Mahant of Bodh-Gaya, a member of this Committee and previous owner of the temple, had challenged the take-over and obtained an injunction from the High Court. Subsequently the Mahant had agreed to withdraw his case if he was allowed to retain (1) possession of three *samadhis* of his ancestors, (2) the temple of the Pandavas, and (3) the Rest House.
4. The Mahabodhi temple marking the sacred spot where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment is located at Bodh-Gaya, eleven kilometres away from the town of Gaya in Bihar.
5. R.R. Diwakar.

As you know, the Prime Minister of Burma will be leaving Bhopal on the 1st December morning by train direct to Bodh Gaya. I hope one of your Ministers will meet him there and look after him and his party.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Way to Spiritual Revival¹

In this solemn gathering of *Bhikkus* and Buddhist scholars from all over the world, I see something of history. This conference has a deep significance for us in India and must have the same significance for the whole world because the latter is at a turning point in history. The message of the Buddha may well solve the problems of our troubled and tormented world. I came to Sanchi, not to give you a message but to search for something for myself. In this torn and distorted world, I am a very confused person. I see no light and often stumble. I try to search for what is lacking in me and to find out what is wanted of me by my country and my people.

History today has ceased to be the history of this country or that. It has become the history of mankind because we are all tied up together in a common cause.

In India, as in other countries, great lights have shone to show us the right way. Not only has India been the scene of these great teachings but she has also sent them abroad to light up the darkness in other countries. The message that the Buddha gave 2500 years ago shed its light not only on India or Asia but on the whole world.

The question that inevitably suggests itself is, how far can the great message of the Buddha apply to the present-day world? Perhaps it may apply, perhaps, it may not; but I do know that if we follow the principles enunciated by the Buddha, we will ultimately win peace and tranquillity for the world. For all we know we may be sowing such seeds in these conference as will flower for the good of humanity.

1. Message to the International Buddhist Cultural Conference, Sanchi, 29 November 1952. From *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-1953*, Vol. 2 (Publications Division, New Delhi, 1967). p. 390.

4. The Path of Buddha for Lasting Peace¹

In the turmoil and distractions of the present-day world, people forget that victory of the sword can never be lasting. The time has come when the world has to decide whether it would take the way of sword and face the consequent disasters or follow the path shown by the great Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi. Can you tell me whether any problems had been solved by the last two World Wars through which the present generation had passed.

I am much perturbed to see that the eyes of the world are closed to the fact that lasting victory is possible not by the use of arms but by the conquest of hearts. At least India, with her rich inheritance and healthy traditions, must not lose sight of that great truth and make all efforts to spread the message of peace to all corners of the world.

I am confident that the neighbouring Buddhist countries like Burma and Ceylon would cooperate with India in spreading the preachings of the Buddha and making a concerted effort to establish peace in the world. One of the great followers of Lord Buddha, Emperor Asoka the Great, relinquished the sword soon after victory on the battlefield for he realized that real victory could not be won by the sword but only by winning over the people with the weapons of love and compassion. He saw in the teachings of Lord Buddha the path to real progress and made it the mission of his life to make others conscious of what he had realized.

Rarely in the history of the world we find instances when emperors relinquished their all in the cause of peace, especially after becoming victorious over a vast territory.

The selection of Asoka Chakra for the national flag and the adoption of Asoka Lions for the national emblem is not a mere matter of chance. The choice was deliberate because these symbols denote a sincere desire for peace and would work as a constant reminder to the people to continue making incessant efforts in that direction.

India today wants to follow in the footsteps of her great ancestors and contribute towards the efforts to save the world from heading towards disaster. The flag of India which has the Asoka wheel on it symbolizes India's love and friendship towards all countries of the world and reminds the people of the country's glorious past. As a matter of fact, this flag is an assimilation of the teachings of Gautama Buddha, Asoka, and Mahatma Gandhi and signifies

1. Address to a gathering at the enshrinement of the sacred relics of Sariputta and Mahamoggallana in Sanchi, 30 November 1952. From the *National Herald*, 1 December 1952.

the vital role this country had played in the past in the establishment of peace in the world.

The lasting influence of the philosophy of great men, whom India has produced, could be judged from the fact that even today people from different parts of the world assemble to remember them in some way or the other.

Today we have assembled here on this historic hill on a pilgrimage not only of the body but also of the spirit. This event, which is apparently a home-coming for the relics,² has deeper significance to my mind. As I was coming in a procession with the relics up the hill, I was reminded of the footsteps of the numberless devotees who must have traversed this path, thousands of years ago. Did not this make us reflect on the ancient glory of the country and the prestige it commanded due to the presence of the illustrious men born here?

The significance of these *viharas* in which these relics were being enshrined would be realized when each one of us built a kind of temple in his or her heart, where the ancient memories could be enshrined to guide us in this confused world.

2. The relics of Mahamoggallana and Sariputta, two eminent disciples of Gautama Buddha were discovered at Sanchi in 1831 by General Sir Alexandar Cunningham who sent them to British Museum, London. After these were returned to the Mahabodhi Society of India at the beginning of 1947, they were taken to Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Nepal, Ladakh, Sikkim, Thailand and Kampuchea in deference to the wishes of the people of those places who wanted to worship them. Thereafter, these relics were enshrined in a new *Vihara* built near the Sanchi *Stupa*.

ANTI-COW SLAUGHTER MOVEMENT

1. The Anti-Cow Slaughter Campaign¹

...The anti-cow slaughter campaign started by the RSS is a political move.² This campaign has no relation whatsoever with cow. The persons behind this movement could not succeed during the last general elections. Since then, they have been in search of some means to popularize themselves, and this is one of their methods.

I am in full agreement with the objective, but preferred to leave the matter in the hands of the State Government which would decide their actions after considering local conditions.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Nagpur, 31 October 1952. From *The Hindustan Times*, 1 November 1952. Extracts.
2. An anti-cow slaughter campaign was launched on 26 October in several State capitals by the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. Cows were taken out in procession, and public meetings held calling upon the Union Government to pass a legislation banning slaughter of cows throughout the country. Simultaneously, a signature campaign was also launched to send a petition to the President urging him to ban cow slaughter.

2. Hindu Mahasabha and the Cow Slaughter¹

I will never allow a Central legislation to ban cow slaughter in the country. It will be against all principles and past traditions to impose restrictions of this nature throughout the country without taking into consideration the local sentiments and feelings of the people.

The States are at liberty to ban the slaughter of cows in their respective areas but it will be quite uncalled for to have one policy for the whole of the country in this matter.

On my way from Sanchi to Bhilsa, I received a pamphlet demanding ban on cow-slaughter. The Hindu Mahasabha is causing disruption and misguiding the people through mischievous propaganda. People should not be misguided by such mischievous propaganda which has political designs. Those who shout

1. Speech at a public meeting at Bhilsa, Madhya Bharat, 29 November 1952. From the *National Herald* and *The Leader*, 1 December 1952. Extracts.

slogans for the protection of cow have no other intentions except to rouse religious feelings to serve their own purpose. I will very much appreciate it if, instead of shouting slogans, these people would do something constructive for improving the condition of the cows in the country. The mere passing of legislation to ban the cow slaughter will not lead us anywhere. There are countries in Europe where there is no ban of any kind but the cows there are much healthier and better cared for than in this country. Why not make concerted efforts so that the country can have healthier breed of cows to provide good milk and butter to the people, which one needed much in the country?

The communal organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS and the Jana Sangh are busy attempting to disturb the peace in the country and divert the attention of the people from the fundamental economic problems by inciting communal hatred.

The Hindu Mahasabha has been liberally treated so far but if it continues to create disruption and indulge in misguiding people, some strict measures will have to be taken. I can safely challenge the Sabha in any sphere. They had fought the general elections. I am ready at any time to test the strength of this organization in future as well.

The communal organizations claiming to be the saviours of Hindu religion are treading on the same path which was followed by the Muslim League, which ultimately led to the division of the country. The activities of these organizations in India like the old Muslim League are also harmful in every respect....

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

I. GENERAL

1. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1952

My dear Gulzarilal,

You need not be distressed about anything that I write to you. I write frankly on any matter that occurs to me.

What has somewhat troubled me is the way the Planning Commission becomes more and more officialized, if I may put it so. I am not referring to persons, but rather to the manner of working. The Government of India is bad enough in this respect. I do not want the Planning Commission to become, in a small way, a replica of the Government. We talk so much of public cooperation and yet we know very little about it. I happen to know something about it. I am having to face constantly problems with Chief Ministers, State Governments and the like. I get over them without talking to them as Prime Minister, but as a colleague I never think of ordering them about. I find, however, that the Government of India methods are somewhat different. I do not at all approve of how our Secretaries deal with many distinguished visitors that come to them. (I am not blaming the Planning Commission in this respect at all). Prominent people come to me and say that while I had treated them with courtesy, they did not receive that courtesy in our Secretariat.

Our Chief Ministers are not our subordinates in any way. They are often very senior colleagues with great experience of public life as well as of administration. They are not narrow-minded either as to think only of their State at the expense of India. I may or may not agree with them, but I treat their opinion with respect and we discuss a question as comrades facing a common task, not as one official to another.

I enclose a letter from Dr. B.C. Roy about the community project officers. You will notice that he has agreed to accept our suggestion. He has done so after a talk with S.K. Dey.² That was the obvious approach right from the beginning and there was no need to have an acrimonious correspondence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. He was an Honorary Administrator for Community Projects Administration at this time.

2. To V.V. Giri¹

New Delhi
November 13, 1952

My dear Giri,²

...I do not myself understand the extreme stratification, both vertical and horizontal, of Government way of doing things. I do not function in that way. That does not mean eliminating any officer. But I encourage officers to come to me directly if they have any ideas or if they wish to discuss anything with me. I then discuss it with other officers.

There is always, I find, a certain conflict between regular servicemen and those imported from outside. Regular servicemen apply a certain necessary stability to a structure. But they are rather static and slow moving and do not like any new ideas. In particular, they do not like any person whom they consider to come into their sphere. On the other hand, such "outsiders" while not being good at the routine of administration, bring freshness of outlook and a certain dynamism. We want both these qualities i.e. freshness and a certain recognized procedure. I am sure that gradually we shall have to take in such "outsiders" a little more somehow to get over the inertia of Government....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 26(53)/48-PMS. Extracts.
2. He was the Union Labour Minister at this time.

3. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

I have dealt separately with the papers you sent me about Datar Singh.²

The other day Banerjee,³ Chairman of the UPSC, came to see me. His main purpose in seeing me was to plead for a higher place for himself in the Warrant of Precedence. In the course of conversation, he expressed his

1. File No. 2(299)/48-PMS.
2. Datar Singh was Vice-President, ICAR at this time. The Food Minister proposed to appoint him as Special Officer for the Grow More Food Campaign.
3. R.N. Banerjee.

apprehension at the UPSC's decisions in some cases being overruled by Government.⁴ I asked him what the number of such cases was. He admitted that they were very few, but there they were and there should not be even a single such case.

In the course of our talk, he laid great stress on two matters. One was that certain posts should only go to ICS and IAS men and should be considered as reserved for them. The other was that promotion should not be stopped by extensions of tenure.

I told him that much as I appreciated what he said, I entirely disagreed with this point of view. This Government is not a government primarily concerned with promotions and extensions and special posts reserved for special services. The only final test must be the work done.

I mentioned to him the case of Rameshwar Dayal,⁵ the DC of Delhi. It was quite clear from what Banerjee said that what he objected to was for a Provincial Service man being pushed in here. I told him that Rameshwar Dayal had held a very difficult post satisfactorily and we were not prepared to experiment with this post and we therefore kept him on. Delhi was far too important for any risk to be taken. He referred to Datar Singh's case also, but I did not know much about it at the time except that I told him that food production was more important than service considerations.

I think that this general service approach of the UPSC, though proper within limits, is completely wrong outside those limits. As I pointed out to Banerjee, if we adopted his approach to the Army, we might as well wind up the Army. We would get all the dullards at the top.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

4. See the next item.

5. He was the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi from 10 September 1948 to 14 January 1953.

4. The Age of Retirement¹

5...The real question for us to consider is, how best the work will be done. The question of seniority and juniority in service cannot override the exigencies

1. Note to the Minister of Home Affairs, 24 November 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.

of work, more especially when the work is of a specialized kind. It has seemed to me very odd that we should retire people at the age of 55 or thereabouts when they are completely fit. We lose all the experience they have gained. This does not matter so much in normal routine administrative work, but it does matter in any specialized or technical or scientific work. Indeed, Cabinet considered this general question some time ago and laid down that for scientific, technical and specialized work, the normal age of retirement need not apply.

6. I am naturally reluctant to set aside any recommendation of the Union Public Service Commission. As a matter of fact, we have followed that recommendation except in a very few cases. But I have felt sometimes that the UPSC judges matters rather from a service point of view. Indeed, that is their function. They think in terms of promotion of others so that everyone might have a chance. There is, of course, something in that. They think also in terms of posts being reserved for ICS or IAS men and do not wholly approve of outsiders coming in. There may be something in that too. But, neither of these considerations can override the principal consideration, i.e., how best work can be done and results achieved. Our Government is not merely an administration meant for the regular functioning of the services in the sense of promotions, retirements and the like. It is primarily concerned with results.

7. Taking everything into consideration, I feel that in a matter of such high importance as the Grow More Food Campaign, we must accept the judgement of the Food Minister, which is based on actual experience of the person concerned.

8. I understand that the Food Ministry has made a separate proposal about extending the age-limit in regard to these specialized appointments, to 57. That is a separate proposal which should be considered when it comes up, but indirectly that applies to this matter also. As I have said above, the Cabinet was clearly of opinion that for any specialized work, the age of retirement should not be definitely fixed at 55.

9. I believe that the Food Ministry have suggested that Sardar Datar Singh should be appointed for two years. Perhaps it would be better to appoint him for one year now. But if this is done, it should be clearly understood that in case his work yields adequate results, his term will be extended to two years.

5. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi

November 25, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th November and for the papers you have sent about the Lee Commission allowances.² I regret that I do not agree with the Law Ministry.³ I am not, in this particular matter, interested in the financial aspect. I think it is monstrous for independent India to supply free passages to Europe. If we have given any such guarantee, I am perfectly prepared to withdraw the guarantee and take the odium for it. I am not prepared to do something which I consider morally and nationally a gross wrong.

It is all very well for the Law Ministry to scrutinize the wordings of the undertakings then given. I was one of the persons who dealt with this matter and it never struck any of us that such absurdities were going to be continued.

I repeat I am not interested in the financial aspect. Even one such case of an Indian being sent abroad now is objectionable. I would not mind the few Europeans, who may be in our service, taking advantage of this privilege.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The Royal Commission on the Superior Services, headed by Viscount Lee of Fareham, in its report submitted on 27 March 1924 had recommended, among other recommendations, free passage for ICS officers to Europe, four times during their tenure of service and some travel concessions for their children also.
3. K.N. Katju wrote that the Ministry of Law when consulted about its legality was "averse to any interference with it."

6. Reform of Public Administration¹

Instead of the first five paragraphs of chapter VI, "Reform of Public Administration", the following is suggested:

The principal objectives to be achieved in public administration are integrity, efficiency, economy and public cooperation. These aims are closely inter-related and, to some extent, interdependent. Measures designed to secure any one of the objectives help to achieve others as well. The problem, however, has to be approached simultaneously from several directions. The end we seek

1. Note to Gulzarilal Nanda, 26 November 1952. JN Collection.

is service of the community through good administration. That service, more especially in a State, which aims to become a Welfare State, depends on the goodwill, appreciation, and cooperation of the public. Cooperation and goodwill are obtained when there is a belief in the integrity and efficiency.

2. The responsibility of the higher ranks of the public services for improving administration in this respect from within has already been emphasized. Cabinet have to provide the machinery and the administrative leadership which can exert itself in favour of reform and improvement. In the Central Government, the object could perhaps be promoted best by placing the Secretary to the Cabinet in a position analogous to that of the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury in the United Kingdom. To some extent this has already been achieved. The Cabinet Secretary should thus become the principal official adviser to the Cabinet and to the Prime Minister and other Ministers on important problems of administration. In the States, the Chief Secretaries should fill an analogous role. He might be relieved of some of his routine duties so that he can give greater attention to the problems of coordination and administration.

3. Integrity in public affairs and administration is essential and there must therefore be an insistence on it in every branch of public activity. The influence of corruption is insidious. It not only inflicts wrongs, which are difficult to redress, but it undermines the structure of administration and the confidence of the public on which it should rest. There must therefore be a continuous war against every species of corruption within the administration as well as in public life generally and the methods to root out this evil should be constantly reviewed.

4. The opportunity for corruption in various forms might arise almost anywhere in the administration, but it exists in a larger measure in some fields of public activity than in others. It is more difficult to detect where it is collusive. As a rule, where policy is clearly prescribed and the principles on which claims may be determined admit of no doubt, the scope for corruption is small. Vagueness of policy or frequent changes in it have the effect of increasing the scope for corruption. In recent years, the shortage of essential supplies, which occurred from time to time, has led to an increase of corrupt practices. In this matter the cooperation of the public is very necessary in order to eradicate this evil.

5. Stable Governments are in a better position to deal with such corrupt practices than unstable governments, where there is a tendency to remain in power by adopting devious methods. In such circumstances, some officials may be willing to compromise themselves to gain their own ends. Ordinarily public servants are sufficiently protected to be able to resist unfair political influence. Frequently, however, the remedy comes long after the event. Some measures to ensure standards in public life when these are grossly abused are necessary in the interests of democratic government itself. Some machinery

for this purpose should be devised in order to enquire into cases of alleged misconduct on the part of persons who hold any office, political or other. Where there is *prima facie* case for an enquiry, such an enquiry should be held in order to find out and establish facts. If the facts thus ascertained point to a case of serious misconduct, other steps will follow. It may be necessary to have legislation for this purpose. Action under such legislation should only be taken at the instance of a responsible authority, that is, the Central Government or a State Government. In practice, the occasions requiring such a reference would be rare, but the possibility of such a reference might prove a wholesome influence.

This is a very rough draft which should be polished. I think it might serve our purpose.

7. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

Edapalayam
Travancore-Cochin
December 25, 1952

My dear Gulzarilal,

You will remember the discussions we had in the Planning Commission about the respective roles of the Minister and the official. In the original draft of the Five Year Plan it was sought to be laid down that these roles are quite separate and the Minister should be concerned with policy-making only and not interfere with the implementation which is the official's job. That seemed to me then a rather out of date conception. There was, of course, truth in the statement that a Minister should not interfere in the petty details of administration.

We have not quite outgrown ideas derived from British times. As a matter of fact, Ministers in the UK (during the Labour regime) have often told me in the past of the difficulties they have had with their officials who are not in tune with them.

I have just been reading a book by Bertrand Russell² called *The Impact of Science on Society*.³ In this book he deals with the increase of organization in modern society and hence the increase in the power of executive officials, whether it is in Government or in large corporations. This increase in the

1. File No. 17(248)/51-PMS.

2. An eminent British philosopher.

3. The book, published in 1952, based on author's lectures deals with the changes in man's attitude towards religion and philosophy as a consequence of the rapid developments of science in the last two centuries.

power of officials, he says, is a constant source of irritation to everybody. "This tyranny of officials is one of the worst results of increasing organization, and one against which it is of the utmost importance to find safeguards if a scientific society is not to be intolerable to all but an insolent aristocracy of Jacks-in-office." On the whole, he says, they are better in England than in many other countries. Nevertheless, even in England he complains bitterly about the way they obstruct policies. Of course, in totalitarian governments, they become the final authority.

Bertrand Russell says: "The power of officials is, usually, distinct from that of people who are theoretically in ultimate control. In large corporations, although the directors are nominally elected by the shareholders, they usually manage, by various devices, to be in fact self-perpetuating, and to acquire new directors, when necessary, by co-option more or less disguised as election. In British politics, it is a commonplace that most Ministers find it impossible to cope with their civil servants, who in effect dictate policy except on party questions that have been prominently before the public...." "The increased power of officials is an inevitable result of the greater degree of organization that scientific technique brings about. It has the drawback that it is apt to be irresponsible, behind-the-scenes, power, like that of Emperor's eunuchs and King's mistresses in former times. To discover ways of controlling it is one of the most important political problems of our time. Liberals protested, successfully, against the power of kings and aristocrats; socialists protested against the power of capitalists. But unless the power of officials can be kept within bounds, socialism will mean little more than the substitution of one set of masters for another; all the former power of the capitalist will be inherited by the official."

Further, "one of the drawbacks to the power of officials is that they are apt to be quite remote from the things they control. What do the men in the Education Office know about education? Only what they dimly remember of their public school and university some twenty or thirty years ago. What does the Ministry of Agriculture know about mangold-wurzels? Only how they are spelt. What does the Foreign Office know about modern China? After I had returned from China in 1921, I had some dealings with the permanent officials who determined British Far Eastern Policy, and found their ignorance unsurpassed except by their conceit. America has invented the phrase "yes-men" for those who flatter great executives. In England we are more troubled by "no-men", who make it their business to employ clever ignorance in opposing and sabotaging every scheme suggested by those who have knowledge and imagination and enterprise. I am afraid our "no-men" are a thousand times more harmful than the American "yes-men". If we are to recover prosperity, we shall have to find ways of emancipating energy and enterprise from the frustrating control of constitutionally timid ignoramuses."



INAUGURATING THE RARE EARTHS FACTORY, ALWAYS, 24 DECEMBER 1952



WITH ESCOTT M. REID, HIGH COMMISSIONER OF CANADA IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI, 21 NOVEMBER 1952

I am sending some of these extracts to you as they might interest you. Bertrand Russell, of course, is not the final authority. But he has some wisdom and experience.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II. CORRUPTION

1. To V. Narahari Rao¹

New Delhi
December 30, 1952

My dear Narahari Rao,²

I have your letter of the 30th December.³ Thank you for giving me a full statement about this case. It is clear to me from this statement that your Audit Department was in no way to blame. I think, however, that the Home Ministry committed an error in withdrawing the prosecution against the clerk. This was apparently done by the Deputy Secretary without reference to either the Minister or the Secretary.

About the larger question that you have raised, that is showing papers to a Member of Parliament, the general principle as referred to by you⁴ is perfectly correct. Normally secret files and papers are not shown. But there may be

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to C.D. Deshmukh, Union Finance Minister and Mahavir Tyagi, Union Minister of Revenue and Expenditure. On 20 December 1952, the Prime Minister made a statement in the Parliament on this issue. See *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952 Vol. VI, Part II, cols. 2889-94.
2. Comptroller and Auditor General of India at this time.
3. Narahari Rao, citing the case of corruption which took place in the office of the AGCR four years ago and referred to by Purushottamdas Tandon in the House of the People on 18 December, pointed out that it was an isolated case of attempted fraud by a clerk who took advantage of temporary absence of his section-in-charge. The police and the AGCR, both after enquiry, found that there was no conspiracy inside the office of the AGCR. Rao also stated that withdrawal of the case against the clerk without knowledge of the Audit Department was done by the Government of India.
4. Referring to Nehru's offer to Purushottamdas Tandon in the House on 20 December to show him all papers related to the corruption case, Narahari Rao wrote "If any and every individual who chooses to make wild and unverified allegations is to be allowed to see official papers and to sit in judgment over government and its administration and its officials, it will be a dangerous practice and an impossible situation may arise sooner or later for Government and all its officials."

cases when it is desirable to do so. Even so, discretion has to be exercised as to what papers should be shown.

In such matters the normal service rules do not always apply. Parliament consists of a large number of more or less independent Members and behind them is the public. If a misapprehension has been caused, deliberately or otherwise, the object is to remove this from the public mind. Naturally this should not be done in a way which may lead to other bad consequences. For that the Minister must be the judge. This kind of thing does not happen often. If Parliament or the public think that we are afraid of publicity about any matter, immediately they suspect the worst and all the statements made by us do not count for much. A frank approach yields the best results.

In England, the most secret documents are sometimes shown to leaders of the Opposition. We must remember that in a democratic set-up, a person may be Minister today and not so the next day and *vice versa*. There are no hard and fast lines between an ordinary Member of Parliament and a Minister, such as there are between service men and non-service men. Above all, Parliament must always feel that it is trusted. All this of course has to be done with discretion and risks should be avoided. In the present case there appeared to me to be no risks and it was for us to consider what papers to place before Tandonji. It was not necessary to go through the whole file with him. I do not know what has happened since, but I rather doubt if he would even care to see all the papers, if the position is explained to him fully. But the mere offer to show him papers by itself went a long way to satisfy Parliament.

Tyagiji is in charge of this matter and he will know how to deal with it.

Tandonji should certainly have enquired about this matter from the Ministers before referring to it in Parliament. But a circular⁵ is not enough to prevent a Member from saying what he wants to. Apart from this, this happened to be some thing in which he was personally involved. I think he acted wrongly. But the question we had to consider was not his right or wrong action but the effect on the public.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Narahari Rao had pointed out that Purushottamdas Tandon had not, as laid down in a circular of 19 May 1952 issued by the Department of Parliamentary Affairs to all Members of Parliament, followed the procedure for ascertaining facts about cases of fraud, corruption, etc. in administration which might have come to their notice. The circular urged the Members not to make statements on basis of hearsay or incomplete data which might result in unnecessary aspersions being cast on conduct of Government officials.

III. HOUSING

1. Scientific House Building¹

Mr. Chairman² and Friends, I am happy to associate myself with this function and with this symposium.

For the past two years, more specially, and for a longer period also, the problem of housing has impinged on my mind very greatly. Sometimes a particular problem which we all consider as an intellectual problem, or a problem to be dealt with in a normal way, suddenly, seizes us with great force. We become mentally aware of the problem of housing, when we see for ourselves the consequences of the lack of housing problem or of bad housing. It gives me a shock when from time to time I go about in this great country of India, and visit some of our slum areas or some of our village areas. I get a shock not because I did not know about it before, but because it is one thing to know it from a distance and another to be emotionally aware of it.

I suppose that it is not that these conditions are peculiar to India; there are other countries round about also, which have to face the same problems. Obviously, it is everywhere one of the major problems of the age.

I am very happy that at this particular symposium or conference we have representatives from other countries³ interested in the same problem. We want to profit by their experience and by their advice; and if we can offer any help from our experience, we will gladly do so. I am particularly happy that UNESCO has come to our assistance in this matter and brought some experienced experts from abroad.

Now, a variety of persons are gathered here: experts, engineers and others. They are the men who have to deal with this problem, as a part of their work. I am always a little afraid that the work we do remains enshrined in books and papers, and does not actually translate itself into action. The average expert and the scientist seems quite happy if he has solved a problem on paper or in a laboratory or elsewhere. Often there is a tremendous lag after the solution

1. Inaugural Address at the UNESCO Symposium on "Scientific Principles and their Application to Tropical Building and Construction" at the National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi, 21 December 1952. File No. 17(212)/50-PMS.
2. S.L. Hora, Director, Geological Survey of India and President, National Institute of Sciences of India, presided.
3. Representatives from Indonesia, Myanmar and Sri Lanka and consultants from United Kingdom, Holland and Israel attended the seminar.

on paper and its practical application. You have to join up the two. Frankly speaking, I am not at the moment interested in theoretical solutions alone, I want houses and as rapidly as possible. It is no good at all my being told that this thing can be done—I should like to see it done.

In approaching this problem I said here some months back that I was painfully aware of slum conditions in some of our industrial cities. I said that the best solution to the housing problem was to have no houses at all. That may sound rather silly and odd, but it is not. There is a great deal of sense in it. What I meant was that there is a tendency to put up, in brick and mortar and cement, ugly structures with practically no normal conveniences about them. In a country which has normally a warm climate, generally speaking, it is far more important to have these normal conveniences than a roof over your head. Shelter is necessary no doubt, but a water supply and drainage seem to me to come first. It seems that not the slightest attention is being paid to this by our municipal corporations who think that by putting up some horrid structures at great cost, their duty had been done, and then leaving it to chance for the people who live there to shift for themselves for supplies of water and the like. So I say that it is far better to provide lighting, drainage and water supply, than to build houses without these services. First provide the services and then gradually build up the houses. I should be quite content if such services were provided, and the people lived in any kind of huts which could be removed two or three years later.

The main difficulty in these, as in many other matters, is of finance and resources, and as soon as one begins to think of the housing problems of India, one is overwhelmed by the bumper of houses required—millions—and the cost of these houses, when calculated, gives a staggering figure.

But finance should not be made the primary factor, and it should always occupy a secondary place in the economy of the nation. Human welfare might be emphasized a little more. I look upon it in that light and come to the conclusion that probably the best thing would be first of all to destroy the ugly insanitary structures, and leave open space and provide a good water supply, good drainage and lighting, and then the persons living in these wretched slums would be better off for the time being. I would like them to have houses, but we should not provide ugly structures without certain normal amenities under the name of houses, when they are not houses really, with no attention paid to normal lighting and drains. Unfortunately the type of houses developed in India during the past 70 years or more is of a mongrel type unsuited to local conditions, neither suitable for our country, nor for any other country. That was due to the fact that the administration adopted half-Indian ideas and half-British ideas which were quite unsuited to Indian conditions. The result was unfortunate for both, because the climate is different from that in Britain and conditions are different too. Even there the houses might not

have suited. The problem was not considered from the point of view of Indian conditions, Indian ways of living, Indian habits, sun, air, climate, etc.

There was no use producing model houses at a cost beyond the means of the country. The types of houses wanted were such that they could not be put up by the hundred thousand or by the million. Therefore, one had to think in terms of mass production. This need not necessarily mean prefabricated houses. We have no objection to such houses, but starting the manufacture of such houses in India is good enough only to a limited extent. If, however, the building of such houses can lead to new ideas and new experiments in the matter of producing houses on a mass scale, that experiment might be worthwhile. We have to evolve ultimately some method of building houses which depends for its implementation on the use of the local materials.

Schemes for the houses in the villages should not be isolated from the village outlook. Good and cheap houses should be built and built rapidly. Ultimately these houses should be built by the villagers themselves and not by big engineers. Of course, technical advice and necessary materials could be put at their disposal. The present mud houses in the villages should not be ruled out completely. It is true that mud houses have to be improved but they must be improved in the proper way and not by building ugly structures in their place without modern conveniences.

I have ventured again to express a layman's opinion before experts, knowing well that you know much more about it than I know, but I wanted to put before you the impact on my mind of this problem, and the urgency of this problem more especially, so that you at this symposium or conference should help us in solving the problem, by pointing out various very interesting approaches to this problem from a scientific or expert point of view. We want you to do things and we want you to help us in doing them. Thank you.

IV. TRANSPORT

1. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi

October 27, 1952

My dear Gulzarilal,

...Homi Mody² was rather worked up at the thought that Tatas were in disfavour with the Government and that in some ways we had been discriminating against them. I told him that there was no reason for this belief and in fact, so far as

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Director, Tata Sons Limited and till recently the governor of UP.

I was concerned I had considerable respect for them as a straightforward industrial firm. Indeed, I would like to help them, consistently with our general policy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To J.R.D. Tata¹

New Delhi
November 10, 1952

My dear Jehangir,²

I was very sorry to notice your distress of mind when you came to lunch with me the other day.³ You told me that you felt strongly that you or the Tatas, or at any rate your air companies⁴ had been treated shabbily by the Government of India.⁵ Indeed you appeared to think that all this was part of a set policy, pursued through years, just to do injury to your services in order to bring them to such a pass that Government could acquire them cheaply.

You were in such evident distress at the time that I did not think it proper to discuss this matter with you. Nor indeed am I writing to you today with any intention to carry on an argument. But I feel I must write to you and try, in so far as I can, to remove an impression from your mind which I think is totally wrong and is unjust to Government, to me as well as to you.

I cannot of course deal with any individual acts of discourtesy that might have occurred in the Secretariat here or any attitude adopted which was not becoming. That might well have happened. All I can say is that I regret that exceedingly and, whenever any such act has been brought to my notice, I have immediately taken steps. The machinery of Government functions in a peculiar way which is not to my liking. I have been six years here and still feel rather like a fish out of water. I have been impressing upon our

1. JN Collection.

2. Head of all Tatas and associated companies.

3. On 5 November.

4. Air India Limited and Air India International Limited.

5. On 5 November, before meeting Nehru, J.R.D. Tata, during his meeting with Jagjivan Ram, the Minister of Communications, was surprised and distressed to find that the meeting had been arranged not to get his views or suggestions but to convey to him the Government's decision to nationalize the airlines. According to Tata, the Minister was not interested in discussing a note prepared by him which contained an alternative scheme, but only wanted his suggestions on the question of compensation following the nationalization of the airlines.

officials and others that the old type of superior governmental behaviour is objectionable.

So far as the Tatas are concerned, you know my own high appreciation of the record of this outstanding firm in India which has pioneered so many projects. I think in this matter I reflect the general views of most of my colleagues. I have not heard at any time any adverse comments in regard to the Tatas, although there is plenty of criticism of others here. Of course, there may be disagreement in regard to policies and we may look in a somewhat different direction sometimes.

But the charge you made the other day which amounted to a planned conspiracy to suppress private civil aviation and, more particularly, Tata's air services, astounded me. I could not conceive of it and I am sure that nobody here could do it. This matter of air services in India has been discussed by us in Cabinet and outside on a very large number of occasions. As a matter of general policy, we have always thought that transport services of almost all kinds should be State-owned. Indeed, so far as the Congress is concerned, we laid down this general policy about twenty years ago.⁶ It is true that the policy could not be implemented for various reasons and we gave it no high priority. But the matter was discussed on many occasions. It was chiefly the lack of finances that prevented us from going ahead.

For a considerable period, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was in charge of the Communications Ministry.⁷ Your grievance is that a large number of services were permitted to operate⁸ and these tended to eat each other up. I am not competent enough to judge of this policy. But obviously, all of us were anxious to develop air services in India. It may be that we went too far. It may be also that the Tatas were too cautious in some matters, such as the night air mail.⁹ I am not dealing here with the merits of the particular policy, but with your charge that a policy was pursued by the Government of India with the deliberate intention of injuring Tatas air services. That, I am quite sure, is completely unjustified. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai used to discuss air services with me frequently. He always had a good word for your air services, except for the fact that he

6. The AICC, at its meeting in Bombay from 6 to 8 August 1931, resolved that the State should own or control key industries and services, extraction of mineral resources and their utilization, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport.

7. R.A. Kidwai was the Minister of Communications during 1947-51.

8. Nine airlines companies including the two owned by the Tatas were operating at this time.

9. This service was introduced in 1949 whereby the mail brought from Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras would be exchanged at Nagpur and flown to its destination by the respective planes. In addition to mail, passengers were also carried at a rate lower than that charged for day flights. The Tatas opposed this scheme arguing that night-flying in India was unsafe.

thought you were too cautious and he did not like the idea of high fares. He may have been right or wrong. But I have no doubt in my mind that any desire to injure your air services was never present in his mind. So far as his subordinate officials were concerned, they may have behaved or misbehaved occasionally, but Kidwai did not give them too much rope and even in their case it seemed to me incredible that, secretly in their minds, they were pursuing this long-distance policy of causing harm so as to make acquisition easy later. I doubt if they even thought of acquisition.

During the last few months, i.e., since Jagjivan Ram has been Communications Minister,¹⁰ this matter came up before the Cabinet on several occasions. We examined it thoroughly. We were driven to the conclusion that there was no other way out except to organize them together under the State. I remember that even then stress was laid on the excellence of your services and, more particularly, Air India International. We did not wish to touch the Air India International. We appointed a Committee of the Cabinet to go into this matter. Their report was that it would be difficult in the circumstances to isolate the Air India International.

The purpose of my writing to you is to remove the impression from your mind that any policy has been pursued by us with the deliberate intention of acquiring them later after their value came down. Both from the civil and the defence point of view, we have naturally been anxious to develop aviation in this country. Our eagerness to do so may have gone too far. A situation arose ultimately when we were driven to a certain conclusion.

I do not want you to carry in your mind the impression you gave me when you came here. We want your help in this and other matters and it is a bad thing to suspect motives and nurse resentment. Coming from an old friend like you, this distresses me greatly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Jagjivan Ram became Minister of Communications on 13 May 1952.

3. To P.A. Narielwala¹

New Delhi

November 13, 1952

My dear Pan,²

Two or three days ago I wrote a letter to JRD.³ When he had come to see me here, he was in great distress about our decision in regard to the air transport services in India. He talked to me in some stress of emotion and accused Government of following a deliberate policy to break up the private air services in India, more especially the Tatas, so that it could acquire them later at a low valuation. I did not argue with him then. I merely listened.

Later I wrote my letter to him in which I expressed my great regret that he should have felt so and assured him that whether our policy was right or wrong, there was not the slightest motive behind it as imagined by him. Also that we have considered this repeatedly for a long time past. I wanted him to get rid of this idea and to give us his cooperation in this and other matters.

I have just received a telegram from him,⁴ a copy of which I enclose. Probably you have heard from him also. I am sending this telegram to Jagjivan Ram, but I do not myself see how we can open a question which has been decided by Cabinet after repeated and careful consideration. Of course, the manner of giving effect to that decision is certainly open to discussion and we would like not only the views, but the cooperation of persons intimately concerned with civil aviation, notably JRD, in this matter. Generally speaking, it is our intention to have an autonomous corporation which would function more or less independently subject to Government policy. We do not want a government department to run it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Narielwala served the Tatas for long holding various positions.

3. See *ante*, pp. 228-230.

4. J.R.D. Tata on 12 November informed Nehru that the Government's decision to nationalize the airlines was not sound and would not result in the creation of an efficient and self-supporting air transport system. He offered to discuss an alternative scheme prepared by him "better calculated to achieve Government's objective."

4. Ernakulam-Quilon Rail Link¹

I am very happy to have been associated with this laying of the Ernakulam-Quilon railway.² Some months ago your Chief Minister, Mr. John,³ discussed this matter with me in Delhi. I did not know much about it then. But looking at it on the map it seems to me to be one of the obvious things that has got to be done. Indeed it surprised me that such an obvious thing was not done previously, because to join Quilon with Cochin and Trivandrum seemed to be necessary from every point of view. This is a very heavily populated area, growing in industrial importance. There is no doubt about it that the State of Travancore-Cochin is going to grow at a very fast pace in many ways in the future.

Here I may mention to you a little fear which I have in my mind, namely, that in growing at a very fast pace you may interfere a little with the great beauty of this place. This State is definitely a lovely jewel in this part of India. Far away from here in the north, 2,000 miles away, there is another jewel in India and that is Kashmir. So I would not like you to industrialize yourself in such a way as to spoil even a little of this very beautiful place. Nevertheless you have to industrialize yourself and produce more wealth for your people. You cannot remain static. Even as it is, at the present moment, the State is facing many difficulties. There is the difficulty of unemployment in the coir industry and in other matters. Of course, once you depend on the external market you are always dependent on somebody whom you cannot control.

Anyhow your State is going to be developed rapidly, and this railway link has become quite essential. I am exceedingly happy and pleased that I am here today to do this little symbolic act of digging a little earth... I am sure that this railway link will play its part in the development of this State and bring great prosperity in its turn and make this part of India, which is a jewel of India, better than what it is. *Jai Hind*.

1. Address at the inauguration of the construction of Ernakulam-Quilon railway link, Ernakulam, 24 December 1952. From *The Hindu*, 25 December 1952. Extracts.
2. The construction of 96 miles long Ernakulam-Quilon rail link was first conceived by Vallabhbhai Patel when he visited Cochin in 1950.
3. A.J. John (1893-1957); founder leader of the Travancore State Congress; Member, Travancore Legislature, 1937-40 and 1948-49; and Minister from 1949 to 1955; Chief Minister, Travancore-Cochin, 1952-54; and Governor of Madras, 1956-57.

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
December 3, 1952

My dear Rajaji,²

Some kind of a fast is going on for the Andhra Province³ and I get frantic telegrams. I am totally unmoved by this and I propose to ignore it completely.

But it is not easy to ignore the basic question. I wrote to you about it some months ago.⁴ You then suggested that it had to be taken up, but not now. There can be little doubt that this will remain a running sore and some time or other we shall have to take steps. Vinoba Bhave has again written to me about it and there is a general feeling among many people that we should take some step in the matter. I do not want to be driven to any action.

Then there is the Congress coming at Hyderabad⁵ and undoubtedly this question will be raised there. What attitude are we to adopt? Merely to go on repeating what we have said seems to me rather inadequate.

I should like your advice in the matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Madras at this time.
3. Potti Sriramulu, a senior Congressman, undertook a fast unto death on 19 October in support of the demand for the immediate formation of an Andhra State.
4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, p. 405.
5. The fifty-eighth session of the Indian National Congress was held in Hyderabad from 14 to 18 January 1953.

2. To V.V. Giri¹

New Delhi
December 7, 1952

My dear Giri,

On return to Delhi this evening I have received your letter of the 5th December about the fast undertaken by Potti Sriramulu² for the immediate establishment

1. JN Collection.
2. (1901-1952); a Congress worker from Andhra Pradesh; participated in the nationalist movement and was jailed in 1930 and 1942; undertook fast unto death on 19 October 1952 and died on 15 December.

of an Andhra State. Whatever the justification may be for having the Andhra State, and there is a great deal of justification, I am afraid I cannot announce Government's decisions in such matters because a fast is undertaken, even it leads to grave consequences. That would mean the end of Government. Let us, by all means, consider the major question. But I am not prepared to be coerced into it by fasting. As you know, the question, though in a sense a simple issue, has become complicated, and no Government can just go ahead and state something vaguely without unravelling these knots. I have been anxious to go ahead with this matter, but the attitude taken up by Shri T. Prakasam and others has made it difficult to make any progress.³ Even now, I shall be glad to find some way to consider this matter in consultation with the people chiefly concerned. We can only proceed methodically.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. T. Prakasam, the Praja Socialist Party leader and a Member of the Madras Legislative Council, wanted immediate formation of an Andhra State with Madras City as capital and constituting Madras City and contiguous areas as the Chief Commissioner's province.

3. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
December 7, 1952

My dear Prakasa,²

I have just returned from Bombay.³ I have your telegram about Sriramulu's hunger strike on the Andhra Province issue.⁴ I am afraid I cannot make any appeals to him. I realize that his death will be very unfortunate and may have serious consequences. But it is impossible for a Government to function under threats of hunger strikes and the like.

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Madras State at this time.
3. Nehru visited Bombay and Baroda between 5 and 7 December.
4. Sri Prakasa informed that condition of Sriramulu hunger striking to death on Andhra issue was very grave and that he would listen to none except Nehru. Hence Nehru should send "some soothing message" to Sriramulu whose death would cause serious repercussions.

I realize that the Andhra issue has to be faced and we must consider this matter positively before long. I have in fact written to Rajaji about it some days ago.⁵

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

5. See *ante*, p. 235.

4. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
December 7, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Some days ago I wrote to you on the subject of the Andhra Province.² On my return to Delhi today, I have seen a number of telegrams and letters on this subject of Sriramulu's fast. Among these is a telegram from Sri Prakasa showing his grave concern at the possibility of Sriramulu's death and the consequences that might follow.³ I have also received a letter from V.V. Giri in which he says that delay will be dangerous and will lead to great bitterness in Andhra.⁴ A telegram from the president of a public meeting under joint auspices of various opposition groups has also come. This demands the resignation of the Vice president and Andhra members of the Central Cabinet and the Madras Cabinet.⁵

On the 3rd of December, the Communist leader⁶ in the Council of States as well as Professor Ranga⁷ laid stress on this question and wanted a statement by me on the Andhra Province.

I have informed Giri and others that I cannot proclaim any decision because somebody is fasting to death and that no Government can function in this

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 235.

3. See *ante*, pp. 236-237.

4. See *ante*, pp. 235-236.

5. A public meeting at Vijayawada on 4 December presided over by T.V.S. Chalapathi Rao, the municipal chairman, called for such resignations and boycott of the Indian Parliament and the Madras Legislature by Andhra members until the Central Government made a declaration on the question of Andhra State.

6. P. Sundarayya.

7. N.G. Ranga, Leader of the Krishikar Lok Party.

way. But the fact does remain that this question has become a festering sore and I do not know how long we can just go on postponing it. If we are clear that sometime or other we shall have to face it, it does little good to go on postponing this and waiting for a more favourable opportunity. The probability is that conditions will deteriorate.

In any event, as I wrote to you previously, this will have to be faced in the Hyderabad Congress and we shall have to put forward some kind of a constructive proposal.

I should like your advice in this matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

5. Condition of Potti Sriramulu¹

As you have said, Sir,² the life or death of any individual is always a serious matter and one should not consider any such subject, that is to say where the life of a person is involved in a light way, but with all respect to the sentiment. I will say this that bringing pressure of such a kind on very major decisions would, if acceded to, put an end to the authority of Parliament and of democratic procedure. I recognize—and I have no doubt that the House recognizes—on the one hand the importance of a person possibly losing his life. On the other hand we have also to appreciate the issue on which he is fasting. I do submit that it is quite impossible to deal with that matter in this fashion—it cannot be done. It should be approached differently and I would appeal to those who are interested in this matter and to the gentleman who is fasting, to try to endeavour to achieve his object by better ways, more legitimate ways. I am very sorry for him. The adjournment motion says that we should try to save his life by Government immediately coming to a major decision about a major matter overnight. Surely, no Government and no Parliament can accept that. I submit, as an adjournment motion, one can hardly deal with this matter here...³

1. Statement in Parliament, 8 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. VI, Part II, cols. 1823-24.
2. When Rama Rao, member, Communist Party of India, moved an adjournment motion seeking a debate on the situation arising out of the grave condition of Potti Sriramulu fasting for the formation of Andhra State, the Deputy Speaker commented that life of an individual was precious.
3. The adjournment motion was disallowed by the Deputy Speaker.

6. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi

December 9, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 6th December about the Andhra Province affair.²

In answer to a motion in the Council of States, I made a statement today³ on the lines of the JVP Report.⁴ I made our position fairly clear. As a result of what I said, however, it is expected that we take some positive step. I think we should do so. The step I envisage is the appointment of some one person to investigate this matter regarding the formation of an Andhra Province on the basis of what is said in the JVP Report.

This person will not take the place of a boundary commission or anything like that, which must follow, if this person's report is more or less in favour of it. This will enable us to find out what the reactions are to this initial step and whether it is generally accepted or violently condemned.

I hope you agree to this procedure. We must appoint some person who is totally unconnected with these matters. Presumably, a judicial type of person would be best, and probably he should come from the north. Could you suggest someone? Also, could you advise as to how we should proceed with this matter?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Rajaji wanted the supporters of Andhra State to give up their claim to Madras City and agree to the new Andhra State consisting of the undisputed Andhra area i.e., Rayalaseema, coastal districts and Nellore upto Vizag in the north. He also stated that as had been laid down in the JVP Report, they should not demand separation of Madras City from Tamil Nad.
3. See next item.
4. A Committee appointed at the Jaipur session of the Indian National Congress in December 1948 consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, known as JVP Committee from the initials of the members, in its report in April 1949, recommended that (1) claim to Madras City be abandoned by the protagonists of Andhra; (2) Andhra State be confined to mutually agreed upon areas of Madras Province; and (3) study of the problems arising out of separation of Andhra State be made.

7. Potti Sriramulu's Fast¹

Sir, if I may say so,² so far as the personal aspect of this fast is concerned, everyone must be very much concerned. Also, when any person is prepared to suffer to this extremity for a cause which he considers important, that must necessarily impress and move people. But, Sir, as you know and as has often been stated before, this method of fasting to achieve administrative or political changes is one which is likely to land us in great difficulties, if we once accept it. In the ultimate analysis it really puts an end to parliamentary or democratic government.

But, coming to the object of the fast, that is to say, the formation of an Andhra Province, as far as I remember, the motion for adjournment, Sir, before you not only refers to Andhra Province, but rather precisely to an Andhra Province including the city of Madras, if I am not mistaken....³

I am sorry if I made that mistake....⁴ As I said, "Andhra State with the city of Madras as its capital" is the most controversial part of the issue in this motion. Now, Sir, to ask the Government to issue a statement deciding a highly controversial issue like this in this way, I do submit, Sir, to this House, would be a very extraordinary and most unjustified procedure and, so far as this fast is concerned, I do hope that Shri Potti Sriramulu will, even at this last moment, discontinue it. While, on the one hand, this fast should not make us do something which we would not otherwise do, on the other hand, it should not come in the way of doing something which would otherwise be done.

So far as the Andhra Province matter is concerned, we have repeatedly stated—and I stated it in this House too, I believe on the last occasion⁵—that we are anxious and eager to get this matter settled. But we came to the decision that we did not wish to impose our will on any large section of the people and therefore we invited them with a view to come to some general agreement about the important aspects of it, not agreement about everything, but a certain

1. Statement in Parliament, 9 December 1952, *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. II, cols. 1193-1202. Extracts.
2. The Chairman requested Nehru to make a statement in the House on the motion for papers in regard to fast by P. Sriramulu, notice for which was given by P.V. Narayana, member of the KMP in the Council of States.
3. The Chairman pointed out that this was not an adjournment motion but a motion for papers.
4. The Chairman pointed out that the motion for papers asked for discussion arising out of the precarious condition of Potti Sriramulu who was on fast.
5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, pp. 405-410.

general agreement about the important matters relating to it. The House is probably aware that only two or three days ago an attempt was made at a conference in the city of Madras to come to some agreement⁶ and that conference consisted of persons who were keenly desirous of solving this problem. If it is difficult for them, it becomes a little more difficult for Government to impose its will and thereby create circumstances which, far from bringing about an Andhra Province, might actually delay matters or, in trying to bring it about, might create so much bitterness and conflict that it will come in the way of any constructive solution or constructive approach. Now, three and a half years ago, a committee was formed—not an official committee—by the Congress organization to consider this question of linguistic provinces generally. The Committee's report has often been referred to as the JVP Report because it consisted of three persons, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and myself. That report is three and a half years old—I believe it came out about the middle of 1948—and it represented the Government's attitude. It was not a Government report but it consisted of two important members of the Government. So it represented the Government's attitude then and put this matter, if I may say so, in a very concise and clear way. If the House will permit and if you will permit, Sir, I should like to read one or two paragraphs from that report and then say something about it. If the House permits, I will place the whole report on the Table of the House just for information. It is not up to date but it might help in understanding this problem. After dealing at some length with the general problem of linguistic provinces in the context then existing, the Committee went on to say:

In regard to Andhra, the same general principles should be applied which we have stated above. In some ways the demand for an Andhra Province has a larger measure of consent behind it than other similar demands. Yet there is controversy about certain areas as well as about the city of Madras. To a large extent what we have said about Bombay City applies to Madras City also, but there is a marked difference. Bombay City, because of its size and cosmopolitan and industrial character, can make into a political entity. Madras City is smaller and is closely linked with provincial life and activities. We are of opinion,

6. T. Prakasam as President of an all-party convention in Madras on 7 December dissolved the convention after a resolution, calling for immediate formation of Andhra State with Madras City as capital and constituting the city of Madras and contiguous areas as the Chief Commissioner's State, was adopted. But, T. Nagi Reddi, the Communist leader, opposing this resolution thereafter, got another resolution adopted with the help of his supporters which called for formation of Andhra State consisting of undisputed Telugu areas, leaving future of Madras City to be decided through a plebiscite.

therefore, that if an Andhra Province is to be formed, its protagonists will have to abandon their claims to the city of Madras.

If the general principles we have indicated above, are accepted, an Andhra Province can be formed, but this will have to be confined to the well defined areas mutually agreed upon and confined to the Province of Madras and can be brought about only with the willingness and consent of the other component parts of Madras Province. We do not rule out the possibility of changes or additions at a later stage.

Then another passage; slight repetition:

The case of Andhra, however, can be isolated from others, in that, as we have already pointed out, there appears to be a large measure of consent behind it and the largest compact area likely to form part of this linguistic province is situated in one province. We would, therefore, suggest that, if a start has to be made, we should take up first for study and examination the problems arising out of the separation of Andhra Province and ascertain if, consistent with the principles we have mentioned above, this province could be separated. If the necessary conditions are achieved, we recommend that measures may be taken to implement it.

Then the final summary and conclusion of this Report.

We feel that the conditions that have emerged in India since the achievement of independence are such as to make us view the problems of linguistic provinces in a new light. The first consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India and every separatist and disruptive tendency should be rigorously discouraged. Therefore the old Congress policy of having linguistic provinces can only be applied after careful thought being given to each separate case, and without creating serious administrative dislocation or mutual conflicts which would jeopardise the political and economic stability of the country. We would prefer to postpone the formation of new provinces for a few years so that we might concentrate during this period on other matters of vital importance and not allow ourselves to be distracted by this question. However, if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole and certain conditions which we have specified above. Public sentiment must clearly realise the consequences of any further division so that it may fully

appreciate what will flow from their demand. We feel that the case of Andhra Province should be taken up first and the question of its implementation examined before we can think of considering the question of any other province.

Now, the House will notice that in this Report a clear statement of the case has been made. Three and a half years have passed in which to examine the question of the formation of an Andhra Province in terms of this statement. Instead of our proceeding or those who are particularly anxious to have an Andhra Province proceeding on those lines, there has been controversy and conflict in regard to some matters and more particularly in regard to the city of Madras. Now it is not possible for Government to accept any proposal which involves the making of the city of Madras a part of Andhra Province or, if I may say so, making the city of Madras a place where there are headquarters of two or three Governments, with mutual rivalry with each other, which will reduce the city of Madras, well, I will not say, to impotence, but at least will lead to the deterioration of the city in many ways, which will be a very unfortunate thing. Therefore, the position now is that we are perfectly prepared to go ahead in regard to the formation of an Andhra Province by taking such steps as may be necessary, provided it is on the basis of the principles laid down in this Report that I have read out, that is, exclusion of Madras City, and those recognized parts of Andhra which now form part of the Madras Province being separated to form a separate province. My Government is perfectly willing to take that step, but it would not be right, if I may say so, to take that step and then to keep the agitation alive for the city of Madras—or for something else, because then the whole object of doing it is somewhat frustrated. If the agitation is kept alive, there is no finality to it and even the working out of the other parts of the decision to form an Andhra Province will be vitiated by continuous arguments and tussle about the city of Madras and like matters....

Sir, I do not wish to enter into past history. An attempt was made to bring into effect this Report, but it did not succeed.⁷ I do not go into the cause as to whose fault it was. However, as regards the separate Province, we are considering this as a serious matter. I do not wish to say—and I have not said—that there should be universal agreement on this matter. I certainly hope that the major parties concerned would accept certain basic factors, because

7. P.V. Narayana said that though the JVP report was submitted nearly three and a half years ago, the Government had not implemented the same. C.G.K. Reddy, a Socialist member, pointed out that since the Report had not been implemented so far, the points of view of the concerned parties had become divergent making implementation of the Report more difficult.

while we are carrying on—let us say we agree to have this Andhra Province and we take some steps—simultaneously with it there may be an agitation on a different basis. And if we say “All right, we agree to this” and the rest is left open for discussion, that again vitiates the previous agreement and nothing happens. We cannot leave these things, for example, the question of the city of Madras, to arbitration. So, I suggest that the Government is prepared to go ahead, to appoint a Committee or Commission to enter into the details of these definite and distinct areas of the Madras Province which are well-known to be Andhra areas. They might be constituted into a separate Province, but excluding the city of Madras....⁸

Yes, Sir....⁹

Sir, I said that the Government is prepared to take early steps. I do not know whether exactly one can take steps immediately. But we shall immediately consider this matter with a view to taking steps as soon as possible on the basis I mentioned. I do not wish to make an excuse of some individual not agreeing to this or that. But I would like the House to consider that if there is fairly widespread denunciation of what we do, then we get into difficulties and the whole process becomes difficult. I do not expect people putting down a signed agreement and so on, but I do hope that it is accepted in some good spirit....¹⁰

The result of the correspondence was that the disagreement continues over these matters.

8. At this point, the Chairman said the Prime Minister wished to convey to the House that “there will be an Andhra State of the undisputed areas of the Madras Province.”
9. The Chairman further said that the Prime Minister would take immediate steps to solve the question.
10. P. Sundarayya, a member of the CPI, wanted to know the result of the correspondence Nehru was having with the people in the matter as mentioned by him in the House on 21 July 1952.

8. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
December 12, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Your letter of December 11th about the Andhra Province.²

My proposal was not to appoint a person to carve out the new State, but rather to consider the matter without much formality and report to us so that we might be in a better position to take the next step. That next step would have been the appointment of a formal commission to go into the question fully from every point of view.

The person appointed by us would have for his terms of reference my statement on this subject in the Council of States and the JVP Report in so far as it refers to Andhra.³ Thus, we rule out the question of Madras City being considered as a separate State. Madras will continue fully in Tamil Nad.

My point is that before issuing a formal Government resolution or decision accepting the formation of a separate State of Andhra and appointing a commission to delimit boundaries carefully and go into the question of finances, services, etc., we should have this preliminary survey by an officer on the basis of what I had said in the Council here. I do not expect that officer to go about taking evidence, but rather to study the papers concerned, meet selected individuals etc. and to report to us what the position is.

This would give us some time to consider this matter more fully before we take any more precise and definite step. On the whole, what I have said has been accepted and approved of by various groups. I do not think it would be fair for me to insist that every person must unconditionally agree to what I say. This means that any single person can hold up Government. There is a general agreement, and in any event, so far as Government is concerned, we are quite clear and definite about it and we do not propose to reconsider our decision in regard to Madras.

I think that this is a psychological moment of which we should take advantage. Otherwise, complete frustration will grow among the Andhras and we will not be able to catch up with it.

1. JN Collection.

2. Rajagopalachari disfavoured the proposal to appoint a person who Nehru thought should make a preliminary survey on the basis of his statement in the Council of States. Rajagopalachari felt that such an appointment would facilitate "to keep alive the claims which we wish to be abandoned." He thought that until at least the Congress in Andhra completely and unconditionally accepted the conditions announced by Nehru, appointment of any person or commission should not be proceeded with.

3. See the previous item.

When the time actually comes for the separation of the Andhra Province, then, I think, we should have fresh elections. That would presumably mean fresh elections both in the Andhra part and the Tamil part, though it is possible to have it only in Andhra. All this cannot take effect before nearly a year is over or at least nine months or so at the earliest.

Cariappa⁴ has many good points, but he has a very irresponsible mind and one does not quite know what he might do.

I should imagine that in future we should try not to duplicate the complete superstructure of a State everywhere, that is to say, Governor, High Court, etc. Why should there not be a single Governor in two States—Tamil Nad and Andhra and a single High Court? Or, at any rate, why should this not continue for a number of years, say five or more, till we can further consider the problem?

I have been lately told that Prakasam wants to see me. I have said that I am always prepared to meet him or anyone. It is just possible therefore that he might come here.

A suggestion has also been thrown out that while Madras should remain with Tamil Nad for the initial period of two or three years, we might permit part of the Andhra headquarters to function there till they put up their own buildings, etc. elsewhere. I should like your reaction to it. We can reduce this part of course to the minimum. But I suppose that some overlapping in point of time might be inevitable.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

4. Rajagopalachari had proposed that K.M. Cariappa, the retiring Commander-in-Chief of the Army, might consider the Andhra issue in accordance with Nehru's proposal.

9. To G. Hari Sarvottama Rau¹

New Delhi
December 15, 1952

Dear Hari Sarvottama Rau,²
I have your letter of the 14th December.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1883-1960); journalist, suffered imprisonment during Vandemataram Movement in Andhra, 1908-11; Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1927-30; member, Andhra University Senate, 1927-30 and 1952-55.

I have made our position perfectly clear in regard to the Andhra Province in the statement I made recently in the Council of States.³ I am prepared to take early steps towards the formation of such a Province in regard to the undisputed areas on the basis of the JVP Report. In that report specific reference is made to the city of Madras and I must accept that. Also it is perfectly clear to me that no agreement is at all likely on any other basis.

I shall gladly see you here when you come.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, pp. 240-243.

10. Death of Potti Sriramulu¹

Sir, all of us, I am sure, will deeply regret this ultimate consummation, in death, of the fast undertaken by Sriramulu.² That is a matter entirely apart from what political views one may hold about it or what differences one may have on the subject. Any person who is prepared to inflict suffering on himself for some cause which he espouses is entitled to respect so far as the matter is concerned, although as the House well knows, we have expressed our opinion on various occasions about the extreme undesirability of adopting that course for furthering any cause. I will not go into that now.

But, in regard to the matter for which this fast was undertaken, that is to say, the constitution of a separate Andhra State, only a few days back, I had occasion to say something in the other House and to make the position of the Government clear. I am glad that on the whole what I said on that occasion has met with a fairly considerable measure of public approval, I cannot say that every one has agreed to it; I am not sure of that. But, anyhow, I think, many people interested in the cause of the Andhra State have recognized that we are earnest and serious about this matter and that we are perfectly prepared to go ahead with it on the conditions laid down in a report that was published some two and a half years ago, called the Linguistic Provinces Report or

1. Statement in Parliament, 16 December 1952, *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. VI, Part II, cols. 2439-2441.

2. He died on 15 December 1952 after fasting for fifty-eight days.

shortly known as the JVP Report. The Report was not a Government official document. It was issued by a Committee of the National Congress. But the Committee consisted of some eminent Members like Sardar Patel, of the Government at the time, and they went into this question. I am only referring to the Andhra State question, not others at the present time, in some detail, and I am only repeating what I said in the Council that we were perfectly prepared to proceed as early as possible on that basis. I would not again go into details. But, the basis essentially was that steps should be taken to constitute an Andhra State in regard to the unchallenged and uncontested Telugu areas of the Madras Province, and it being clearly understood that the city of Madras was not included in this. Because if we take a matter of acute controversy right at the beginning, then, you cannot go far to the settlement of the question. That is what I said then.

Some other suggestions have also been made vaguely about Madras being separated entirely from either major province and constituted into a separate small State, called a Chief Commissioner's State.³ In regard to that also, in the JVP Report something is said⁴ and we entirely agreed that that would be unfortunate and bad for Madras as well as for others. However, the position as I said then remains and in fact, since I made that statement, we have been trying to pursue this matter and it is possible and I hope probably that some steps would be taken which might lead to more formal steps later on. Some such steps may be taken fairly soon.

I must express my deep regret again that a matter of this kind should have become rather entangled with the self-sacrifice of this gentleman Mr. Sriramulu and should have thus got rather entangled also with a highly emotional approach to this question which is a difficult question, and which, all of us in this House naturally wish to resolve in a manner as satisfactory as possible to all the parties concerned....⁵ May I say something, Sir? I agree that the sentiments may be conveyed. In regard to the other part of the proposition made by honourable Member, I would only submit that we have certain conventions and rules which we have followed. As far as I know, all the time, this is done

3. See *ante*, pp. 243-44.

4. See *ante*, pp. 241-42.

5. S.P. Mookerjee, a member of the Jana Sangh Party, at this stage suggested that the sorrow and sympathies expressed by Nehru might be conveyed to the bereaved family of P. Sriramulu and these feelings and sentiments might be endorsed by the House by standing for a minute in silence.

only in regard to Members of the House, regardless of politics, old or new. It would be a precedent which may bring us into difficulties in future if we begin to pick and choose. The only exception that I am aware was Mahatma Gandhi's case and I think that that stands on its own special footing. Without meaning the slightest disrespect to any individual, I would submit that it would be a precedent which would create difficulties in the future.⁶

6. The Deputy Speaker accepted the views of the Prime Minister but S.P. Mookerjee intervened to say that since the Prime Minister had spoken about steps the Government took to save Sriramulu's life, he would like to have opportunity to discuss the matter. When the Deputy Speaker rejected this plea, the Opposition staged a walk out.

11. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
December 16, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

I received your telegram² early this morning about my meeting Swami Sitaram.³ About the same time I learnt of the death of Sriramulu. There does not appear to be any need for my meeting Sitaram now. If he wants to come and see me, I shall meet him. When a suggestion was made to me that Prakasam would like to see me, I gave the same answer.

All this afternoon we have been having news of the looting and disturbances at Vijayawada Railway Station⁴ and, to a slight extent, elsewhere also.⁵ I suppose this will be put an end to soon. It is distressing but not important.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. In his telegram, Rajagopalachari wrote about the movement of the railway trains through Andhra area being disturbed by school boys and some other young persons and feared that this might develop into a kind of more serious disruption of rail traffic. Rajagopalachari suggested to Nehru to summon Swami Sitaram, who had till then been with Sriramulu in Madras, to Delhi for a talk to prevent more mischief and for bringing about a change in atmosphere.

3. A leader of the Andhra movement.

4. All communication links between Madras and Vijayawada had been disrupted. A mob raided the Vijayawada railway station and wagons were looted. The damage to railway property was estimated at Rs. 50 lakhs.

5. There were demonstrations and hartals spread over eleven Telugu-speaking districts of Madras State. There was large-scale destruction of railway property, stoppage of trains, and cutting of telephone lines and widespread disturbance of peace leading to police firing and loss of life in Nellore.

You will have seen certain references made in the House of the People⁶ and the Council of States⁷ to the death of Sriramulu. The Opposition in the House of the People walked out and, I think, made themselves rather ridiculous. The leader in this business was Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee who had been canvassing for it previously. He is of course not interested in the slightest in the Andhra State or, I imagine, in Sriramulu. But everything comes in handy to Dr. Mookerjee now, whether it is Jammu or cow-slaughter or refugees in East Pakistan or the Andhra State.

In a statement issued⁸ by the Opposition groups, they say "We staged a walk-out as a protest." "Staged" is of course the right word. Probably the significance of the word is not apparent to the leaders of the Opposition.

I have already written to you about the necessity for some step by us in regard to the Andhra State and have indicated the nature of that step. This of course had nothing to do with Sriramulu's death. It followed the statement I had made in the Council of States some days ago. I think that we should proceed with this matter fairly soon. I am quite sure that it is not a good thing for the Telugu-speaking areas to be formed into a separate State. Their State will be a backward one in many ways and financially hard up. They cannot expect much help from the Centre. However, that is their lookout. If they want the State, they can have it on the conditions we have stated. I do not think we need to bother about any particular individual agreeing to those conditions or not. If we take up the attitude that Prakasam or others must agree before we take a step, that will be construed as deliberate delaying tactics by us and would be an unwise decision.

The question then is what step we should take. I have indicated to you that the first step might be the appointment of an individual, who might rather informally consider this problem in terms of the statements I have made. That is to say, the constitution of an Andhra State for the uncontested areas and definitely leaving out the Madras City. This man should first of all look through the papers and, more especially, the reports of committees etc., which were formed two or three years ago. That will give him some idea of the financial and other consequences. He should go to Madras and, again rather informally, meet people there including of course you and the Members of Government.

6. See the preceding item.

7. The Chairman of the Council on 16 December made a statement on P. Sriramulu's death expressing sorrow and declared that he had been authorized by the Prime Minister to say that the Prime Minister in pursuance of his statement made in the Council was taking steps in consultation with Madras Government for the purpose of the formation of Andhra State.

8. The leaders of the Opposition parties in the House of the People staged a walk out on 16 December as a protest against "the indifference of the party in power in treating lightly the grave situation now in existence in Andhra."

He will meet some of the Andhra leaders and discuss matters with them, always within the terms of our reference to him. You have already made it clear that Rayalaseema should be included in the Andhra State.⁹ It is possible that some Rayalaseema people may object. Well, if so, the objections may be recorded by him. But the general approach should be to constitute the Andhra State plus Rayalaseema and minus Madras City....

As for the man to be appointed, probably a senior judicial officer is indicated. I would have preferred him to be a retired judicial officer, though that is not essential and I can think of no such person for the present....

Any person coming from the South of India or even West of India should, on the whole, not be appointed. That is to say, any person from a Province where there is a demand for the formation of linguistic states. We are thus somewhat limited in our choice.

Govind Ballabh Pant,¹⁰ who happened to be here and I consulted him, suggested a rather odd name, Ismail's,¹¹ who was till recently Pakistan High Commissioner here and has retired now as an Indian citizen to his ancestral home in Gorakhpur, UP. Ismail is a good man and he was for many years a Judge of the Allahabad High Court. He is sensible and sober. But I am afraid it would not at all be appreciated by the public for us to appoint an ex-Pakistan High Commissioner....

How are we to put out an announcement about the appointment of any such person? The wording has some importance. Shall we say something to the following effect:

The Government of India have appointed Mr. Justice....to consider the various factors involved in the creation of an Andhra State and to suggest what steps should be taken to that end. He will proceed on the basis of the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament in regard to this question and consider the formation of a separate State consisting of the Telugu-speaking areas of the present Madras State about which there is no dispute. The city of Madras will not be included in the proposed new State. He will consider and report also on the financial and other implications of the formation of this State.

This of course is a very rough draft which must be re-written and improved, but it gives the idea. We may indicate privately to him to consider the possibility of having a joint Governor, joint High Court, etc.

I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly send me a very early reply.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. See *ante*, p. 239.

10. He was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh at this time.

11. Mohammed Ismail.

12. To Lanka Sundaram¹

New Delhi
December 16, 1952

Dear Dr Lanka Sundaram,²

...I can only state my own interpretation of the JVP Report³ and what I meant when I signed it. That was certainly Sardar Patel's interpretation also. As a matter of fact, no one can tie down the future for ever. The question is what we should do in the present with a clear mind and without reservations.

I am quite sure that the only right way for the Andhra State to be formed now is for the city of Madras to be excluded and to remain with the remaining parts of the Madras State. Any other course would lead to enormous difficulties....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Independent Member of Parliament at this time.
3. See *ante*, pp. 247-48.

13. Situation Following Sriramulu's Death¹

So far, I have been unable to follow this argument. There appears to be a large number of proposed motions for adjournment and short notice questions,² one or more. Presumably they refer to various things that have happened in Vijayawada and round about. These relate to certain disturbances and large-scale destruction of property and subsequently, some police action. I do submit

1. Statement in Parliament, 17 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. VI, Part II, cols. 2554-55.
2. The Deputy Speaker received notice of five adjournment motions and a short notice question relating to "destruction of railway property, stoppage of trains and telephone communications, widespread disturbance of peace and loss of life due to police firing in Nellore...arising out of the passing away of Shri Potti Sriramulu...." He disallowed the adjournment motions and sent the short notice question to the concerned Minister for gathering material and placing it before the House. Several members insisted on immediate answer to the question.

that all that has nothing to do at the present stage certainly with this House. In any event, the House is entitled to any information that I can place before it. Whether there is a short notice question or none, I am always happy to place every information that I have before the House but I do submit that we must not mix up various things because a riotous mob did something and destroyed a large quantity of property, railway property and the rest. Whatever the excitement of the mob might be, that is hardly a question for this House to consider.

The second aspect of the question presumably relates to the Andhra State. I have made a statement here.³ I have made a statement in the other House well within 24 hours,⁴ and I do submit that I cannot be called upon to make a statement every 24 hours on the same subject. If I am in a position to state anything more, the moment I am able to do so, I shall come to the House and give the information before the House adjourns. At the moment I have nothing to add to that particular statement. If the House wants facts and figures as to what happened in the destruction, the Railway Minister would certainly collect the information and place it before the House possibly tomorrow or the day after....⁵

I do think the gravity of the situation is no doubt there and I suppose it is appreciated as much by Members of the Government as the honourable Member opposite but I do submit that grave situations are met in a different way and not by the Government or anyone else being hurried into action without due thought. That is why I submit it should be met in all seriousness after due thought and consideration and as soon as I can, I shall invite the attention of the House to what we propose to do.

3. See *ante*, p. 238.

4. See *ante*, pp. 240-44.

5. S.P. Mookerjee at this stage interrupted to say that the object was not to obtain information as to the nature and the extent of the damage caused but to impress on the Government the gravity of the situation and find a solution.

14. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
December 17, 1952

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th December² on the subject of linguistic provinces.

We had long ago expressed our readiness to take steps in regard to the formation of the Andhra Province in terms of the JVP Report. When this matter came up in Parliament some days ago, I repeated this. I found that on this occasion there was a fairly large measure of approval and so I decided to go ahead with it. This was independent of Sriramulu's death. Now, of course, things have blown up. We shall proceed with this matter. .

We are considering this in Cabinet tomorrow and my proposal is that, as a first step, we should appoint a high judicial officer to look into this matter rather informally within the terms of my statement and report to us as to how we should take the next step. This means the formation of an Andhra State out of the uncontested Telugu areas of Madras and excluding Madras City. I feel that such an informal enquiry, which should not last more than a month, will help us to go ahead more formally by a Commission a little later. Things would calm down too meanwhile.

I agree with you that we shall have to face other demands for linguistic provinces in the near future. I am prepared to consider them on the same basis, that is, agreed areas more or less. I think that probably the easiest would be the Karnataka. That again would certainly lead to Maharashtra. We may thus have to take several of them together. But I would like to keep this Andhra issue quite separate and not mix it up with others and I would not like to open out the whole question of redistribution of States all over India. That will put an end to all progress everywhere as well as our Five Year Plan.

1. File No. 242/52, President's Secretariat.
2. Rajendra Prasad wrote that the agitation for linguistic provinces might assume more acute form in other parts of the country as it had done in Andhra unless some comprehensive measures were taken to solve it. He added if a Commission was appointed, it should consider the question of the States of Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and Gujarat, carefully delimiting various States on a broadly agreed basis. The cities of Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad should be left as separate entities with their corporations which could be converted into Legislative Assemblies with more powers conferred on them. He thought that as "the demand for linguistic states was our own creation and was mentioned in the Congress Constitution", its consideration should not be delayed further.

I am writing to you briefly only now and not going into the many questions you have raised in your letter.³ They will of course have to be carefully considered. The question is bristling with difficulties. It is not easy, for instance, to join Vindhya Pradesh to C.P.⁴ We could only do it by compulsion and might even have to use violence for it, as there is a strong feeling in Vindhya Pradesh against this. Our joining Travancore-Cochin has given rise to enough trouble and it is quite possible that we may have to separate them some time or other.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Rajendra Prasad felt that if the "smaller States are abolished, and joined to the States where they belong by their linguistic affinity, an anomaly in our Constitution will disappear." For instance, "the Kanarese-speaking areas, whether included in Bombay, Madras, Coorg or Mysore might all be constituted into one State" and "the whole of Malayalam-speaking areas could be joined to Travancore-Cochin" and so on. He did not see any justification for the continuance of Ajmer-Merwara or Bhopal as separate entities.
4. Rajendra Prasad wrote that the Marathi-speaking areas including Berar and part of Madhya Pradesh, should form one Marathi State; and to compensate for the loss of the Marathi-speaking districts, Vindhya Pradesh might be amalgamated with the Central Provinces.

15. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
December 18, 1952

My dear Sri Babu,

Now that the Andhra State question has assumed so much prominence, I fear that other questions relating to linguistic provinces and areas will also come up. We must face this situation realistically and try to arrive at friendly understandings before we take up any formal steps. I would suggest your discussing the matter with Dr. B.C. Roy whenever an opportunity offers itself. You will be coming here, I hope, on the 30th of this month for the Working Committee meeting. Dr. Roy is also likely to be here then and you could arrange to have a talk with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

16. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

19 December, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

You must have followed the development of the situation in Andhra. Independently of the recent riots there we had come to the conclusion that some further step, on the lines we had previously indicated, was necessary and that any delay would be harmful. Then came Shri Sriramulu's death and the disturbances. In spite of this, we decided to proceed as planned. I am making a statement in Parliament today, a copy of which I enclose.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 25(6)/52-PMS. A special letter addressed to all Chief Ministers except the Chief Minister of Pepsu and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State. It has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-64*, Vol. 2, (New Delhi, 1986), pp. 198-99. Also available in JN Collection.
2. See the next item.

17. Formation of Andhra State¹

In furtherance of the statement the Prime Minister made in the Council of States on the 9th December, 1952, and in terms of that statement, the Government of India have decided to establish an Andhra State consisting of the Telugu-speaking areas of the present Madras State, but not including the city of Madras, and intended to take early steps to this end in accordance with Article 3 of the Constitution. Government are appointing Mr Justice K.N. Wanchoo,² Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court, to consider and report on the financial and other implications of this decision and the questions to be

1. Statement in the House of the People, 19 December 1952. File No. 242/52, President's Secretariat. Also available in *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People)*, *Official Report*, 1952, Vol. IV, Part I, cols. 1864-66.
2. K.N. Wanchoo (1903-1988); Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1947-51; Chief Justice, Rajasthan High Court, 1951-58; Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1958-67; Chief Justice of India, 1967-68.

considered in implementing it. Mr Justice Wanchoo will report³ by the end of January 1953. On receipt of this report, Government will take other necessary steps. They are anxious to avoid all possible delay in establishing the new State. They hope that the establishment of this State will be brought about with the friendly cooperation of all the people concerned.

3. During his visit to important Telugu towns, Wanchoo received five thousand memoranda and interviewed many persons. He submitted his report on 7 February and after its consideration by the Government it was published simultaneously with Nehru's announcement on 25 March 1953.

18. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
December 20, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

We have now taken the first definite step about the Andhra Province and we have to follow it up. As you have said, the sooner this is put through, the better. We shall have to wait till the end of January for Wanchoo's report. Meanwhile of course, some thought will have to be given to the subject.

We shall address you formally to place the matter before the Madras Assembly and put the matter before Parliament here during the next session.

Your last letter on this subject rather disturbed me.² Your attitude struck me as very rigid. It is clear that Madras City is kept out of Andhra. It is also clear that it is not going to be a Chief Commissioner's Province or anything like that. In fact, it is going to remain in Tamil Nad. But, I do not see how the Andhra people can be pushed out overnight from Madras. Apart from the Governor and the High Court, to which I referred previously, there are many institutions which serve them, like the university, colleges, hospitals, etc. How can we push them out of these places?

1. JN Collection.
2. In his letter of 17 December, Rajagopalachari had stated that it was not desirable to have a single Governor or a single High Court for Tamil Nad and Andhra and also to have the headquarters of the Andhra State located temporarily in Madras. For peace and restoration of goodwill, "the headquarters of the new State should be split and provided for in two or three big towns in Andhra...." The staff also would have to be completely new as "both the peoples are mixed up inextricably in the several Departments."

You say that they can have bits of their capital in different places in Andhra. That may be done, to some extent, but that does not solve the immediate problem of transfer. They should choose a city as their capital right at the beginning and move some offices, etc., there. But it appears to me physically impossible for them to shift everything within a short time.

Apart from the physical difficulties, a very rigid attitude would produce rigidity on the other side and put an end to all cooperative carrying out of this decision. Prakasam has already begun to give trouble.³ I do not mind that, and I think we shall have plenty of other support. But, if we adopt an attitude which adds to everybody's difficulties, then the reaction might be bad.

Anyhow, we shall discuss this matter later.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. On 16 December, T. Prakasam said in Madras that it would not be very difficult for the Prime Minister to settle the Andhra issue within a short period but unfortunately Nehru "was under an evil influence and was being guided by interested persons." On 19 December, Prakasam declared that Nehru's announcement to establish Andhra State of Telugu areas of Madras without the city of Madras was an eyewash. He wanted Madras City to become a Part C State.

19. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
December 22, 1952

My dear Prakasa,

I have your letter of December 20th.

Whatever has happened in the past, has happened, and it serves little purpose to argue about it. We have to deal with the present and the future. I do not at all see how the Andhra State can come into existence suddenly as a complete whole with the whole paraphernalia of a new State. A period of transition is inevitable. The one thing we must be clear about is that the city of Madras is not going to Andhra. It is desirable that the Andhras should decide what capital they are going to have and formally to instal their capital there on the appointed date. But, even so, it is quite impossible for them to

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

create all the offices, institutions, etc. that normally go with a State. Even buildings are lacking.

Rajaji's attitude can be understood because he is feeling hurt at the turn events took. Nevertheless, it is not a reasonable attitude; nor is it one which will lead to a cooperative settlement of the problem. Prakasam and company have already raised the flag of revolt.² I do not mind that very much and we shall proceed inspite of them. But if conditions are created on the Tamil side which are patently unreasonable and difficult to give effect to, then Prakasam's following will increase and more trouble will result.

Therefore, both from the reasonable and from the practical point of view, a complete and sudden divorce is neither desirable nor possible. I still do not see why there should not be a common Governor and a common High Court, at least to begin with. Then there are universities and hostels and hospitals, etc. They will have to continue to cater for the Andhras also and some assurance to that effect should be given....

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 21 December, T. Prakasam, the chairman, Andhra Council of Action, in a public meeting in Madras, outlined an immediate programme of the Council to protest against Nehru's announcement on formation of Andhra State.

12

STATE MATTERS

I. PART A STATES

1. Call for Self-help and Hard Work¹

My sympathy goes to earthquake and flood-affected people of the district.² I admire the patience and fortitude of the sufferers. It is upto the people to develop economy of the country by self-help and hard work. People must work in team spirit.

Now that India has been independent, it is upto all political parties to contribute to the all-round development of our country so that it will be like one of those big countries of the world. The Government has been trying to help the people, but by legislations alone our country cannot advance. It is by efforts of the individuals that our country's economy would develop.

Certain political parties in Assam who have been indulging in violence and activities of subversion have as their object the breaking of our country.³ The people should be on their guard against such parties. India should not fall prey to the designs of such parties. Such parties are entirely mistaken in their thinking. They will bring not revolution, but counter-revolution.

The Government has been seriously considering the problems of the tribal people and helping them to develop gradually, but it is also necessary that they themselves make every effort for their own progress.

The people of the plains cannot march forward alone on the path of progress. They have to take their brothers from the hills along with them and contribute to their progress and to that of the country as a whole.

I referred to flood damage caused by the Brahmaputra river. Notwithstanding this great calamity, it is possible, on the other hand, to make the river provide hydro-electric energy for the industrial development of the State. Dibrugarh has been at the mercy of the Brahmaputra, so its citizens should be careful and not sit idle.

I would urge the people to do away with the separatist mentality. I denounce the cries for separate States for separate communities, as that will disintegrate India.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Dibrugarh, 22 October 1952. From the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 23 October 1952,
2. Assam was hit by a severe earthquake in August 1950 and in July-August 1952 was affected by floods. See also *ante*, p. 89.
3. The Naga National Council headed by Zapu Phizo exercising considerable influence in the Naga Hills districts of Assam at this time was indulging in violent activities demanding an independent Naga State.

2. The Future of Assam is Bright¹

During this visit I have seen new aspects of Assam. I knew that Assam was a beautiful province. There are special aspects of its beauty that I have seen this time, particularly in the mountains. They have fascinated me. More and more I think of what can be done to develop this Province, I feel that development must not in any way change its beauty and essential features.

The tribals are virile and attractive people and they should be given chance to develop themselves in every respect. They should not be uprooted. If they are uprooted, I apprehend that they may grow soft and lose some of their fine qualities.

I appreciate the work of Administrative, Medical and other Departments, including the armed forces, who are working in these rather out of the way places, deprived of normal amenities of life. But they have something in compensation, which to my mind, is precious, and that is contact with these beautiful mountains and their simple people. Only those who have deep sympathy for these people and love for mountains can really fit in here.

I envisage a bright future for Assam. This rich and variegated province is developing its resources and is becoming one of the most attractive and progressive provinces of India.

I am grateful to the people and the Government of Assam for their cordial welcome and affection and the trouble they have taken to make the visit memorable for me. I shall always remember Assam and perhaps I may come again to see and enjoy the beauty of your mountains.

1. Message to the people of Assam at a press conference, Pasighat in Abor Hills, 23 October 1952. From the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 24 October 1952.

3. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
November 12, 1952

My dear Sachar,²

Among the papers which have given us a great deal of trouble here in Delhi is the *Milap*. I have just learnt to my surprise that the Jullundur edition of the

1. JN Papers, NMML.
2. He was the Chief Minister of the Punjab at this time.

Milap has, to some extent, the patronage of the Punjab Government and the Punjab Congress. It is possible that the Punjab edition may be somewhat better than the Delhi edition. But it does not appear to me to be a safe policy to encourage in any way papers of this type.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Floods in Assam¹

As the House is aware,² the State of Assam has suffered considerable damage in recent years from recurring floods.³ In August 1952,⁴ it was announced in Parliament that a team of Central Government officers⁵ was proceeding to Assam to study and report to the Government on the immediate problems created by the floods as well as on the long-term problems of Assam such as soil erosion, border trade, border security and disruption of communications as a result of Partition. The team led by the Home Secretary and consisting of representatives of the Ministries of Finance, Transport and Irrigation and Power visited Assam between the 26th July and the 17th August, toured the districts of Goalpara, the Garo Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Lakhimpur, and also made an aerial flight over parts of the North Eastern Frontier Agency where serious damage had been caused by the earthquake of 1950.⁶ It undertook, during this period, an intensive study of the special problem of erosion of

1. Statement in Parliament, 13 November 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 308-10. Extracts.
2. The statement was in response to the questions put by Tushar Chatterjee, a Communist member from West Bengal, Ram Subhag Singh, Beli Ram Das and S.C. Samanta, Congress members from Bihar, Assam and West Bengal respectively about the problems created by floods in Assam and the preventive measures taken by the Government.
3. Assam was affected by one of the worst floods in July-August 1952 when Brahmaputra and its tributaries were in spate and had rendered about 30,000 people homeless and inundated some 80,000 acres of paddy fields.
4. On 2 August 1952.
5. The team consisted of H.V.R. Iengar, the Home Secretary, P.C. Bhattacharya of the Ministry of Finance and H.P. Mathrani, consulting engineer, Roads, Ministry of Transport. See *ante*, p. 155.
6. On 15 August 1950, one of the severest earthquakes hit Assam causing heavy loss of life and property.

Dibrugarh town and the various embankment and drainage problems in other parts of the State, as well as the problem of communications, particularly in the hill districts and on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra. The officers subsequently discussed their provisional conclusions with the Assam Government and submitted a report to the Government of India containing agreed recommendations.

2. The main recommendations of the team were the following:-

(1) A stone revetment about four miles long should be erected at Dibrugarh; this was the only permanent safeguard against erosion. The estimated cost of this revetment excluding the cost of acquisition of the necessary land would be about Rs. one crore, fifty per cent of this cost should be provided by the Central Government as an outright grant and the remaining fifty per cent as an interest-free loan repayable out of the proceeds of a proposed levy on the people of Dibrugarh.

(2) A beginning should be made with the collection of adequate hydrological data which would enable a long-term plan to be prepared for the prevention of erosion and for the control of floods in the State. A River Investigation Division should be set up for this purpose in charge of a suitable Executive Engineer provided by the Central Government.

(3) A contour survey should be undertaken all over Assam. A beginning should be made in the Kopili valley where a survey was partially done sometime ago.

(4) Various schemes for embankment and drainage works which had already been prepared by the Assam Government and estimated to cost about a crore of rupees should receive adequate priority and Central assistance under the Grow More Food schemes.

(5) Communications in the State should be improved. The Assam Road from Tezpur to North Lakhimpur should be made an all-weather road; for this purpose four bridges should be constructed. Half the cost of these bridges would be borne by the Centre. A number of roads (estimated to require an outlay of about Rs. two and a half crores during the next five years) should be constructed in the hill districts.

3. The team has also made certain other recommendations with a view to improving border security and the economic conditions of the tribal people in the Hill areas.

4. The Government of India and the Assam Government have generally accepted the main recommendations subject to further discussions regarding the percentage of the cost of the revetment at Dibrugarh to be treated as an outright grant. Meanwhile, action has been initiated to implement the recommendations. The Assam Government have agreed to the setting up of

the proposed River Investigation Division; some of the staff required for the Division have been selected and arrangements are being made for their training in the Punjab. A new Division in charge of an Executive Engineer is being set up for preparing detailed plans for the Dibrugarh protection work. The programme of road construction drawn up by the Assam Government, has been examined and accepted by the Government of India subject to further discussion on a matter of detail. Certain schemes for embankment and drainage under the Five Year Plan prepared by the Assam Government are being scrutinized by the Government of India and other schemes are under preparation.

5. The cost of carrying into effect certain of the recommendations of the team is still to be worked out. Moreover, the long-term measures contemplated will have to be fitted into the Five Year Plan for Assam included in the report of the Planning Commission which is to be finalized shortly. The programme of road construction in the hill districts will be financed entirely out of the development grants to be provided by the Centre. The Central Government has also made available adequate funds for undertaking the proposed contour survey and has further agreed to meet the cost of the River Investigation Division except in respect of the staff provided by the Assam Government. Any further proposals, for financial assistance will be considered when the details have been fully worked out.

6. The Government is aware that considerable damage occurs every year from floods in different parts of the country. Until recently no statistics of this damage were collected regularly and whenever heavy damage resulted from a flood in the larger rivers, flood control measures were undertaken on an *ad hoc* basis. Extensive embankments were thus constructed in parts of Assam, Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. The problem of flood control is now invariably considered in conjunction with multi-purpose projects as the construction of large dams to store flood waters is the most effective way of preventing flood damage...

5. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi

December 13, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

A joint front has been evolved in North India especially, but no doubt with its tentacles in Bengal, between the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jana Sangh and the

1. JN Collection.

Akali Dal. The RSS of course help them. They have taken up three matters: the Jammu affair, the East Bengal refugees and the banning of cow-slaughter. They are not particularly interested in any of these, but they feel that they can exploit these to create trouble for the Government.

I am writing to you because the indications are that there might well be trouble especially in North India. These opposition groups have become frustrated and rather desperate and they are now definitely thinking in terms of violence, that is communal violence, so as to create a situation when trouble on a big scale takes place and a conflict with Pakistan might arise.

I am of course public enemy No. 1 to them and the most violent speeches are being delivered by Tara Singh² and the Hindu Mahasabha people against me and the Government. I am just writing to you to keep you in touch with these developments so that you might remain vigilant.

In this particular context, the Communists will of course keep away. But from other accounts it appears that they want to create trouble in the rural areas of Bengal. Probably this will be directed to the levy system.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. See *post*, p.374.

6. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
December 18, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

I am writing to you separately about the linguistic provinces question. I am afraid that we are likely to have our hands full in future with these linguistic provinces questions. I hope your people in Bengal will not start off again.² I

1. JN Collection. Also printed in *With B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers* by Saroj Chakrabarty (Calcutta, 1974).

2. On 7 August 1952, the West Bengal Assembly passed a non-official Resolution strongly supported by B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister, asking the Government of India to introduce a Bill in Parliament to increase the area of West Bengal territory by adding the contiguous areas of the Bihar State in order to save the State from economic collapse due to mass migration from East Bengal. This proposal was vehemently opposed by leaders of Bihar including Sri Krishna Sinha.

should like you to deal with this matter in as friendly a manner as possible. It would be a good thing if you could have a talk with Sri Babu³ and other Bihar people. I hope you are coming here for the Working Committee meeting on the 30th. Sri Babu will also be here then.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

3. Sri Krishna Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar.

7. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
December 19, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

I am enclosing a note² on the agitation over East Bengal refugees. Much of the information contained in this note is probably known to you. Indeed it has come to us from Bengal. Some of it has come from other sources.

All this as well as other information that we have received, chiefly about the Jammu agitation, points to the conclusion that the communal parties, notably the Jana Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS are out for big trouble. They have roped in, to some extent, the Praja Socialists and other groups, thus appearing to have something more than a communal platform. But the strings are in their hands and they are skilfully going towards creating a very serious communal situation in various parts of India. They appeal to various people on different grounds—East Bengal refugees, cow slaughter and Jammu. But the main objective is the same everywhere.

1. JN Collection.

2. The note stated that after observing the all India East Bengal Day on 23 November, the leaders of the left parties (excluding CPI) and some communal parties at a meeting in Delhi decided to launch an all-India strike in support of the demands of the East Bengal minorities. In the last week of November the East Bengal Minority Rights Council decided in Calcutta to hold an all India hartal as a protest against Government of India's indifference to the demands made on the last East Bengal Day. The hartal was to be held on 12 January followed by an agitation. S.P. Mukherjee had asked his followers in West Bengal to actively support the RSS sponsored anti cow-slaughter agitation. The note feared that this agitation would result in an outbreak of communal troubles in West Bengal.

Of course we are going to meet this trouble fully because we cannot possibly allow this kind of thing to grow and spread. But tragedy may well overtake us, not the tragedy of individual but the kind of tragedy that we have seen on several occasions since August 1947. Many of our people do not learn even from personal experience, much less from history.

You will no doubt give this matter your full attention.

Yours,
Jawahar

II. PART B STATES

1. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
October 30, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Your letter of today's date about financial integration of Part B States.²

You are taking a rather formal view of this matter. Obviously the President would take your advice as Finance Minister in any such matter and would not take any step without taking that advice. There was no question of taking any step but of keeping the President informed. I see the President frequently and keep him informed of every kind of development. He had spoken to me about this matter and so I sent him this. I did this just a few hours before my departure for Calcutta and some copies had to be made and this could not be done while I was here. I asked my Secretary to send copies to you and the States Minister. I am sorry there was some misunderstanding and this apparently was not done in so far as you were concerned. The point is that no action of any kind was taken. My relations with the President have to be close and intimate to keep him in touch with various developments. I am not aware of

1. JN Collection.

2. Deshmukh, on 29 October, taking exception to the representation on financial matters being forwarded to the President without prior consultation with him said that it was no use informing the Finance Minister after the event. "The President acts on the advice of Government and such advice should and could not be formulated without the concurrence of the Finance Minister." Deshmukh said he felt strongly on the subject of reopening of solemn agreements and requested Nehru not to encourage this. He was content to await the recommendations of the Finance Commission. Deshmukh wrote: "I shall be genuinely glad if my place could be undertaken by some one with greater imagination and resourcefulness."

having advised him to taking any action in any matter without consulting not only the Ministry concerned but, in important matters, the whole Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
November 4, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

...When the time comes, I think that the proper procedure would be for an informal consideration of this problem² first by a representative of the States Ministry, V.T. Krishnamachari (who was the Chairman of the Financial Integration Committee)³, a representative of Finance, and a representative of Saurashtra. It would be better to consult V.T. Krishnamachari. This informal meeting would perhaps simplify some matters or explain them. It appears clear from the States Ministry's note that some of the claims put forward by Saurashtra⁴ are very extravagant.

As you know, Deshmukh feels strongly on this subject. Before doing anything, it would be desirable for me to have a talk with him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. In his letter on 4 November to Nehru, K.N. Katju, Minister for Home Affairs and States, referred to the question of Saurashtra's financial integration.
3. V.T. Krishnamachari, member, Planning Commission, S.K. Patil, President, Bombay PCC, and Narayan Dandekar, Joint Secretary, Ministry of States, Government of India, constituted the Committee formed in 1948 to examine the structure of public finance at the Centre and the States.
4. In its representation, the State of Saurashtra wanted the Central Government to undertake a systematic inquiry into its backwardness for purposes of determining the amount of financial and technical assistance to be given to it. It also stated that the recommendation of the Finance Commission that on an average Saurashtra would get Rs. 302 lakhs per annum was far below its requirements.

3. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
November 5, 1952

My dear Ajit,

When I was in Hyderabad State² last, I visited Osmanabad and Bidar. The situation there was very painful. There was a large number of Muslim women who were widows or young girls. There were practically no Muslim men. Apparently these men had been killed in considerable numbers soon after the Police Action. Apart from this, their houses had been partly destroyed. There were many walls without roofs practically. Unfortunately, not much had been done in the way of relief and rehabilitation for the first two or three years. Last year some beginning was made³ and I hope more is going to be done now. One of the most urgent things necessary is roofing for those roofless houses. I was told that the only way to provide these roofings was with corrugated iron sheets or zinc sheets. That is the custom there and there appears to be no other suitable alternative....

I was greatly distressed to see the condition of these widows and orphans there and the Hyderabad Government begged me to have these iron sheets supplied. I understand that the State Government has written to you about it. Padmaja Naidu, who arrived here this morning, also pointed out the urgency of this matter. Those Muslim women had spent four winters without roofs and we would like to give them some roofing for the coming winter.

Can you do something urgently in this matter?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Nehru visited Hyderabad from 24 to 29 September 1952.

3. The Hyderabad Government provided Rs. 50,000 for rehabilitation of the Muslims who had suffered in Bidar and Osmanabad districts and also set up a committee to look after the proper distribution of relief to deserving people.

4. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
November 5, 1952

My dear V.T.,

Thank you for your letter of November 5th about the financial integration of Part B States.²

I do not know much about the merits of this question except that I have no doubt that your Committee must have gone fully into them and decided accordingly. Reading the memorandum from Saurashtra and certain comments on it by the States Ministry, my first impression is that, in many respects at least, the Saurashtra Government has put forward greatly exaggerated claims.

So far as the Hyderabad Government is concerned, it was at the time not a popular Government. Although formally appointed by the Nizam, it was really an extension, if I may say so, of the States Ministry. I believe the present Government has pointed out that the base year or years chosen for a calculation were altogether abnormal years, because of the extraordinary circumstances that prevailed in Hyderabad then.³

I understand that certain Part B States, namely those which were Unions of States (Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat, Pepsu and Rajasthan) were treated rather separately for the purpose, it was stated, of enabling them to overcome their "backwardness". Clause 1 of the respective financial integration agreements of these four States reads as follows:

There is need for assistance to the State in connection with the internal integration of its administration and services and particularly in relation to its development in different directions. Having regard to the fact that the State is backward in several respects as compared with Part A States, the Government of India will (in the Saurashtra agreement the word is "must") undertake a systematic enquiry into this problem with a view to render financial and technical assistance at the earliest opportunity. It will not be enough if, as a result of federal financial integration, the State is treated in the matter of grants and other forms of assistance in exactly the same way as Part A States.

1. JN Collection.
2. As per the integration agreements, the federal services in Part B States were taken over as from the date of integration—which included assets and liabilities. Secondly, from the date of integration, Part B States were declared eligible for Central assistance on the same scale as Part A States.
3. The Hyderabad Government represented to the Central Government that the agreement for financial integration with it should be reconsidered since "it was signed under duress when the State was under military rule." It also pointed out that the Finance Commission's recommendation that Hyderabad was, on an average, to get Rs. 359 lakhs per annum was far below its requirements.

I understand that it is on the basis of this Clause 1 of the agreement that the Government of Saurashtra have made a formal request that the Government of India should appoint a Committee to conduct an enquiry.

It is not quite clear to me if this enquiry suggested in Clause 1 is something apart from the enquiry you conducted or the enquiry that the Finance Commission has been conducting.

A question thus arises, quite apart from the merits, as to whether, in terms of the agreement, we are bound to have this special enquiry or not. The Saurashtra Government claims that we are so bound and it is the view of some lawyers here that in this matter their interpretation is correct. I am not lawyer enough to give an opinion on this subject. Probably you must know all the facts and might have considered this aspect of the question also. What is your opinion about it?

On the merits, I start with the presumption that the careful enquiries we have had must have kept every aspect in mind and done justice. It is also clear that an important aspect to be borne in mind is the capacity of the Central Government. If the Central Government has to pay more in one way, then necessarily it pays less in some other way. From a rough consideration of the Saurashtra claim, it appears that if we agreed to it as it is, we would be saddled with a tremendous burden all round, which we cannot possibly shoulder.

I suppose the difficulty in regard to these Union of States has been that they were constituted by the integration of a large number of States in different stages of development and separate standards of administration.

As I have said above, it is quite impossible for me to express any opinion on the merits and before I could think of doing so, I would naturally try to understand the position with your help as well as with the help of the Ministers of Finance and States, who are most concerned with this matter. At present I am chiefly concerned with the constitutional aspect, that is, whether, in terms of the agreement, Saurashtra and other like States, can insist on a separate enquiry.

In any event, I am quite clear in my mind that this question should not be considered before we have the report of the Finance Commission also before us.

Have you seen the memoranda that the Saurashtra and Hyderabad Governments have formally sent us with their request for reconsideration? If not, I shall ask the States Ministry to send them to you.

At some stage or other, I should like to understand this matter a little more with your help. We can then meet with Deshmukh and Katju. All of us are pretty busy just at present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

November 17, 1952

My dear T.T.,

...I agree with you that a factory in which so much State money is invested² cannot, and should not, be allowed to run to seed.³ But even apart from this, this is a type of concern which has a future. I am not referring so much to the production of titanium paint, but rather to titanium itself. Titanium is the metal of the future⁴ and probably in the near future we shall have to consider whether we should take any steps to set up a titanium plant. I do not know much about these things, but I imagine that there might be some kind of organic connection between the titanium metal plant and the titanium paint plant. The two are really quite separate and the paint plant is a relatively small affair.

I have a faint idea that British interests are concerned in this matter in a way which might not be wholly to our advantage.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The State Government held fifty-one per cent of the shares of the Travancore Titanium Products Limited which produced non-toxic pigments in a factory in Thiruvanthapuram. The rest of the shares of the company were held by private individuals and the British Titanium Products, a British concern.
3. The factory was closed down early in 1952 as foreign companies supplied to the Indian market cheaper pigments against whose competition the local product could not hold.
4. Because of its light weight and other qualities, its demand for use in structural parts of high-speed airplanes and in the chemical industry was on the increase.

6. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi

November 26, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

...It is quite clear to me that we must take prompt action in regard to Pepsu.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

The way the Chief Minister there has behaved is clearly an abuse of the Constitution as well as malafide.²

The Rajpramukh must be considered as a party to this game.³ Neither the Chief Minister nor the Rajpramukh should have taken this action without reference to the States Ministry. Certainly, the Rajpramukh should not have done so. Both of them should be called upon to explain their action and I suggest that you send them telegrams tonight to this effect. I think it will be almost better for you not to summon them immediately. They will come of course of their own accord. The first thing is to demand an explanation from them of an action which, on the face of it, is malafide.

If we delay in taking action, the Central Government's reputation in Pepsu will disappear.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

2. The second session of the Pepsu Legislative Assembly was called by the United Front Government on 19 November and was to continue upto 28 November. However, on 25 November, when the House was discussing an important Bill, the Opposition tabled a notice of no-confidence against the Speaker and, all of a sudden, without even allowing the discussion to conclude, the Speaker, after reading a letter from the Chief Minister, Gian Singh Rarewala, adjourned the House *sine die*. The Opposition alleged that it was done out of fear of the impending downfall of the ministry.
3. The Pepsu Congress Committee, in a resolution passed on 25 October, charged the Rajpramukh Yadavendra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala, of being responsible for the deterioration in the political situation, strengthening of the reactionary forces in the State because of his interference in administration, and misuse of power.

7. To Gian Singh Rarewala¹

New Delhi
December 3, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

...I think I should tell you that I have been deeply shocked by recent events in Pepsu and it does seem to me that both the level of administration and governmental behaviour have sunk very low indeed.² I am not particularly

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. On 25 November, a member of the United Front Government joined the Congress Party after resigning from the Front, and on 3 December, election of two legislators of the United Front was declared void. This changed the strength of the Front in the House of 60 to 29 of which Congress had 26 seats and the Communists 3 in the State Assembly.

concerned as to who has a majority and who has not, but I am concerned at our standards of behaviour in our public life. I have noticed with deep regret the absence of any standard in Pepsu.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Role of Gwalior Rajpramukh in Governmental Activities¹

When in Gwalior this time,² I was impressed by the very important part that the Rajpramukh³ was playing in Governmental activities. He did not interfere of course in an obvious way, but the whole atmosphere was, what I call, a 'Durbar' atmosphere. A very large proportion of the people employed in Government were old Gwalior officials, who continued to look to him. The Rajpramukh was interested in having his own men in key posts.

2. Gwalior is a centre of rabid Hindu Sabha politics and it will be remembered that the conspiracy to murder Gandhiji was hatched in Gwalior. Some close relatives of the Rajpramukh were associated with the communal killings in 1947. It is believed that the Hindu Sabha elements received support in high quarters.

3. Because of all this, I think that care should be taken as to who is appointed to key posts in Gwalior and that we should not have just the Maharaja's men occupying nearly all the posts.

4. In this connection, I believe there is the question of the appointment of the Chief Secretary there. In appointing him, this fact should be kept in mind.

1. Note to the Minister of States, 3 December 1952. JN Collection.

2. Nehru was in Gwalior on 1 and 2 December 1952.

3. Jiwajirao Scindia, Maharaja of Gwalior, was the Rajpramukh of Madhya Bharat.

9. To the Maharaja of Patiala¹

New Delhi
December 9, 1952

My dear Maharaja Sahib,
Thank you for your letter of December 6th.

I have been much exercised at the progressive deterioration of the situation in Pepsu. Apart from the general law and order situation,² it has seemed to me that communalism is becoming stronger there and has in fact been encouraged.³ I have purposely not interfered in any way because the Government being a non-Congress Government should not feel that I was at all coming in the way of their work.

The way the Legislative Assembly was suddenly adjourned⁴ came to me as a great shock. It was doing violence to all constitutional procedure and convention. I understand that the States Minister, Dr Katju, wrote on this subject to the Chief Minister. The Chief Minister also saw me a few days ago. He gave me some kind of an explanation,⁵ but I found it wholly unsatisfactory.

It seems to me clear that affairs cannot continue for long in Pepsu in this unstable condition and early attention will have to be given to them. No doubt, the States Minister will give thought to the matter and I shall also be thinking about it. We are all terribly busy at the present moment, for these are the last days of our Parliamentary and many other things.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. There was an increase in the number of dacoities and kidnappings in the State in the months of October-November 1952. On 25 November, the Communists moved a resolution in the State Legislative Assembly condemning police administration for its laxity in dealing with the deteriorating law and order situation in the State.
3. Raghbir Singh, the leader of Congress Legislative Party in Pepsu, in a letter to Nehru on 3 December, alleged that the Rajpramukh and the Chief Minister along with several judges and high officials were encouraging communalism in the State.
4. See *ante*, p. 276.
5. Gian Singh Rarewala informed Nehru on 3 December that his request for adjournment of the Pepsu Legislative Assembly on 25 November was not prompted, as alleged by the Opposition, by any fear of defections from the Ministerial Party but was made so as to remove extreme inconvenience to some Members of the Assembly on account of their presence being required simultaneously by the Election Tribunals and by Leader of the House.

10. To A.J. John¹

New Delhi
December 15, 1952

My dear John,

I have today received a letter dated 11th December from C. Kesavan and G. Chandrasekhara Pillai² intimating to me that it is no longer possible for them to continue to support the present Ministry³ in Travancore-Cochin. As a copy of this letter has apparently been sent to you direct, I am not sending it.

I was much surprised to receive this letter, as I had no previous indication of this development. The first part of the letter deals with the Tamil Nad Party. Ever since that party associated itself with the Congress, I have had no complaint, so far as I remember. I can therefore offer no opinion. But about one thing I have always been clear that we should not give up any principle of ours for the sake of an alliance with another group. Naturally, this matter cannot be considered in vacuum, but in relation to the facts of the situation.

I am much more troubled by the reference to the grave personal charges⁴ against some of the Ministers.⁵

As you know, and as others know also, I am coming to Travancore soon. It is not clear to me why Kesavan and Chandrasekhara Pillai should have taken this action just on the eve of my coming. Anyhow, I shall consider this matter and discuss it with you and with others when I go to Travancore-Cochin.

I have received a telegram to the following effect:-

Neyyoor - 15 December 1952

Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

Travancore-Tamilnad Congress members of Travancore Cochin State Legislative Assembly and Parliament request interview with you on

1. JN Collection. Copy of the letter was sent to Balvantray Mehta, the General Secretary, AICC.
2. Congress MLAs in Travancore-Cochin at this time.
3. It was a coalition ministry of the Congress and the Travancore Tamilnad Congress Party.
4. Kesavan and Pillai complained that contrary to expectations that after the formation of a coalition ministry the Travancore-Tamilnad Congress would merge with Congress, the leaders of the former had declared that they would maintain their separate identity and support and join any party that would form government in the State. They also alleged that the TTC representative in the Ministry, aware of Congress Government's dependence on his support, was exploiting the situation to the best advantage of his group.
5. During the no-confidence motion in the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly, the Opposition referred to allegations of corruption against the Home Minister T.M. Verghese and some other ministers.

occasion of your visit to Travancore-Cochin to represent line of development of Neyyattinkara Vilavancode community project⁶ and irrigation and communication facilities.

President, Travancore Tamilnad
Congress, Eranie, Neyyoor.

I do not know what good it will do for me to discuss a particular community project about which I know little. Nor do I know if there is time available to me to give such interviews. My programme is a heavy one.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. See *ante*, p. 35.

11. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi
December 17, 1952

My dear Balvantray,

I am very worried about Pepsu. I do not mind so much what happens there and what others do, but I do not at all like the way our own people descend to low levels in their attempts to become Ministers.² They are hob-nobbing with the Raja of Faridkot.³ It is said that they have offered a Ministership to the Raja's brother.⁴

1. File No. G-67/1952, AICC Papers, NMML. Extracts.

2. On 26 November, Raghbir Singh along with the Raja of Faridkot saw some senior leaders in New Delhi and said that Congress hoped to form a ministry in Pepsu before long with three or four more members of the Assembly joining it and giving the Party a majority in the House.

3. Har Indar Singh (1915-1989). His brother, Manjitendar Singh was an Independent member of the Pepsu Legislative Assembly at this time.

4. In November 1952, in order to save his ministry from falling, G.S. Rarewala offered Home Ministership to Manjitendar Singh. On 7 November, at their meeting with Manjitendar Singh, Tara Singh, the Akali leader, and Hukam Singh, President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, also appealed to him to extend support to the Rarewala Ministry.

It seems to me clear that whatever the result of the no-confidence motion at Patiala,⁵ it will not be possible for any Ministry to carry on and that the President will have to take charge.⁶

I learnt that Brahm Parkash⁷ had been asked to go to Patiala to influence some Members of the Assembly. I think it will be wrong for him to go there. A Minister of another State should not function in this way....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. When the Pepsu Assembly reassembled on 22 December on the demand of the majority of the members it allowed two no-confidence motions by Tirath Singh and Brishbhan. which charged the government with failure to maintain law and order in the State and putting the life and property of the people of the State in constant danger. The motions when moved on 25 December did not succeed.
6. The President dissolved the Assembly on 5 March 1953 and declared President's rule under Article 356 of the Constitution.
7. At this time, he was Chief Minister of Delhi.

III. PART C STATES

1. To Shankar Dayal Sharma¹

November 15, 1952

My dear Shankar Dayal,²

...I should like to say, and I indeed told you so when you saw me, that you should try to make friends with the members of the Legislative Party and Congressmen in general.³ In other words, you should try to make them feel at home with you and be friendly to you. That is important in a leader of any

1. JN Collection. Extracts. Copy of this letter was sent to Balvantray G. Mehta.
2. (b. 1918); President, Bhopal State Congress Committee, 1950-52; Chief Minister of Bhopal, 1952-56; Minister, Madhya Pradesh Government, 1956-67; President, All India Congress Committee, 1972-74; Member, Lok Sabha, 1971-77; Minister of Communications, 1974-77; Governor of Andhra Pradesh, 1984-85 and of Punjab, 1985-86; Vice-President of India, 1987-92; President of India since July 1992.
3. On 7 November 1952, Shankar Dayal Sharma, as Chief Minister of Bhopal, expressed his inability to continue in the post unless suitable changes as considered necessary by him were made in the ministry. When Kanahyalal Khadiwala, President, Madhya Bharat PCC tried to resolve differences between two groups of Congressmen, he found that while one group favoured strong action against Congressmen and MLAs who had openly criticized the Congress Ministry, the other group complained about Ministry's undemocratic and arbitrary methods thereby undermining the prestige of the organization in Bhopal.

democratic party. I mention this because, through lack of experience, perhaps you do not deal with your colleagues as you might.⁴ They should have no sense of grievance about this matter....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. When Shankar Dayal Sharma met Nehru in New Delhi on 11 November 1952, he complained against three Congress MLAs who had criticized the Congress Ministry in Bhopal at public meetings.

2. To Haribhau Upadhyaya¹

New Delhi
November 21, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

Reports reach us, from time to time, of a certain deterioration in the law and order situation in some States. I am referring to dacoities and a general feeling of insecurity, more specially in the rural areas. This may not be true, of course, of the greater part of India. But if there is such a tendency anywhere, it should be combated.

It is often stated that when complaints are made to the police about such occurrences, no adequate action is taken. The result is that the evil-doers are encouraged.

I should be glad to know what your appraisal of the situation is in your State² and what steps have been taken to meet any tendency towards deterioration. We get special reports about political subversive movements. But, apart from this, what the condition of law and order may be is not made clear.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. H.B. Upadhyaya Papers, NMML.

2. Upadhyaya, the Chief Minister of Ajmer, replied that the police was sufficiently alert and proposals had been sent to the Government of India for the formation of a special armed constabulary to maintain law and order in Ajmer. He gave figures to show that the incidence of murder, loot and dacoity had been considerably reduced in the last ten years.

3. Legislative Assembly for Manipur¹

(a) to (c). I received a number of memoranda when I was at Manipur² from various organizations, some important, others not particularly well known. The requests made in these memoranda were usually for the grant of autonomy³ in the shape of a Legislative Assembly. In some emphasis was laid on the setting up immediately of a council of advisers⁴ and it was further recommended that this should be homogeneous to facilitate work.

(d) I made no promise to this effect. In fact I had said something to the contrary. I said that it was clear that Manipur, like other parts of India, should have autonomy, but this was not a mere matter of decree or legislation. The ground had to be prepared for it and I thought that it would be better to start with the council of advisers.

The Minister of States⁵ has recently visited Manipur to consider the situation there for himself.

1. Statement in Parliament, 9 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Pt. 1, cols. 1294-95.
2. In October 1952.
3. The Praja Socialist Party in collaboration with three other parties claimed "a strong democratic climate as the heritage which Manipuris both in the hills and the plains have to their credit." A legislature and a ministry were also demanded by the democratic front of several parties, including the Communist Party.
4. The Congress, which was the largest party in the State having won 10 of the 30 seats in the electoral college, demanded that an Advisory Council for Manipur be established immediately because until "the administration is adequately democratized, the people will not be satisfied."
5. K.N. Katju visited Manipur on 2 December 1952.

4. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi
December 18, 1952

My dear Balvantray,

As you know, Dr Katju recently visited Manipur and he has declared that

1. JN Collection.

there will be an Advisory Council there² soon. Probably the Advisory Council will consist of five persons—one Naga, one Kuki, and three Manipuris.

The Manipur Congress at first wanted all five seats although they have no influence at all among the Nagas and the Kukis and any such arrangement would have irritated the Nagas and the Kukis very much. We have to select a Naga and a Kuki with influence among his people and who is likely to cooperate.

The question then arises of the three Manipuris and the Congress there want all three seats. As far as I can judge of the situation, our appointing three Congressmen would not be a right move. It would seem that obviously we were trying to push the Congress. It would mean leaving out some prominent Manipuris who are not in the Congress and who have some position and influence. That would be a bad beginning for the Advisory Council. Indeed it may turn out to be bad for the Congress itself.

I am inclined to think that there might be two Congressmen among these three Manipuris and the third might be some other leading person. All this is a temporary arrangement, because some further progress is bound to be made later. If we proceed cautiously now, the position will be strengthened in Manipur in every way and even the Congress, if it works, will gain strength. By trying to push itself in, regardless of its factual position, it is more likely to injure itself.

I therefore feel that on the whole there should be two Congressmen only among the Manipuris' representatives.

I am writing this to you because I understand that some representatives of the Manipur Congress are likely to come here in a day or two. They might see you also. If so, I suggest that you explain the situation to them and tell them that we think the suggestions put forward above will be not only fair but ultimately to the advantage of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 3 December 1952, speaking at Imphal, K.N. Katju said that a Council of Advisers was to be set up in Manipur within three months but a full-fledged legislature was not expected to be formed in the near future.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

1. The Question of Nationality¹

This is a difficult and intricate question. It is common practice for the nationals of one country to serve in any other country without losing their nationality. An Indian national, who is a Hindu, can surely accept service in Pakistan and retain his nationality. If so, so also can an Indian national who is a Muslim.

But the past few years and the legislation we have passed does create, if not a bar, certain presumptions. I should imagine that the average Muslim who opted for Pakistan must have thought, if not at the time then later, that he was becoming a Pakistani national. At best this can only be a presumption, though certain consequences in regard to evacuee property might have followed.

It seems to me rather difficult to lay down any precise rules, more especially as we have not got any Nationality Act yet. It would be simpler to deal with individual cases.

Anyhow, before we proceed further in this matter, it would be desirable to get the views of the Ministries concerned, namely, Home Affairs, Law and Rehabilitation. Our High Commissioner's views might also be obtained.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 2 November 1952. JN Collection.

2. Migration as Defined by Bombay High Court¹

As is stated in the notes above, the Rehabilitation Ministry has proceeded all along on the decision of the Bombay High Court as to what constitutes migration. That was natural. But, with all respect to the Bombay High Court, that need not be a correct ruling and, in considering the matter afresh, we should not be bound by it but may consider other interpretations also before we come to a final decision.

2. This question really has to be carefully considered from this point of view, among others, in the new Nationality Law that we propose² to introduce.

1. Note to the Minister of Rehabilitation, 11 November 1952. Copy of this note was sent to the Commonwealth Secretary. JN Collection.
2. The Citizenship Bill 1955 was introduced in the Parliament on 2 May 1955 and became an Act on 30 December 1955.

In any event, that law should vest discretion in the Government to accept as an Indian national any person, even though he might not fulfil all the qualifications laid down. That discretion is not frequently exercised, but it should be there for exceptional cases.

3. The question of security considerations has always to be considered and that is a matter for the Home Ministry chiefly.

4. Normally, the issue of passports is a question for the Ministry of External Affairs to decide, in consultation, where necessary, with the Home Ministry. The Ministry of Rehabilitation is not particularly concerned with this matter, except in so far as it might affect evacuee property. Anything affecting the Bill³ of evacuee property has to be considered, but the fact that a person has lost his property in this way, does not, so far as I can see, necessarily mean that he has also lost his nationality, although a certain presumption will arise.

5. In the final analysis, a general presumption rises that persons who opted for Pakistan should be considered Pakistan nationals. But this should not prohibit individual cases being considered on the merits.

6. This question really is likely to arise in regard to West Bengal and East Bengal, where the evacuee property law did not apply.

3. The Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Bill empowering the Central Government to acquire evacuee property for relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons and payment of compensation to them for the properties abandoned by them in Pakistan was introduced in the Parliament on 14 May 1954 and became an Act on 9 October 1954.

3. To B.N. Rau¹

New Delhi

November 20, 1952

My dear B.N.,²

I hope you do not mind my interfering with your rest here, but I would like your advice in regard to the proposed Indian Citizenship Bill.³ This has been pending for a long time. I am sending the file to you. The points which have given us some trouble are:

- (1) How to bring in Commonwealth citizens.

1. File No. 34(4)/56-PMS.

2. He was a judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague at this time.

3. See *ante*, p. 287.

- (2) People who had gone to Pakistan and come back.
- (3) Officers who opted for Pakistan at the time of Partition and had served Pakistan throughout, but still claimed Indian nationality.
- (4) Indians abroad who may continue to regard themselves as Indian citizens.

We have made, I believe, adequate provision for migrants from Pakistan to India, i.e., Hindus, Sikhs, etc. But the proposals regarding Muslims who have come back from Pakistan are rather complicated and, in some cases, appear to me to be unjust.

People who opted for Pakistan as officers and have been there all this time should, I think, be presumed to be Pakistani nationals. This question arises really in the Bengals. As a matter of fact, most of these persons have been troublesome and mischievous, far more than the resident Bengalis in East Bengal. Many of these persons who have so opted have property in West Bengal. Since the introduction of the passport system, they have been put in some difficulty. Thus far, the matter was vague. It seems to me that such persons should be presumed to have become Pakistan nationals, but that presumption should be allowed to be rebutted in special cases, that is to say, a certain discretion might vest with Government.

In any event, I think that there should be an overriding clause in the Bill giving Government the power to accept any one as a citizen of India even though he might not fulfil all the qualifications laid down. This might apply to any person and not Pakistanis only.

Evacuee property laws⁴ have given us a great deal of trouble. I dislike these laws intensely. In order to punish some evil doers, we have effectively frightened vast numbers of people, i.e., Muslims in India. We have had not only persons declared evacuees, but intending evacuees. The result is that the average Muslim cannot dispose of his property because no purchaser can be found. He cannot carry on business easily. We propose to change these evacuee laws.

Indirectly, decisions made in regard to evacuee property affect the nationality of the person. I do not see why should this necessarily be so. Thus,

4. An Ordinance issued by the East Punjab Government on 14 September 1947 provided for appointment of Custodian of Evacuee Property and another Ordinance issued by it on 12 January 1948, declared that all transfer of property by evacuees or persons intending to migrate to Pakistan on or after 15 August 1947 would be void unless such transfers were confirmed by the Custodian. An Ordinance promulgated on 13 June 1949 empowered the Government of India to prohibit transfer of ownership of any property within any prescribed area. Administration of Evacuee Property Act of 1950 covered even those who were contemplating migration to Pakistan and vested the Custodian of their properties with unlimited powers.

it is decided by some Custodian of Evacuee Property that a certain person is an evacuee and his property should be taken over. That decision, arrived at in some particular circumstances by a person hardly trained in the laws, becomes a barrier to nationality.

The judgement of the Bombay High Court has been adopted by our Rehabilitation Ministry as a precedent for all kinds of cases. I do not personally like this judgment at all or think it to be sound. In this judgment the Bombay High Court defines migration in a somewhat peculiar way.

Anyhow, I shall be grateful if you could look through these papers and advise me. You need not look through the whole file, but just the necessary papers put up.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Issue of Passports to Members of Parliament¹

I do not like the draft that has been sent to me. I am not on the whole opposed to the general policy enunciated therein, but I think the draft might be improved upon and can be briefer.

2. There were two reasons why we relaxed our policy in regard to the issue of passports. One was, as stated the change in the policy of the Communist Party. The other was the fact that, from the security or like points of view, it made little difference if a few more or less persons were allowed. There are plenty of contacts between Communists in India and outside and the little gain in preventing some person from going was usually not much, while the possible harm from the political point of view might occasionally be greater.

3. There was also the consideration that it was a little more difficult to refuse passports to elected Members of Parliament or Assemblies. The question would be raised again and again in the Legislatures and it would be difficult to give an adequate answer which might satisfy those people.

4. The policy, therefore, adopted was that, generally speaking, passports should be issued, but any exceptional case would be dealt with separately on the merits.

1. Note, New Delhi, 26 November 1952. JN Collection.

5. I think that policy was right as a general approach, but that it should be tightened up a little more now. It does not seem to me proper to make any rule that members of the Communist Party should not be given passports. But it may be said that prominent members, who are known to be active, should normally not be given passports.

6. In the circular letter issued on the 25th July, certain rules were laid down. I think those rules are valid, though it is true that they are rather vague and now they might be construed with somewhat greater strictness.

Thus:

- (1) we should not encourage large numbers of people going at the expense of some outside authority;
- (2) any person who is likely to be stranded abroad for lack of financial resources should not be encouraged to go;
- (3) prominent and active Communists should normally not be given passports;
- (4) where a State Government is clearly of opinion that a person should not be given a passport, their wishes should be respected, but the State Government should form its opinion on the individual case and not merely on some category about the ineligibility of a specific class of persons. Even so, the Government of India will retain the right to examine any particular case if it considers this necessary;
- (5) persons who have abused their passports in the past in any way should not be encouraged to go abroad again.

7. Cases of Members of Parliament and, to some extent, Assemblies, have to be considered rather separately. That does not mean they should invariably be given passports, but probably special reasons have to be advanced for a refusal.

8. I think that the draft might be revised on the lines suggested above.

5. To Mahavir Tyagi¹

New Delhi
November 28, 1952

My dear Mahavir,

Your letter of November 28² about salaries for MPs. I entirely agree with your approach. Indeed, I said something to this effect many months ago. Deshmukh³ did not wholly agree and later the Parliamentary Committee for this purpose also dropped the idea. So, I did not pursue it. But if you wish to take it up, you will have my support. I am not referring to the actual figures, but rather to whole approach.

Although your letter is a secret and personal one to me, I have thought it fit to send copies of it to the Speaker⁴ and to the Chairman of the Council of States.⁵ I hope you do not mind.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 32(385)/52- PMS.
2. Mahavir Tyagi, the Minister for Revenue and Expenditure, in his letter urged Nehru to do away with the system of payment of daily allowance to the Members of Parliament as it caused large concentration of the Members in Parliament slowing down the legislative work. He proposed payment of monthly salary to the Members which would allow them to devote more time to constructive work and mass contact activities.
3. C.D. Deshmukh, Minister of Finance.
4. G.V. Mavalankar.
5. S. Radhakrishnan.

6. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
December 3, 1952

My dear Mr. Chairman,

Thank you for your letter of December 3rd.²

1. File No. 32(10)/56-57-PMS.
2. Radhakrishnan in his letter supported the views expressed by C.P. Parikh, Member, Council of States, on 2 December that in order to assess proper opinion of both Houses of the Parliament on important Bills, there should be Joint Select Committees of the two Houses and some Bills should be introduced in the House of People and some in the Council.

I think we are all agreed that, wherever possible and necessary, there should be Joint Select Committees of the two Houses. The difficulty arises when one House is not sitting and the other is.

It also appears desirable that Bills should be introduced in the Council as well as in the House of the People. To some extent this has been done. I am drawing my colleagues' attention to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Breach of Parliamentary Convention¹

May I say a word? I am glad that your attention was drawn to this matter² because I myself intended doing so, and I had a sense of grievance, if I may say so with all respect, against the Members who have sent that notice—there are a large number of them—and I wish to ask them if they had given it to the paper or allowed it to be sent to the newspaper. It is one thing for publication in a newspaper, but it is not right that such a thing should be bandied about so as to reach a newspaper. Both parts of this should be enquired into, if I may submit fully.

As this matter has come up before this House, may I say something with your permission? Last evening I was shown, I received a copy of this motion for adjournment I was rather surprised because, knowing as I do, that honourable Members of the Opposition have tremendous faith which often runs to credulity in regard to everything, and seldom exercise any discretion about anything that a motion of this kind should be sent to this House without consultation with or reference to me who was concerned—this struck me as most amazingly irresponsible behaviour....³

1. Statement in Parliament, 10 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. VI, Part II, cols. 1975-81. Extracts.
2. Sucheta Kripalani referring to the report in *The Hindustan Times* of 6 December that India's Prime Minister was going to swear allegiance on behalf of India at the forthcoming coronation of Queen Elizabeth II and that an adjournment motion was to be moved in the House on the following day, expressed surprise that the report in a newspaper had appeared even before the Motion had been accepted by the Speaker. The Deputy Speaker also felt that it was a "breach of convention".
3. At this point, N.C. Chatterjee and N.B. Khare intervened to deny the charge of having acted irresponsibly.

They showed extreme irresponsibility. I am the Leader of the House and I am available to them every morning by telephone, by call or letter or by personal interview. No reference was made by any of these gentlemen or ladies to me. It is such a simple thing. Can they believe a story which appeared in an unknown German newspaper and was reproduced here which contains something which is fantastic nonsense, which any man with the least knowledge of our Constitution or our Government or of the State should have known is nonsense? And if that comes up before the House as a motion, I call that extreme irresponsibility....⁴ May I say a word, Sir? The honourable Member opposite has said something which seems to be very extraordinary. He said that this thing appeared in the newspaper. I was not aware of it. I regret to say that I do not perhaps read all the papers very carefully. But when I saw it, I found that it is just an extract from an unknown newspaper, which has been given by *The Hindustan Times*⁵ or the PTI—an unknown German newspaper of the US High Commission at Frankfurt has said something which apparently has moved my honourable friend Mr Chatterjee and others to raise this adjournment motion. And even if I had known it, that I should get excited over what an unknown German paper says, is a thing which is patently absurd and false.

Secondly, the honourable Member said that this is the right and obvious course for him and his colleagues to adopt, namely bringing in an adjournment motion. I wish to submit that this is not the right course. It is a very very extraordinary and unusual course. A motion for adjournment is a very rare procedure to be adopted, wherever it is allowed in Parliaments, and it is allowed both on rare and important occasions, not to elicit information or to ask for a denial or affirmation. These are done by means of either questions or personal approach immediately. But to adopt a method of an adjournment motion in order to get a denial of some statement in some Press is not a right course at all. There are ever so many other courses open. I think motions for adjournment should be treated, as you, Sir, have said, with far greater respect....⁶ The honourable lady Member is overcome by emotion and cannot see light.

4. Chatterjee denying the charge said that since the news appearing on 6 December was not contradicted till 10 December and a short notice question on the matter sent five days back was also not answered, the notice for the adjournment was given to provide an opportunity to the Prime Minister to repudiate the news.
5. On 6 December 1952, *The Hindustan Times* reproduced extracts from the German language newspaper *News Zeitung*'s comment of 4 December stating that "not six years have passed since India achieved her independence and the man, who is to swear allegiance at the Coronation as India's representative, is the man who has spent as many years in the British prison for his leading part in the struggle for that independence."
6. Sucheta Kripalani, at this stage, said that she was surprised and pained that the Prime Minister instead of issuing a statement to clarify the matter was hurling invectives and insults at the Opposition.

POLITICAL PARTIES

I. CONGRESS

(i) ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

1. To Ramananda Tirtha¹

New Delhi

November 2, 1952

My dear Swamiji,²

I have just come back from a visit to Sewagram, where I went to attend the Basic Education Conference.³ About a thousand delegates went to this Conference from all over India and some from abroad. The delegates were of all kinds, including representatives of various Governments. There were quite a number of foreigners. All arrangements for boarding and lodging were made by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, who also put up a large conference shed, big enough for about two or three thousand persons. All the arrangements were simple and artistic.

I enquired there who met the expenses of all this. I was told that they did not ask for any money from Government or any organization and they did not even collect any money from private sources. All the expenses came from a two rupee delegate registration fee plus a charge of Rs. 1/8/- per day for food. This surprised me, because this meant that all the money they got from the thousand delegates was Rs. 2,000/- registration fee plus the daily Rs. 1/8/- charged for meals. The meals were simple but good and vegetarian.

The place for the Conference was attractively built of bamboos with a bamboo network above covered by leaves. The gates were also of bamboo but very attractive and artistic.

As I stood there, it struck me how wasteful we are in our Conferences and the like. I suppose we cannot copy exactly the simple way of Sewagram. Nevertheless I think we can learn a great deal from them and have a far greater measure of simplicity. I thought of the next Congress Session in Hyderabad and how much money you are likely to spend there. Can you not simplify that? Thus could we not make a good bamboo shed for the Subjects Committee meetings. I am suggesting this to you quite seriously and I should like you to consult your colleagues and especially Nawab Zain Yar Jung. I am

1. JN Collection. The letter was sent to the General Secretary, AICC and all Pradesh Congress Committees.

2. President, Hyderabad State Congress at this time.

3. See *ante*, pp. 115-116.

quite sure that the delegates and the public would appreciate this economy and simplicity.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Election of Delegates for the Congress¹

Elections for choosing delegates for the Congress are now taking place all over India. These elections appear to have aroused a great deal of interest and sometimes even excitement. From one point of view, this is eminently satisfactory as it shows what a powerful hold the Congress has on the public and how they consider this great organization as their own. But there is another aspect of this and that is not pleasant. In one large city, these elections resulted in a difficult law and order situation. The elections had to be postponed as there was some danger of conflict between rival groups.²

Complaints about bogus membership have also been received from a number of places. The Working Committee at their last meeting³ took some action in regard to this. They took a serious view, but did not feel justified, without fuller enquiry to stop the elections in these places. Apart from taking some immediate steps, they indicated that they would hold such an enquiry as soon as feasible. If this enquiry showed that the elections were not proper or that there was bogus membership, then the elections would be set aside.

It has come to my knowledge that people who have little to do with the Congress or with Congress principles, have tried to come into the Congress fold in order to weaken it or to support policies which are the very opposite of Congress policies. I think that Congressmen should be on their guard against this and on no account must personal or other considerations be allowed to overshadow the principles for which we stand. I am told also that sometimes opponents of the Congress create trouble during these elections. This has to be guarded against and we must carry on our work peacefully and in a orderly manner. It does not matter much who wins or who loses in the election. It

1. Statement to the Press, 20 November 1952. File No. G-67/1952-53, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. On 8 November, the elections in Bhatinda in Punjab were postponed *sine die* as numerous complaints regarding bogus memberships were received.
3. It was held on 9 November 1952 at New Delhi.

matters a very great deal how we approach this entire question and how far we adhere to the principles for which we stand.

I invite all Congressmen to keep our principles before the public and our standards high. Those who do not believe in these principles or in these standards should have no place in the Congress. Above all, care should be taken that these elections are conducted with dignity and decorum.

3. Congress Must Not Be a Soulless Organization¹

I have great faith in the organization and the Congress alone can serve this country. I have heard many people say that the Congress have served its purpose and should now be dissolved.

I myself gave careful consideration to this and I too felt the Congress had fulfilled its mission. But after giving enough thought to the question, I have come to the conclusion that the organization should continue. There is no other organization that can replace the Congress which maintains the unity of the country which has such diverse religions, languages and culture.

It is the Congress which has fostered the principle of unity of the country. A number of other parties do not believe in this unity. These communal organizations want to destroy the national unity. Without national unity, there can neither be any planning nor any projects for the country's development.

We have to pull our weight together and if we go in different directions there will be confusion. After political independence of the country, the economic liberation is the main object of the Congress. But if the Congress functioned without life, and in a soulless manner, it had better not exist....

I would cut off the names of those delegates to the forthcoming Hyderabad Session of the Congress who had got themselves elected by unfair methods. The Congress Working Committee had sent a chief whip of the Party in a State Legislature² to supervise the election of delegates in one of the States in North India.³ The supervisor was himself locked up in a room and the elections

1. Address to Congress workers at Bombay, 6 December 1952. From the *National Herald*, 7 December 1952 and *The Hindustan Times*, 8 December 1952. Extracts.

2. Ghanashyam Singh Gupta, MLA, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly.

3. In Bihar.

carried on. Some people even carried away ballot boxes.⁴ How can the Congress organization function under these circumstances? This is going too far and it is disgusting. It is this weakness within the organization that has exposed it to dangers from outside.

I am not worried about the number of delegates that are sent to the Hyderabad plenary session of the Congress. I want men of integrity and honesty to come, not men who got themselves elected dishonestly. The Hyderabad Congress would no doubt discuss many problems and pass resolutions, but the workers must remember that resolutions could never build up an organization. Unless Congress workers do work honestly and in a spirit of service, the Congress would face bad days.

The elections have shown the strengths as well as the weaknesses of the Congress. It is clear to me—at least in the Uttar Pradesh it is so—that casteism still exists in India. Casteism is making people drift apart from one another, and it has introduced an element of intense communalism in the country. During the elections the painful fact that came to notice was that even Socialists and Communists did not hesitate to take advantage of casteism in order to win votes. The historic work of the Congress is to fight communalism and casteism.

The Congress has always functioned on broad principles. Actually, the fundamental principles of the Congress constitute its soul. Membership had never counted with the Congress in the past. The principles of the organization have created an atmosphere which appeal to the hearts of the people. The Congress has been an organization with some spirit. If that spirit goes, what remains will be a lifeless machinery, just a structure, but not the great organization that it is.

In politics, ideology counts, and the Congress has an ideology which draws people to its bosom. After all, what lends strength to socialism and communism? Only ideology. Many big men have been attracted to it. But now the function of the Congress appears to be limited to winning votes. Yet, a particular standard of integrity and service has to be maintained in the Congress. Nobody can enforce discipline and integrity with a stick.

What was the strength of the Congress in the past? It depended on two factors. One, a spirit of willing and selfless service. The other, honesty and integrity. As long as the Congress gave priority to selfless service, there was no danger, but when it became a medium of power, then Congressmen must need become alert. The collapse of the Congress in Tamil Nad and Andhra during the elections⁵ was because no Congressman ever did any work....

4. The incident occurred in the Gopalaganj constituency in Saran district in Bihar where a prominent Congressman of Gaya who had been deputed to conduct the election of AICC delegates in November 1952, was kept locked up by some Congressmen when he declined to postpone the elections. Ballot papers were also snatched away from him.

5. In 1952 general elections Congress failed to get absolute majority in Madras.

The Five Year Plan would be presented to Parliament on December 8. I do not like to think of the Plan as a monopoly plan of the Congress, but as one which has been prepared through the endeavour of all parties and people in the country and directed towards the progress of the nation as a whole. Its success depends upon the people.

(ii) ELECTION OF CONGRESS PRESIDENT

1. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi
December 11, 1952

My dear Balvantray,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 11 informing me that the only duly nominated name for the Congress Presidential election, left after withdrawals,² is mine.

As you know, I have been much troubled in mind over this matter during the last three months and more. I stated at a meeting of the Working Committee long ago that I would not like to stand for election to the Congress Presidentship again and I meant it. Many of my colleagues pressed me to change my mind, but I felt that that was the right decision. Since then many of my Working Committee colleagues as well as Congressmen from all over the country have been pressing me to agree and gradually I have been hemmed in from all sides till no escape seems possible.

I realize the very great honour that is done me and the confidence and affection that this shows. I prize very greatly that confidence and affection. But the burden and responsibility is great and I am not vain enough to imagine that I can discharge it worthily in existing circumstances. Hence the conflict in my mind and the repeated attempts to find a way of escape from this great responsibility.

Twenty-three years ago I was elected for the first time, in somewhat unusual circumstances, to the Congress Presidentship.³ I remember saying then that

1. JN Collection.
2. Of the three candidates nominated for the Presidentship of the Congress, S. Nijalingappa and Lal Bahadur Shastri had already withdrawn on 3 December, the last day for filing nominations. There were fourteen nominations received in favour of Nehru, three in favour of Nijalingappa and one in favour of Lal Bahadur Shastri.
3. Nehru became Congress President for the first time in December 1929.

fate and circumstance had conspired to make me a prisoner and place me in that high office.⁴ Since then this honour has come to me on several occasions,⁵ and now fate and circumstance again take charge of me and treat me as they will. These past thirty years and more pass before my eyes, so full of activity and change, so full of the historic part that the Congress has played. We have grown up in the shadow of this great organization and, because of that, we have played some little part in this drama of what is now a part of India's story. I am burdened and overwhelmed, as many other colleagues must be, by this great heritage, and the thought that comes to me repeatedly is how to maintain that tradition and how to use our great organization for the next stage in India's journey. The Congress has made history in India in the past; I have no doubt that it has still to fulfil a historic mission. It has to consolidate our freedom; it has to work for the social and economic advancement of all our millions; it has to help to maintain that broad-minded tolerance and even temper, which was the pride of our people in olden days; it has to keep clear the vision of the future and not allow itself to be deflected by the passion or prejudice of the moment. These are great tasks and I do not know who else can perform them in the India of the present day. We have very difficult problems to face and the most difficult is the narrowness of mind and spirit which sometimes afflicts our people or some of them. We want India to be great in every way and, more especially so, in mind and spirit. If we do not have that broad vision and tolerance of spirit, then all else is worth little.

The times are out of joint and doubt and confusion fill men's minds all over the world. In India also we suffer from the same disease. Because of this it becomes all the more necessary to keep the lamp of faith in our cause and India's future bright. Because of this we have to continue to labour and march along our appointed path in spite of all difficulty. Many may fall by the way; the others have to continue.

So my thoughts run when I consider this invitation that you have conveyed to me. It is not an individual invitation but comes from innumerable friends and colleagues and others and it becomes impossible for me to deny that mandate. In all gratitude, therefore, and humility of spirit, I accept this call.

I do so in the hope and expectation that I will continue to receive comradeship and cooperation from Congressmen and Congress women all over the country.

I should like to express to you and to the other General Secretaries of the Congress as well as the staff of the AICC office my deep gratitude for the

4. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, pp. 184-198.

5. After being elected President of the Lahore Session for the first time in 1929, Nehru became President of the Congress Sessions held in Lucknow in April 1936 and in Faizpur in December 1936, and in Delhi in 1951.

help and courtesy you have always shown me in our work. Indeed the burden of that work has fallen mostly on you all.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Presidents of PCCs¹

New Delhi
December 14, 1952

Dear Comrade,

On my election again to the Congress Presidentship,² I am writing to you to convey my gratitude to the Congressmen of your Province for the honour they have done me and the confidence they have reposed in me. I have not accepted this Presidentship without much hesitation and searching of heart. But, in the circumstances, I felt I could not refuse. Refusal would have created complications and confusion in the Congress ranks at this stage. The situation we have to face is a difficult one from many points of view and I did not wish to run away from it. The chief danger we have to face is self-complacency.

I have been much troubled by the reports of Congress elections in many places and, as you know, we have taken some action in Bihar.³ We shall certainly take action elsewhere too, wherever we find this necessary. It is most important that we try to do our utmost to get rid of the corrupting influences in the Congress, whether they are political or other. I seek your cooperation in this and I hope that you and your Committee will do your utmost to help me in this matter. The recent elections for Congress delegates must be closely scrutinized and, where grave irregularities have taken place, action should be taken and reported to us.

I should like to draw your special attention to certain developments that are taking place. We have had widespread agitation, led by the RSS against cow slaughter. We have had another agitation in regard to the East Bengal refugees, and we are having the Jammu agitation. These three are entirely separate, but some of our Opposition groups are making them three planks in their joint programme. The Hindu Mahasabha, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and

1. This letter was addressed to all PCC Presidents, JN Collection. Also available in File No. G-67/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Nehru accepted Presidentship of the 58th Session of the Indian National Congress on 12 December.
3. See *post*, pp. 305-306.

the Akali Dal have joined hands on these issues and behind them and supporting them is the RSS. None of these organizations is particularly interested, if I may say so, in any of these issues. In a sense, of course, we are all interested in them and wish to take them up in a constructive way. But the main issue before these Opposition parties is to create trouble against Government. I am, therefore, particularly drawing your attention to this matter.

Recent speeches and other activities of the Akali Dal, the Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh people as well as RSS go to show that they have every intention of creating trouble on a bigish scale. They are cooperating together and the kind of trouble they are likely to create is communal trouble. This, they hope, will spread and make it difficult for Muslims to remain where they are. This action will create an acute situation for the Government and other developments might take place to the advantage of these Opposition parties.

I am writing to you so that you and your organization might keep vigilant over this matter. Unfortunately we have to face grave anti-social elements in this country and they do not hesitate to do things which must be injurious to the interests of the country. We must, therefore, remain wide awake and ready to counter any injurious move.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) BIHAR CONGRESS

1. To Anugraha Narayan Sinha¹

New Delhi
November 3, 1952

My dear Anugraha Babu,²

Your letter of the 1st November.³ I am sorry to read what you have written. I know that things are not well in Bihar, or, for the matter of that, in many

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the General Secretary, AICC.
2. He was the Finance Minister, Bihar Government at this time.
3. Anugraha Narayan Sinha wrote that judging from the activities of the Pradesh Congress Committee and of some individual Congressmen in Bihar in the matter of enrolment of Congress members, it appeared that there was no desire to work for the high ideals of the Congress and maintain its traditions and he had therefore decided not to participate in the forthcoming party elections and was keeping himself away for past few months.

other places. But the way of escapism is hardly helpful and we have to stick to our posts and try to improve matters. All of us sometimes feel that it would be much better if we kept out of these unseemly contests. I hope you will reconsider your decision.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Report of Election Sub-Committee¹

I have read the report of the Election Sub-Committee² which met on the 1st December.

In regard to Bihar, I agree that effective and speedy action should be taken. As the matter is important, I have suggested that a meeting of the Members of the Working Committee, who are in Delhi, should be convened for the 8th December at 6 P.M. at my house. I have further suggested that the PCC should be informed in case they wish to send some representatives. It should be made clear to them that we take a very serious view of all that has happened and we may take far-reaching action.

As for the steps we should take, I am inclined to think at present that:

- (1) All contested delegate elections should be set aside.
- (2) All non-contested delegate elections where there is a complaint of irregularities should also be set aside.
- (3) Any non-contested delegate elections, where there is no complaint, might remain, at least so far as the Hyderabad Congress is concerned.
- (4) There should be no new election for the AICC or of the PCC office-bearers till the whole matter has been enquired into and necessary directions given.
- (5) The present AICC members from Bihar should continue both as delegates and AICC members for the Hyderabad Session of the Congress.

1. Note to the General Secretary, AICC, 3 December 1952. File No. P-4(a)/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. The Congress Working Committee at its meeting on 9 November 1952 appointed an Election Sub-Committee consisting of Jagjivan Ram, Lal Bahadur Shastri, U.S. Malliah, S.N. Agarwal, D.K. Barooah, Amolak Chand and Balvantray Mehta to supervise and control election of the delegates from all over the country.

- (6) The PCC should be suspended and an Ad-Hoc Committee should be appointed pending further steps, which might be taken after the Hyderabad Session. The Ad-Hoc Committee should be a relatively small committee, preferably not exceeding 25.

These are my present ideas on the subject. We shall discuss them when we meet on the 8th December.

I agree with the other decisions of the Election Sub-Committee.

3. To Balvantray Mehta¹

Ernakulam

23 December 1952

My dear Balvantray,

I have just sent you a telegram² about Bihar. As I was on my way to Cochin today, I thought of the Bihar situation. It seemed to me that we would be in a better position to decide, when we are meeting in the Working Committee on the 30th, as to what we should do in the future, if we had some more specific information in regard to a few selected districts of Bihar. Naturally no very detailed inquiry can be conducted within this short time. But we can have some broad inquiry. In particular, I would like that inquiry for the districts of Gaya and Shahbad. Any other district which shows an excessive membership might also be inquired into. I suggest therefore that you send, if necessary, two or three men to different places to produce their report by the time the Working Committee meets. They should find out what kind of records of membership the DCC has, what moneys they have received, whether they have proper signed forms or not, and so on and so forth.

Gaya has been a difficult district for a long time and therefore I am anxious to know about Gaya.

The decision taken by us on the last occasion in regard to Bihar³ should,

1. File No. P-4(a)/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Through this telegram Nehru asked Balvantray Mehta to send a few observers to a few selected districts in Bihar, especially to Gaya and Shahbad districts, and prepare a special report for the Congress Working Committee about enrolment of Congress members there.
3. The CWC in an informal meeting held on 8 December decided that in view of large-scale enrolment of bogus voters as well as other grave irregularities noticed during the conduct of elections, the present AICC members and delegates, except those against whom *prima facie* cases were prepared for enlistment of bogus members, would represent Bihar at Hyderabad Congress, and fresh enrolment of Congress members and fresh elections of delegates would be arranged after Hyderabad Session. Also the CWC would consider on 30 December whether Bihar PCC should be allowed to function and what machinery should be arranged for holding fresh elections.

I think, stand. The real question that worries me is the next step. It is a legitimate complaint that we should punish the whole province for the sins of some districts or some people. It is also a legitimate grievance that in making new members people should ask for any subscription from the same persons who have paid up already. I want some way out of this difficulty. If after further inquiry, which can only take place after the Congress session, we find that a number of districts have functioned more or less satisfactorily, then it is for us to consider whether we will accept their membership roll for the future election. The point therefore is to make some kind of a rough distinction between the various districts. We can hardly go lower down. There should be three lists of districts: (1) obviously bad districts from the point of view of enrolment of members, (2) doubtful districts, and (3) more or less good districts. We cannot do this now within this brief period. Nevertheless, I should like some indication from the papers we have and from the further inquiry we can make before the Congress Session about this classification of these districts in that way.

The matter will not only be raised in the Working Committee, but possibly at Hyderabad also and the more information we have the better.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iv) UTTAR PRADESH CONGRESS

1. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi
November 5, 1952

My dear Balvantray,

I understand that recently the Uttar Pradesh PCC passed a resolution condemning the demand made by some people for Urdu also to be made a regional language. They passed a strong resolution calling those who were making those demands disloyal, etc.

For my part, I see nothing objectionable in the suggestion that Urdu might also be made a regional language and facilities should be given for teaching Urdu where necessary. But apart from this, to call people who ask for this

1. JN Collection.

disloyal and working against the Constitution seems to me extraordinary. Will you please write to the Uttar Pradesh PCC and ask for a copy of the resolution passed and other particulars in this connection?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Maintain Unity of Hearts¹

... If Congressmen think that with the achievement of independence they have done their duty, and they can now take rest and allow themselves some indulgence in luxuries, then it is better that they leave the organization.

The Congress must be a dynamic force. The people have entrusted the Congress the task of uplifting the country but that responsibility can be fulfilled not by holding conferences, but only by some constructive and some manual labour being done by each one of us. The Congressmen in each district should chalk out a programme of constructive work. They should also fix a time-limit and complete that programme during that period. This year the UP Congress has enrolled seventeen lakh members. But a big membership does not strengthen the organization. When we fought for independence, we were small in numbers. But we had the strength and the confidence of the crores of people of the country behind us.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj is a non-political organization and we all must extend our cooperation to it in its work. We must make every effort to root out poverty by hard labour which alone can produce wealth. Our younger generations must be looked after properly because they have to shoulder the responsibilities of India in future. We must, therefore, be prepared to undergo the hardships and sufferings of today to ensure for our younger generations prosperity and happiness in the future.

1. Speech at the 35th Session of the UP Political Conference, Varanasi, 23 November 1952. From the *National Herald* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 24 November 1952. Extracts.

I cannot understand how the language controversy can ever arise,² when the Congress has accepted the principle that all languages should be respected. While we accepted Hindi as the national language, we also wanted that all regional languages should progress.

Hindi should not, therefore, be forced on anyone, but made popular by improving the language. For example, Hindi-speaking people should not do anything that might injure the feelings of the people in the South, and make them think that those in the North want to force Hindi on them.

After Hindi has been accepted as the national language, there can be no comparison between the two languages. To compare Urdu with Hindi is to detract from the prestige of the national languages. That does not mean, however, that in administration many languages can be used for such a thing would create considerable difficulty.

At the same time, it is the duty of the people of Uttar Pradesh to give all help for the progress of Urdu, as Urdu, which was born and bred in UP, was a language of that State. It cannot be deported to Lahore or Karachi.

The people should also eschew caste distinctions and communal ideas which have been the cause of the country's downfall in the past. You should not be misled by those who are out to exploit you in the name of religion and disrupt your unity. Maintain unity, not political unity, but the unity of hearts.

2. Hindi was accepted as the State language with the passing of the UP Rajya Bhasha Act by the UP Legislative Assembly on 13 November 1951. While the Bill was being discussed a movement for getting Urdu also accepted as a regional language alongwith Hindi was launched. The UP Political Conference however considered this demand as highly improper.

3. Election of Delegates from Kanpur¹

I spoke to you the other day about the Kanpur delegates elections. I do not like the look of these elections at all, more particularly the part that Shri Ram

1. Note to the General Secretary, AICC, 17 December 1952. File No. G-67/1952-53, AICC Papers, NMML. Extracts.

Ratan Gupta² has played in them.³ You said that you will take some steps to enquire.

2. I now enclose a letter⁴ received from Shri Shivanarain Tandon, a member of the Provincial Congress Committee, etc. He makes serious charges. He refers to a letter from Shri Narain Prasad Aurora.⁵ This was not sent to me. Has it come to the Office? I should like all these papers to be sent to me, because we must go thoroughly into this Kanpur election....

2. (1906-1978); politician and businessman; joined Congress in 1925; went to jail during 1930 and 1932 civil disobedience movements; elected unopposed to the Central Legislative Assembly, 1943; his election to Lok Sabha in 1962 was set aside by the Election Commission.
3. The mill workers of the two industrial houses in Kanpur, owned by Ram Ratan Gupta and Padampat Singhanian respectively, were involved in acts of hooliganism and impersonation as voters which resulted in disruption of election of delegates for the annual session of the Congress in January 1953.
4. Shivanarain Tandon complained that in his constituency almost all persons handling the elections were either the employees of Ram Ratan Gupta or the persons whom he had obliged.
5. (1881-1961); a Congressman from Kanpur; Member, UP Legislative Council in 1923; suffered imprisonment several times during the nationalist movement.

(v) OTHERS

1. To P. Subbarayan¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1952

My dear Subbarayan,²

Thank you for your letter of the 27th November.

I do not at all like this condition of apathy to which you refer.³ We have had to face something entirely different in Northern India. There is such a tremendous contest in Congress elections that it has resulted in greater excitement than the General Elections and quite large sums of money have

1. File No. G-25C/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. He was the President, Tamil Nad PCC at this time.
3. In his letter, Subbarayan referred to a great deal of apathy in the Congress elections in Tamil Nad owing to the unopposed election of candidates who were total strangers to the places from where they were elected.

been spent in canvassing and the like. In some places, there have been petty riots.

I shall look into the appeals⁴ to which you refer.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. He mentioned about the complaints made to him regarding irregularities committed by election officers and his advising the complainants to go before the tribunal.

2. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi
15 December, 1952

My dear Balvantray,

It is clear to me that H.K.L. Bhagat² must resign³ from any elective position in the Congress.⁴ That is the very least. As to what else should be done might be considered later. As Shri Krishnan Nair⁵ has asked for an interview, I suggest that you give him one and discuss this with him and tell him that we cannot possibly wholly ignore what Bhagat has done. We may consider that the punishment might not be as severe as it otherwise might have been.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. PCD-6(A)/1953, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. (b. 1921); advocate, Member, Delhi Legislative Assembly, 1952-56; Deputy Mayor of Delhi, 1964-66; Executive Councillor in charge of Education, Law, Labour and Transport, Delhi Administration, 1966-67, Member, Lok Sabha, 1971-77, 1980-March 1991; Minister at the Centre holding various portfolios intermittently between the years 1975 to 1989; President, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, 1972-83.
3. Balvantray Mehta informed Nehru that H.K.L. Bhagat had been charged with forging the signatures of his father and brother as his proposer and seconder in the nomination papers filed by him but both his father and brother had said that the signatures were their own.
4. Meeting on 1 January 1953, the Election Sub-Committee debarred H.K.L. Bhagat for a period of three years from 1 January 1953 from holding any elective or responsible position in the organization. He was called upon to resign his position as Parliamentary Secretary but allowed to continue as a primary member as well as a Member of the Legislative Assembly.
5. C. Krishnan Nair (1902-1986); joined Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, 1928-30; started Satyagraha Ashram at Delhi and Gandhi Sewa Ashram at Narela in 1931; suffered imprisonment for participation in nationalist movement in 1930, 1931-32 and 1942-45; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62; President, Delhi Pradesh Congress, 1952-54.

II. PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY

1. To J.B. Kripalani¹

New Delhi

December 19, 1952

My dear Jiwat,

I am writing to you after some hesitation. I was not quite sure if it was proper for me to write to you on a subject involving the policies of the Praja Socialist Party. I feel, however, that the matter is too important and might have very unhappy consequences. Hence I am writing. You will forgive me for doing so.

The Praja Socialist Party is completely justified in following any policy it chooses in opposition to Government, but I have been distressed lately by the increasingly close cooperation between the Praja Socialist Party and well known communal parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jana Sangh. Indirectly, it might be said to have aligned itself in some matters with the RSS and the Akali Dal. Hence, in effect, there is an alignment in some important matters between all these groups and parties.

The tendency of the communal parties is to pull the others in a particular direction which is not only communal, but which is very likely to lead to violence and trouble on a communal basis. Indeed, my information is that, that is definitely the aim of the communal parties and they are preparing for it.

There are three fronts, if I may say so—Jammu, East Bengal refugees and the banning of cow-slaughter. Stress is laid on one or the other as circumstances might indicate, the ultimate object being, to create as much trouble as possible by violent means if necessary, ultimately to make it difficult for Muslims to remain in certain parts of India, that would create a major crisis and disorder on a big scale. All this, of course, is not said publicly, because this might be disliked by some of their associated groups. The idea is to proceed step by step, keeping the main objective hidden from sight.

You know Master Tara Singh and what he aims at. He has lined up completely for this purpose with the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS, and he openly talks of violence. So does the Hindu Mahasabha. In Jammu, violence is likely to grow on the side of the Praja Parishad and full preparations are being made for it with the help of the RSS people. Indeed, the Praja Parishad of Jammu is another name for the RSS branch there. When this was banned, they assumed this new name.

1. JN Collection.

I would not write to you on rumour or surmise. I write with considerable information and what I have written is rather a moderate version of the information I possess.

I am sure that you or your colleagues have no intention of playing into the hands of these bigoted communal groups. And yet, step by step, this may well happen.

I hope that you will give full consideration to this matter, because this is something above parties or groups. It affects the whole future of India, whatever particular policy we may accept.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi
December 19, 1952

My dear Jayaprakash,

For months past I have been hoping to see you, but somehow this meeting does not come off. Meanwhile, things have happened which have both surprised me and distressed me. And now, I find that many of your colleagues are becoming increasingly associated with the most reactionary and communal elements in the country. It is possible, of course, for such association to take place in regard to a particular subject, but you will agree with me that this has dangerous potentialities. Indeed, the potential is becoming the actual step by step.

I have today written a letter to Kripalaniji, I enclose a copy² of it. I would not have written this letter if I had not felt the gravity of the situation from many points of view. Socialism, which you have represented for these many years, would be submerged in communal cries and communal passion. The only groups that will profit will be the communalists on the one hand, and the Communists on the other.

In Jammu, the leaders of the agitation are a purely communal group which holds forth their ideal of a Hindu Rashtra all over India. Jammu is just a base of operations. Of course, the Jammu people have some legitimate grievances and they should be looked into. But the people who are leading the agitation

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

care little for these grievances and are bent on their objectives. They want the Maharaja back as the leader of the Hindus against the Muslims of the Jammu and Kashmir State. They cannot of course succeed in that, but they may well succeed in creating a lot of trouble and in helping Pakistan over the Kashmir issue, as indeed they are doing now. The cry of fuller integration with India in reality means, in the present context, a break-up of the Jammu and Kashmir State and presenting a very large part of that State to Pakistan.

Each group has some different objective, although they may cooperate with others in a common attack on our Government. Master Tara Singh's record is well known. He is completely irresponsible and can think only in terms of war and chaos, out of which he thinks he will come out as the winner. He has done enough harm to the Sikhs already by his unwise leadership and, if he continues for long, he will no doubt do much more harm to them and to the country. The Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS, and the Akali Dal have joined hands in Jammu and propose to spread out in the Punjab.

Oddly enough, Master Tara Singh is cooperating with the Communists in Pepsu. There are no principles—only ambition and hatred.

In Bengal chiefly, and to some extent elsewhere, the East Bengal refugees question is kept in the front. Everybody sympathizes with them and wishes to help them. It may be that opinions may differ as to how best to do this. But I do not think any reasonable or sensible person would like to bring about chaos in the hope that the East Bengal Hindus might be helped.

The banning of cow slaughter is a general cry, which naturally must appeal to most Hindus. That is the all-India front. All these three things are joined on to attract various types of people and the strings appear to be in the hands of the most bitter communal groups. I do not know where the Socialists come into this picture. And yet, they are giving them their moral and other support. Where will Socialism be if this continues? It would be a tragedy if we reverted to the barbarity of the post-Partition period, which ultimately led to the death of Gandhiji.

I am writing to you frankly as I feel you will not mind that. The matter is too serious for anything but frankness.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

I. MIGRATIONS

1. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi

October 25, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

... Apart from the general and continuing situation in East Pakistan, which is obviously unfavourable for the Hindus there, I do not see any special development. The proposed introduction of the passport system naturally rather frightened people who thought that they might not be able to come later. There was an influx. Pakistan asked for a postponement for a month. We did not agree, unless the whole system was given up. The continuation of a feeling of uncertainty was bad.

The economic conditions in Pakistan are bad and deteriorating and probably are the chief cause now for people trying to come over. It must be remembered, however, that throughout the past year and upto the middle of September, there was a large number of Hindus going to East Pakistan than was coming away. In fact, the total number of Hindus who have returned there during the past two years is very considerable indeed and greatly in excess of those who have come. I believe it was this large flow back that was one reason for Pakistan to ask for the passport system.

On the introduction of passports there was immediately a stoppage of this influx. Many people got rather stranded. They are allowed to come over after due checking and I do not see any difficulty about it.

Meanwhile Syama Prasad Mookerjee and others continue shouting at first because people were coming and now because they are not coming or have been stopped.² I think it is a good thing that this check has been instituted. It is easy enough for people to come who want to, whether as migrants or temporarily. But the check prevents them from coming in large numbers suddenly and on the spur of the moment.

1. *With B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers* by Saroj Chakrabarty (Calcutta, 1974), pp. 211-12. Extracts.
2. Jogendra Nath Mandal and Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharjee of the United Peoples' Organization, in a statement on 15 October 1952, urged the Government of India to apply economic sanctions against Pakistan to bring "her into senses in relation to her treatment of minorities in East Bengal." S.P. Mookerjee, addressing a public meeting on 16 October 1952, said that Pakistan's attitude towards her minorities entitled India to "examine afresh the whole problem of partition and act as any self-respecting nation would." He demanded that the "policy of appeasement" of the Government of India be reversed. Meghnad Saha said that if the enforcement of economic sanctions against Pakistan failed to have any effect then "stronger remedies" would have to be applied.

I wonder if you will be coming to Delhi early next month for the Planning Commission meeting.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

2. To N.C. Chatterjee¹

New Delhi
October 27, 1952

Dear Mr Chatterjee,²

I have received your letter of the 26th October today.

I intend making a statement in the House of the People at some early date in regard to the refugee situation in Bengal. If the House so desires it, the matter can be discussed later. The parliamentary programme for the next session consists chiefly of important legislation. I cannot supply the details at present, but I hope to make a statement about it probably on the first day of the session.

So far as I am aware, the refugee situation in Bengal has eased greatly.³ The influx that took place in the early days of October stopped after the introduction of the passport system on the 15th October. Since then, full facilities are offered to *bonafide* migrants to come over. Some groups of intending migrants were held up for a few days in Pakistan after the introduction of passports, but they were given full facilities later to come to India or to return to their homes. The uncertainty that prevailed before passports were introduced and which led to an apprehension that people might not be able to come later, is over now. It is easy for those who want to come, to come over and at the same time there is no compulsion about the date.⁴ The situation,

1. JN Collection.

2. N.C. Chatterjee was a senior advocate in the Supreme Court, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, and a member of the House of the People in 1952.

3. With the Indo-Pakistan passport system in force since midnight of 14-15 October 1952, the migration from East Pakistan to West Bengal came down by 50 per cent. The number of arrivals did not exceed 4,000 while 10,000 persons had crossed into West Bengal on 14 October before the new system was introduced.

4. In response to a request from the Government of Pakistan, the Government of India announced relaxation of the Indian passport scheme till 31 October 1952 to minimize hardship. The migrants could arrive in India without passports provided they possessed valid permits.

therefore, has quietened down very much. The visit of our Minister to East Bengal has helped in this and at present he is touring, together with the Pakistan Minister, some of the areas of East Pakistan.⁵

The chief problem before us is to give relief and facilities for rehabilitation to those who have come. We have made preparations for this and arrangements were made in some other provinces to receive refugees so as to relieve the congestion in Calcutta and West Bengal. Unfortunately, some people are coming in the way of this and inciting the refugees not to go. I am surprised at this extraordinary behaviour of these people who come in the way of rehabilitation for apparently some political ends.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. C.C. Biswas, India's Minister for Minorities and his counterpart from Pakistan, Azizuddin Ahmed, together undertook a tour of Dacca, Barisal, Khulna and Jessore in East Pakistan and 24-Parganas, Nadia, Howrah and Calcutta in West Bengal from 24 to 30 October 1952.

3. The Issue of Migration¹

Question: Is the situation in East Bengal worsening?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not seen the latest figures, but ever since 15th of October the situation has improved very greatly. And apart from its basic features which are not happy, it is more or less normal, that is, as it was previous to the recent influx. The visit of the two Ministers, the Indian Minister and the Pakistani Minister, in East and West Bengal has done a great deal of good.² There are not many people coming over. There is no barrier to people coming here but there are certain checks which can easily be got over by any person desiring to come. Those checks, first of all, prevent a very large number of smugglers who used to travel to and fro. This influx took place because of the fear that after the passport system was introduced, people would not be

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 2 November 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 74-76, 172-174, 376-377, 410-413, 471-472, 491-494, 523-526.
2. See the preceding item.

able to come. Now that fear is over; there is no date beyond which they can't come; they realize that they can come, when they want to, and so there is no immediate urge for them to come. They come in small numbers and I think more or less the traffic has eased.

Q: What is the basic feature?

JN: The basic feature is Indo-Pakistan tension.

Q: What are your reactions to economic sanctions against Pakistan as proposed by Opposition parties?

JN: The Opposition parties make proposals³ without giving much thought to them. I do not think that proposal has any particular significance except well, a show of irritation. There is not very much trade between India and Pakistan, some trade certainly. Any attempt to impose sanctions would not make any great difference to the economic situation. It would no doubt make a difference, in the sense it would add to the tension, not to the other part of the situation.

Q: In a recent speech you mentioned that East Bengal refugees should be accommodated in areas which are congenial to their traditions, culture, etc.

JN: I made no such statement. I said that every effort should be made to accommodate East Bengal refugees not only in West Bengal but in contiguous and other areas. Apart from Bihar and Orissa, I mentioned Vindhya Pradesh, Andamans and even Mysore. Vindhya Pradesh, I think, is particularly suitable for a fairly large scale community colonization. There is good land there for fairly large colonies. They can live there in a large colony there. If 20,000 persons are put in a place, they have a community life there.

Q: In view of the fact that exodus from East Bengal has virtually ceased according to your view, does it mean that the Government of India is satisfied that nothing should be done to improve the situation?

JN: I should like just to remind you that after what was called the Prime Ministers' Agreement,⁴ two and a half years ago, between Mr Liaquat Ali

3. At a public meeting in Calcutta on 16 October 1952, sponsored by ten political parties including the Praja Socialist Party, Forward Bloc and Hindu Mahasabha, a resolution was passed demanding severance of trade relations with Pakistan and imposition of economic sanctions against her.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15 Pt. I, p. 251.

Khan and myself, there was almost a continuous flow-back into Eastern Pakistan of large numbers of members of the Pakistan minority community from West Bengal. It was a continuous daily flow-back for two years, barring three or four months in-between during last year's *Puja*.⁵ And as a result a very considerable number of persons went back to their original homes in Eastern Pakistan. The change began to take place from the 16th of September. It was slow at first. By the end of September it increased in numbers and during the first ten, twelve, thirteen days of October, it was big in numbers⁶ due to fear of this passport system. Now the matter is over; there is no question of influx; people come and go, more may come sometimes. On the whole, they have gone back. So far that particular thing is concerned, the situation is not very abnormal. But so far as the other matter is concerned, that is, the general condition of the minority community in Eastern Pakistan, the situation has never been satisfactory or happy and that is related more to the basic Indo-Pakistan tension. Of course, in the last few months or so, economic conditions in Eastern Pakistan have deteriorated very considerably and the burden of that has also fallen a little bit more on the minority community. If you ask me what then, well, all I can say is that any attempt to find a quack remedy is not to cure a disease and the various remedies suggested seem to me to be completely quack in the sense they are likely not only not to solve the problem but just to worsen it.

Q: What remedy do you propose?

JN: There are a large number of problems in the world today, as the gentlemen of the Press no doubt are aware, and they continue, because in international relations you can't always suddenly solve things. If you want me to say something about it, I am quite clear that the ultimate remedy for Indo-Pakistan relations is to apply the touch of healing to them, not the touch of loud shouting. That does not mean that one should submit to any wrong done; one should resist wrong and evil all the time. One should be prepared for any emergency but nevertheless one should always think in terms of healing rather than of widening the bridge.

Q: What would happen about those East Bengal refugees who wish to go back to East Bengal? What steps can possibly be taken?

JN: I believe most of these refugees who have come recently have not come with passports because there was no time to give them passports. They were

5. Durga Puja festival.

6. During the first ten days in October, 94, 149 Hindus arrived from East Bengal by rail as against 68,836 who went there.

just checked on the border and given a mere slip or a permit to enter, or something like that, so that they had no passports of that type and I should imagine—I speak now without adequate knowledge or authority—that those who have come recently, if they wish to go back, I think they can go back. The position now is that such a question has not arisen to my knowledge, but I suppose arrangements could be made, should they so desire.

Q: Is it true that since the 15th of October there has been almost a virtual cessation of movement between East and West Bengals?

JN: No, but it has been considerably reduced. The normal movement between East and West Bengal for the last two years was roughly speaking between four and five thousand travellers a day in both directions—to Eastern Pakistan a few hundreds more. Now we analysed these figures repeatedly and we found that the true migrants were relatively small in number. Many people came and went. They came here with some business and went back. As I just said, quite a large number of people were smugglers who were coming to and fro daily on some kind of a nefarious business. Now this type of travelling has stopped. Many of those who intended to come have come over. Now there is a slight reaction. People come in smaller numbers—those who really want to. But mind you, the passport system does not mean migration. The passport system means coming for some period and going back when they choose.

Q: Is it true that the Pakistan Government have issued circulars to the district officers to see that minorities are squeezed out and that another letter was sent to foreign firms urging them that Hindu minorities should not be employed there?

JN: I cannot talk about their private circulars....

4. Migration and the Passport System¹

The question of refugee influx into West Bengal, the passport system and allied questions are bound to be raised in Parliament soon. I want to have the

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 4 November 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.

latest facts. What is the rate of migration now from and to West Bengal? What are the numbers who travel either way daily from 15th October onwards?

2. Is the passport system coming in the way of migrants really desiring to come to India? What is the practice in regard to them as well as others?

3. I should like to have as full information as possible and the sooner I get this, the better....

4. I should like to have also the latest information about the exodus of Muslims from India to Pakistan. I enclose two cuttings from Pakistan papers which refer to this.²

5. I also want a note by this evening about the recent border firing in the Punjab. The Pakistan version appears to be quite different from the Indian version.³ What has the Punjab Government reported to us? If necessary, the Chief Secretary of the Punjab might be contacted by telephone to get the latest account.

2. The *Dawn* reported on 2 November that over 8,748 more refugees entered West Pakistan through Khokhropar during October 1952 bringing total number of refugees who entered into West Pakistan through that route since the Liaquat-Nehru Pact to 3,70,256. *Dawn* reporting again on the next day wrote that there was a heavy exodus of Muslims from the various districts of Assam to East Pakistan during October.
3. See *post*, pp. 343-46.

5. Minorities in East Pakistan¹

T.K. Chaudhuri wanted to know: (a) the latest position of minorities in East Pakistan as a result of the representations, if any, made to the Pakistan Government just before and after introduction of passport, (b) if any guarantees had been obtained from the Pakistan Central Government and East Pakistan Provincial Government for the unmolested journey to India by the bonafide migrants who had decided to settle in India.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Since the introduction of the passport system, there has been no influx of migrants from East Bengal. Facilities for migration however continue after due checks. Holders of passports also can get visas without

1. Statement in Parliament, 5 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 46-7.

much difficulty. The Minority Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan have recently toured certain areas of East Pakistan.

In a joint communique issued by the two Minority Ministers after their meeting at Dacca on the 24th October they agreed that the operation of passport-cum-visa system should not be interpreted or enforced in such a way as to interfere with the movement of migrants according to the terms of the Prime Ministers' Agreement of April 1950, and that repatriation certificates should be issued liberally to intending migrants. They also agreed to recommend to their respective Governments an early meeting of officials of both the countries to ensure uniformity in the application of the passport system.

6. Visa System in Pakistan¹

N.C. Chatterjee wanted to know whether after the introduction of the passport and visa system the Indian Government had made any representation to the Pakistan Government for revoking or rescinding the passport and visa system as there was stoppage of movement of the Hindu minority from Pakistan.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. As a matter of fact, first of all, it is too soon to judge this matter. Secondly, there is no difficulty at the moment, so far as I know. There may be individual cases which can be inquired into. But the rules and regulations are so liberal; at any rate I have not heard thus far of any instance of any major complaint in regard to the application of this system. In any event, to ask for the revocation of the system at this stage after all that had taken place and when we have made arrangements for people to come either as migrants or as visitors with relative ease, does not seem to be necessary.

Sarangadhar Das asked whether the Government were aware that the Indian nationals who had three or four sugar factories in East Pakistan were finding it difficult—impossible—to take labour from India because the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner's Office was not able to cope with the number of visas that were required?

1. Statement in Parliament, 13 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 331-32.

JN: Not able to cope with them? Maybe; it is possible.

A.C. Guha wanted to know whether the Government were aware that there had been quite a big rush of applications for visas and people had been waiting for weeks for getting the necessary visas and permits from both sides?

JN: I think there is some truth in what the honourable Member has said. I could not exactly say; obviously it takes a little time to adjust to the conditions and deal with the visas. I believe, so far as we are concerned, we are expediting them.

7. Migrants from East Bengal¹

A.C. Guha wanted to know: (a) the monthly number of migrants from East Bengal in 1952, (b) whether the Government had made any enquiry regarding increase in the number of the displaced persons in July, August, September and October 1952, (c) the number of Muslims who migrated from West Bengal and other parts of India into Pakistan, just before the introduction of passport, and (d) whether both the Governments had taken adequate steps to prevent panic among the minorities before the passport system was introduced.

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) A statement² is placed on the Table of the House.

(b) The normal causes leading to migration were a feeling of insecurity and deteriorating economic conditions, which led to the migration of a large number of destitute persons from rural areas. The increase in the number of migrants, which showed itself slightly in the month of August, became more evident in September and was very considerable in the first half of October, appears to have been chiefly due to the announcement that the passport system

1. Statement in Parliament, 13 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I cols. 366-67.
2. The statement giving the number of migrants from East Bengal in 1952 travelling by rail showed that from January to 15 October, 209,059 Hindus and 2,13,884 Muslims came to Assam from East Bengal and during the same period 14,95,966 Hindus and 5,84,967 Muslims came to West Bengal from East Bengal.

was being introduced. There was an apprehension that after the introduction of this system migration and even ordinary travel might become much more difficult.

(c) There was a marked increase in the number of Muslim migrants from India to East Pakistan. Even previously, there was an excess of Muslims travelling to Pakistan from India over those travelling from Pakistan to India from 1st April to October 15, 1952, that is in six and a half months, 5,13,340 Muslims travelled from West Bengal to East Pakistan by rail. During the same period, 4,22,220 Muslims travelled in the reverse direction that is from East Pakistan to West Bengal. There was a tendency for more Muslims to go to East Pakistan throughout this period. There was no sudden jump in September or October.

During the same period, from April to October 15, 1,38,960 Muslims travelled by rail and road from Assam to East Pakistan; and 1,40,532 Muslims came from East Pakistan to Assam. In the months of September and October an increasing number of Muslims went from Assam to East Pakistan.

6,808 Muslims migrated to West Pakistan from India in the first fortnight of October.

(d) The Government of India took adequate steps, well before the introduction of the passport system, to assure the public in India that the intention of the passport system was not to restrict the freedom of movement guaranteed by the Prime Ministers' Agreement. It is not known that steps, if any, were taken by the Government of Pakistan in this behalf before the passport system was actually introduced.

8. Migrations between India and Pakistan¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was really my intention just to move the motion at this stage anyhow, and then to have the advantage and opportunity of listening to honourable Members of this House, and later to say whatever I may have to say on the subject. I beg to move:

"That the situation arising out of the migrations between Pakistan and India be taken into consideration."...

1. Statement in Parliament, 15 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 586-701. Extracts.

I should have thought after this long day's debate that the final touch that has just been given to it was an adequate answer to everything that has been said because that is a kind of thing that puts an end to all sense of decency and everything that is good for this country. And that is the kind of thing that is being exploited today in the country to the disadvantage not only of the rest of the country but of those unhappy millions in East Pakistan whose cause we plead here. I wish to speak with restraint but there can be no restraint when this indecent talk is indulged in this House, when an honourable Member of this House dares to say—I say, dares to say—that he wants ill-treatment, inhuman treatment to be given to the citizens of India because he does not like some things that are being done elsewhere. That is, I say, a terrible thing which the House should not tolerate. That is what has been said in the last sentence² of this debate and, therefore I took it first of all.

It was my intention and it is my intention to consider this question of great import, which concerns so many people, with all the calmness and objectivity that I could command. I cannot speak in the eloquent terms of my honourable friend who spoke first on this motion,³ nor can I indulge in the perfervid oratory of my other friend, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra. The matter is too serious, if I may say so, for eloquence only. It is a matter which concerns obviously millions of people in East Bengal, millions in West Bengal and all the millions of India and Pakistan. It is a serious matter and if any honourable Member on the other side thinks—and they have said so several times—that the Government are complacent about it and thinks that nothing need be done and everything possible has been done, all I can say is, they are grossly mistaken, and that I confess my fault that Government has failed to demonstrate that we—whether we are right or wrong is another matter—consider this as a matter of gravest import. It may be that our methods are somewhat different from those of our friends who are gifted with the language of oratory. It may be that we try to deal with serious matters in a serious way and not in theatrical ways. But the fact is, let us admit—let nothing more be said about it—that it is a matter of greatest importance, not relating to East Bengal or West Bengal only but relating to the whole of India and that every person in India is concerned with it. Not only concerned because of the human aspect of it, which is important enough, but because the consequences that flow from it are such that they would affect the whole of India. Every single person in India is affected by this problem. So, let us put that aside. It is of the highest importance and the House can take it from me that I would not grudge this House discussing

2. N.B. Khare said: "...if the Government of India has got any sense of honour, any sense of humanity, they should create the same conditions for the minority here as they have done in Pakistan—I am not afraid of it."
3. S.P. Mookerjee.

this matter—not for a day but for months—if by discussion we can solve it. Let us discuss it as far as we can if light has to be thrown, but sometimes when we discuss rather difficult and rather delicate problems in a light way or mix it up with mere condemnation of Government policy—which it is always open to any honourable Member to do—the reality of the problem goes into the background and other factors come in. Sometimes these long debates in which long speeches are made make the solution of the problem a little more difficulty; and when honourable Members speak—they may be very few on the other side of the House—unfortunately even a speech sometimes comes in the way. It is exploited.

My honourable friend, Dr Mookerjee said that what I had said on previous occasions, sometimes in answer to a question or elsewhere, had been exploited in Pakistan, by the Pakistan Press or the Pakistan Government, because it was said to be to their advantage. What I have said I do not quite remember. It may be so. When I am questioned in this House, I have sought to tell the truth as I could find it and as I knew it. I have not balanced as to whether the truth was favourable to me or to Pakistan, and it may be that occasionally truth was not to the liking of some honourable Members opposite. But may I draw his attention to this fact that among those who are perhaps most quoted in the Pakistan Press are the speeches of himself and of some of his colleagues. Among those who are referred to most frequently in the Pakistan Press and who get headlines are members of those organizations represented by some of the honourable Members opposite, who are making these various demands—whether it is an economic boycott or something else, let us examine them—and who have taken a prejudiced attitude which was indicated in its intensity by the last speaker who preceded me. They get a great deal of publicity. They get publicity because they serve the purpose, the very purpose against which they contend, because they sail in exactly the same boat as the communalists of Pakistan. They may dislike each other, they may fight each other but they are birds of the same feather and they quite understand each other....

Reference has been made⁴ to what is happening to the people of Indian descent in South Africa and we have been told that we troubled ourselves about that but not about our own friends and relatives in East Bengal. About Ceylon also we have been reminded. We are, if I may say so, deeply interested in people of Indian descent in Ceylon or in South Africa. Why? They are not Indian nationals—that is admitted. They are nationals of Ceylon or nationals of South Africa. We are interested for other reasons, for humanitarian reasons

4. By Lakshmi Kanta Maitra.

of self-respect and all that. Now, if that is so, it does not require very much argument for any one to see that we must be interested, infinitely more than in others in the people in East Bengal. It is obvious; it is patent that everyone of us must be interested in them because they are of us. It may be a fact that they are Pakistani nationals today. But this cannot write off, or scratch out, or erase the history of hundreds, of thousands of years. It is patent. So it is not a question of lack of interest or lack of sympathy or lack of anything else. All of us I hope realize the difficulties that they had to undergo, or they may have to undergo in future. All of us sympathize and have intense sympathy for them. That is so.

What then are we to do? For the last two or three years there has been a war going on in Korea. For the last year or more there has been a talk of truce going on there. But whoever may be right or whoever may be wrong in Korea, the fact is that all these forces of liberation in Korea have ruined Korea and made it a heap of ashes of the country. If the advice of some honourable Members was followed and the Government of the day here, whoever it may be—we are passing men—acted in that way excitedly, hysterically, irresponsibly, I shudder at the fate that would come to India—and Pakistan, of course. It is much too serious a matter to be talked about lightly, to be talked about in terms of party advantage. Generally speaking, when such serious matters confront a nation, they are considered, as far as possible, without consideration of political advantage for a party. I do not mean to say that criticism or even condemnation should not take place. Of course, it must. A serious matter should be considered fully and nothing should be behind the *pardah*. Nevertheless an attempt should be made to face that serious peril and crisis, as far as possible, jointly.

So far as this matter is concerned, it can be divided into two parts. There is the part dealing with relief and rehabilitation and the other part, the major part, of conditions in East Bengal and the consequences of those conditions. Now, so far as the first part is concerned, I do not wish to say much. I am prepared later to discuss the matter with honourable Members of this or that side of the House, or rather my colleague Mr Ajit Prasad Jain⁵ is fully prepared to do that. But I would say this much about it. In the last nearly three years or two and a half years, this matter became relatively more important in the scheme of rehabilitation. I say 'relatively' because previous to that the number of people from Western Pakistan were infinitely greater. But in the last two and a half years our attention, the attention of the Ministry of Rehabilitation, has been taken up far more by the problems of the refugees who have come from Eastern Pakistan than the others. And undoubtedly it is so, because that

problem became graver and graver. Whether we have succeeded, or the Government of West Bengal have succeeded in our attempt is a different matter. Honourable Members have criticized our efforts. Their criticism may be justified to a degree—I will not go into that matter. That is a matter of detail. But I wish to assure the House that the attention of Government has been constantly directed to the problem of East Bengal refugees and we have tried to do what we could.

Among the inherent difficulties of the situation which have confronted us one is that, unfortunately a certain political element has come in dealing with this problem. Some who are no doubt interested in this problem as much as anyone else have tried to turn it into a political problem. I remember at Sealdah station, where some of these unfortunate people arrived, it was an amazing sight. It was like the *Magha mela* with all the *pandas* and their flags up. During the *Magha mela* at Triveni⁶ every party has a flag each fighting for its customers. Instead of jointly serving them, it was a political fight for the refugees—"we shall have him; we shall profit by him politically." I am glad that is over now—it has been dealt with in a different way. Also, when an attempt was made to send many of these displaced persons who had come to other provinces, nearby provinces or farther away, difficulties were put, not, I think, by the refugees themselves so much but by others, for political reasons. Now, I do submit that that would not serve the cause of the refugees. If any party or any individual is angry with the Government, it is perfectly open to them to vent their anger, or condemn us. But it is rather unfair, instead of venting their anger at us, to do something which harms those very people whom we are trying to serve....

We are trying to proceed in a methodical way in this matter—first of all through an enquiry and at the same time through a very high level committee—to deal with the problem as best as we can. In doing so, we shall very gladly consult those persons or groups who are specially interested in this problem and who may have particular information or particular views in regard to it. So, I shall not say anything more about the rehabilitation aspect of it except to say that it is our bounden duty to do our utmost for it. To say that does not mean that we can by imagination deal with the problem and produce hundred per cent results quickly. That cannot be done. And in doing that inevitably even if we work better than we are working a great deal depends on factors which are completely outside our control.

6. During the Hindu month of *Magha* (January-February) every year a religious fair (*mela*) of great antiquity known as *Magha mela* is held in Allahabad, at the confluence of the rivers Ganga, Yamuna and the mythical subterranean Saraswati, hence called Triveni (triple braid) or the confluence of three rivers where thousands gather to take holy bath.

I may mention that among the things to be enquired into, and that we are enquiring into, is the settling of refugees in other States, nearby as well as farther away, not settling them in small numbers but in fairly large groups, so that they can live their community life there—say, a group of ten or fifteen thousand or even more—so that they may not feel isolated. So much for rehabilitation.

But the major problem, of course, is something different, out of which all this business of refugees coming and rehabilitation arises. I should like, as far as possible, to put before the House my appraisal of this situation. I do not say that it is hundred per cent correct or not. But I do feel that it is not right for us to take too one-sided a view of anything.

I believe that this whole question has arisen to some extent because of Partition, of course, and because of the huge eruption that took place at the time of Partition which few people expected in that shape—hardly any, I suppose. And all kinds of forces were let loose, all kinds of passions were aroused, and all kinds of deep injuries were caused then which it takes time to heal. And the healing process has proceeded to some extent in many places, it has not had a chance in other places, notably in East Bengal or West Bengal.

But I should like the House to remember one thing. When we talk about East Pakistan or West Pakistan whom do we talk about? Are we talking about the people there or about certain groups there or about certain Governments there? What do we talk about? My honourable friend, Dr Mookerjee said quite clearly that he did not refer to the people there. He referred to the official authority presumably, or some groups only. Well, I was glad to hear it.

He said he was not approaching this question from a communal point of view but from a political point of view. Well, I entirely welcome that statement of his. And I say the first thing we should be absolutely clear about is this, that this question cannot and must not be considered from the communal point of view. Let us confine it to the political approach.

If that is so, then may I enquire if such suggestions as an exchange of population are a political approach or a communal approach?⁷ ...Is it a political approach to pick out a religious group in one country and push it into the other country? That, according to the honourable Member, is the political, international approach. Well, I am not aware of any international law which permits that, or has permitted it from the beginning of time. I say so with all

7. S.P. Mookerjee intervening at this stage said that it was a political approach at Government level according to international precedents.

authority. He may point out to something in Turkey or Greece. It has no relation to this, it is a completely different thing.⁸

I have myself said Turkey. I said so. If the honourable Member would listen to me he would not have taken the trouble of interrupting.⁹

What I say is that if the honourable Member says that this should be dealt with on a political level and then tries to reconcile his statement of exchange of population.¹⁰ ...I am glad. I will not pursue this matter. So that remedy is over. I hope nobody will talk about it in future. Did I accept it?¹¹ Of course not. I did not accept it. Certainly, to a large extent I succumbed to it. I did not accept it. And it was a tragedy. We should not try to repeat it or do anything which might cause it to be repeated. My difficulty is we, that is the Government of this country at the present moment, cannot easily deal with this problem on the political level because of the intrusion of the communal approach to it; not only of the intrusion of the communal approach but the intrusion, if I may say so, of irresponsible talks of the big stick and of war and things that lead to war. Because, that political approach which might be efficient or effective is undermined by it. Immediately we have to face that difficulty.

May I point out it has been said constantly in the course of this debate, as previously, that Pakistan has broken the Agreement of April 1950, Pakistan has not adhered to that Agreement in many ways, has broken it in some ways sometimes in actual letter, certainly in spirit. True. May I remind honourable Members opposite that some of the things that they have been saying and doing—not today but since 1950—are a continual breach of that Agreement and it has put us in the most embarrassing position? Because, we have been charged again and again, “You gave us your pledge and your undertaking that this will not be done; and this is being done in your country, this is being done by so and so, this paper and that group.” And we have to admit it. All that we can say is: “We are sorry, ours is a free country, we have got our Constitution, we have got many honourable people in this country, what are we to do, we cannot control them.”

8. Turkey and Greece, at the end of their mutual conflict, signed a convention in January 1923 which provided for compulsory exchange of their nationals to the country whose faith they practised. This resulted in exchange of 3,80,000 Muslims from Greece to Turkey and of 1,00,000 Christians from Turkey to Greece.
9. Meghnad Saha said that it was done in Turkey.
10. Mookerjee again intervened to say that he himself pointed out the difficulties of such an exchange as it might not solve the problem.
11. Mookerjee asked how Nehru accepted exchange of population in regard to the two parts of Punjab.

I am not challenging anybody's right.¹² I am merely saying that there are organizations in this country which have stated as one of objectives to put an end to the Partition and have *Akhand Bharat*. Now, that obviously is a clear defiance of the April 1950 Agreement. Because it is stated there by us and agreed to by us that this kind of thing will not be permitted by us as a Government. In fact we pledged ourselves to suppress this kind of agitation. And yet this has been constantly done. The House will of course appreciate that we pledged ourselves to something which we could not wholly in law give effect to; in reality it merely became our intention being expressed. So that, this whole approach has been coming in the way of any positive and effective political approach. Because, when we could point out to them as we did repeatedly, all their failures, they could point out a good few on our side too. Not by the Government, may be. The difference is this.

I say that with due modesty on behalf of our Government. It is true that I think so but that does not take me very far when failures take place here and the consequences of the failure have to be faced and the agitations are carried on here on a basis which can only lead to certain reactions there and certain justifications on the other side of what they do and what they do not do. That is the main difficulty we have had in the past. If I may put it very briefly in a sentence we cannot. You can adopt the attitude. It is not a very reasonable or a good attitude. I will say this much. It is at any rate a frank attitude which my honourable friend Dr Khare exhibits, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but fortunately for this country we are not controlled by the ideology of the Old Testament—both in our social and political spheres. We think on a different level. Now can you go for an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth ideology which of course is not practical politics apart from everything else, even if it was practical politics (somebody might consider it is, but it is not and can easily be shown to have been a failure where such an attempt was made). If that is not so, how am I to proceed? We cannot think today in terms of conflict, let us say, between just some small or great organized armies. People come into the conflict, and in a large way. That is why wars today are fought with infinitely more destruction. That is why wars do not yield the results. In short that is why political or economic questions cannot be solved through war. Through war you never get it. You cannot control it. Therefore to talk lightly of war, if I may say so, does not show any mature approach to this problem, it is immaturity. You rule out war—rule out, of course, in the sense that if we are attacked, naturally, we cannot help it, we will fight. We did fight, that is a different matter, but I say if you think of war as a solution

12. V.G. Deshpande at this stage said that when Liaquat Ali Khan came for the Indo-Pakistan Agreement in April 1950 the country was not 'free' and when this Pact was arrived at, Veer Savarkar was arrested and they were externed from Delhi.

of the problem, it is not understanding the modern world at all, the modern forces which are in play, nor the consequences of war. It would merely be adventurism and medievalism.

Now unfortunately we have got to deal in various ways with a country whose real ideology at present is medieval, i.e., Pakistan. Now are we going to meet their medievalism with the medievalism of India? It is a matter for us to consider because there are plenty of people in this House whose logic and thinking proceeds from the same medieval outlook. It has no relation to modern India or to the problems of the day. It is a dangerous thing, just being swept away by a wave of sentimentality and forgetting the facts of the case. How then can you deal with a particular situation? It is difficult enough in all conscience. In the world today when a conflict arises of any size or shape, it continues. There is no end to it because it has deep roots and yet some honourable Members propose something which may lead to that conflict and then imagine that somehow or other, by some magic method we will finish the job quickly and solve the problem. Now, therefore, I would beg this House to consider it, keeping in view the realities of the case. What are our objectives? After all we want to gain certain objectives. We do not want, like some ancient chivalrous knight, just to show our courage and fail in our endeavour. After all, as a nation you have got to gain something. What is our objective? For the moment, let us say our objective is to help, or to help in such a way as we can, the minorities in East Bengal. Of course, the objective is a larger one but we will put it at that; we want them to be able to live decent lives or to make progress etc. How are we to attain that particular objective? Obviously whatever else we may attain or gain, we do not get it by some of the methods suggested. Some of the amendments I have disposed of, exchange of population or exchange of territory,¹³ all those things do not help that in the slightest. As a matter of fact once you start thinking in those terms you rule this out. Thus, whether in India or Pakistan, immediately a Stateless people are created, millions and millions of people become helpless and Stateless, a prey to every kind of misfortune and it may take you a generation to dispose of them this way or that way. Till then there will be this utter chaos and misery of millions.

We raise our voice for the misfortune of the minorities in East Pakistan. That is right because I have no doubt that their life is, has been, a very difficult life, difficult sometimes by the pressure of Government, difficult more so by the atmosphere that is being created which makes them full of fear and apprehension—that is much worse than some acute crisis. I know that and the

13. Amendment on the motion moved by V.G. Deshpande wanted exchange of population on basis of religion between two parts of Bengal. The amendment moved by Hukam Singh urged the Government to demand from Pakistan Government transfer of sufficient territory for resettlement of East Pakistan refugees.

main thing we have to contend against is this atmosphere of fear. Now, Mr Lakshmi Kanta Maitra and other friends mentioned figures,¹⁴ twenty lakhs, thirty lakhs, fifty lakhs. I do not wish to go into figures but I think that in using figures we might try to be a little accurate. We should try to find out. I do submit that we have enough facts before us, not to be absolutely precise but certainly to be precise within certain limitations, and the figures that are repeated sometimes are far from precise. Far from that, if you want to understand the picture, we must see both sides of it. If a large number of Hindus have come from East Bengal as they have and to some extent might well continue to come, there has also been a stream backwards. There has also been a stream of Muslims going to Pakistan not only to East Pakistan but to West Pakistan. I think it is due to us to recognize the nature of the problem. Let us not think that we have created perfect conditions in our country. There can be no perfect conditions in this country—leave out other factors—so long as the cry is raised, the communal cries are raised against this group or that group and the kind of solutions which are suggested means converting India into a communal State. Honourable Members referred to theocratic background of Pakistan¹⁵ because they have said it will be an Islamic State. It is an Islamic State. Yet, many of the honourable Members, who referred to this are quite content with the demand of what they call a *Hindu Rashtra* in India....

Not all, of course not. I may really put it to you, even if a small group thinks that—undoubtedly some groups think that they are functioning on an identical level—they are functioning on the ideology of theocracy of Islam....¹⁶ Maybe so. You are unable to see any other picture except the one you have formed for yourself. I say it is an extraordinary thing how the ideology that they say gave birth to Pakistan and the Partition and that is causing all the troubles in East Pakistan and elsewhere in an identical ideology in the reverse on the part of these communal organizations—in India who talk so loudly against the other ideology....¹⁷

Of course, it is not easy for me to explain in words of one syllable to men that do not understand those ideologies easily. I have to use multi-syllables and it will take long to explain. But, I do submit to this House, that if there is one thing clear, it is this; that this problem cannot be solved by our becoming cheap imitators of Pakistan and their methods and their ideologies and their approaches. That must be made perfectly clear. How then can we solve it?

14. For example, while L.K. Maitra said that about 28 to 30 lakhs of Hindus had come from East Bengal, S.P. Mookerjee stated that nearly 45 lakhs of Hindus had come over from East Bengal.

15. S.P. Mookerjee, A.C. Guha and Sucheta Kripalani spoke about such background of Pakistan.

16. V.G. Deshpande said that it was entirely wrong.

17. Here, S.P. Mookerjee commented that it was the Congress ideology of *Ram Raj*.

Ultimately, I say—I hope I am not saying something which is too big for me; I do not for an instant claim in this matter to be big; the thing I say is big; I am a small man saying a big thing—I say with all humility that the problems of India and Pakistan, whether it is tomorrow or day after, or a year hence or ten years hence can only be solved by the touch of healing being applied to both the countries. I do not know what will happen before that occurs, before that process succeeds. I have no shadow of a doubt that you cannot have two contiguous countries with people who have been working together, who may have had had quarrels, who are racially and culturally of the same stock. It just does not matter what some people or many people may say about it; some of them may be leaders. They cannot change the course of history—and the past. I say we have to come together. What the time or form shall be, I do not know. We have to associate ourselves more and more in the future. It may be that before that happens....¹⁸

When I say that, I merely wish to place before the House that that is an inevitable thing that must happen, the alternative being a continuous process of mutual extermination. I am talking in terms of historical perspective; not of today. There are no other alternatives.

Surely no person with the least wisdom in him is likely to prefer the course of mutual extermination spread over generations. Therefore I should like that ultimate idea be kept in view and not allow ourselves to talk in terms of unreality today, because, reality today is different. We recognize that. And yet, when we say that reality is different, it is not so different. I do distinguish between groups in Pakistan as you and I must distinguish between groups in India. I am quite certain that a large number of people in Pakistan, ordinary people have no animus against India. In fact, if I may say so, in other words, they feel regret at the happenings of the last five years, which have estranged them, which have put difficulties in their way and in our way. I do not mean to say that they want the Partition to be annulled and all that. They feel regret for all these things. You cannot reverse history like this. But, I do mean to say that a great majority of the people in Pakistan, as obviously in India, have friendly feelings to the people on the other side. I have no doubt about that. Except when they are excited, when they are worked up on occasions, which can be done in Pakistan or in India on some cry, they have friendly feelings. There are groups, of course, who work them up, who exploit these feelings for their ends. Because, remember, one of the easiest methods for dominating groups to retain power is to exploit sentiment against another country and fear of another country to strengthen itself, and thereby try to put aside from the people's minds the political and economic problems that they may have to deal with. All that is happening there.

18. N.B. Khare : "That means *Akhand Bharat*."

What policy in our country helps or hinders the right process in the other country? It is patent and I hope every Member of this House, even such of the honourable Members as totally disagree with me, will appreciate that the approach of the big stick and the threat of war or something leading to war is just the approach which strengthens those forces that create all the trouble. Because, they use that as something that cements their hold. They use that to make the people forget their other real problems and make them think in terms of fear and apprehension. So that, this approach from our side harms them. It harms above all those minorities in the other country, immediately. You can have no half-way measure. You have to face the whole situation and take some other step and so on.

I have tried to put before the House frankly as my mind reasons this matter out. I have put very simple facts. It is a very difficult and delicate matter for one to discuss fully and absolutely. I am prepared to discuss it further.

Take another aspect of the case, that in spite of every effort from us, a situation arises on the other side which is worse. I hope this House will not ask me to say what in a particular situation in the future one may have to do. That has to be judged I can only state before the House the general objective that one aims at, what one avoids doing and what one tries to do. Economic sanctions have been mentioned. Of course, economic sanctions at the present moment mean very little in reality. They mean something in psychological approach, not in practice. If it is thought that the application of economic sanctions brings pressure; it does not, in any large degree. It is an expression of a psychology. That is a different matter. If we wish to express that psychology, if you think that that would do good, we will consider that. I do not think it will do good. I think it will help the very elements which you do not want to help there. As a matter of fact, the history of the last few years in India, four or five years, in regard to trade with Pakistan has been a chequered one. There has been very little normal trade intercourse, and the honourable Member was quite right—I forget who he was—in saying that in particular matters they have applied sanctions.¹⁹ We have applied sanctions, too, in particular matters. It has been mutual. We have refused to buy this or sell that. It has been a mutual affair. It is still happening. In fact, our trade is at a very low level,²⁰ and probably a good part of the so-called trade between

19. N.C. Chatterjee said that Pakistan had already imposed economic sanctions against India by banning Indian films, stopping import of 'pan' from India and on export of jute to India.

20. The value of goods imported from Pakistan to India in 1951-52 amounted to Rs. 5,408 lakhs and in 1952-53 it was Rs. 2,087 lakhs. The value of items exported to Pakistan from India was Rs. 4,666 lakhs in 1951-52 which came down to Rs. 1,786 lakhs in 1952-53.

India and Pakistan is just smuggling. You do not apply easily economic sanctions to smuggling so that from the economic point of view, it has no real importance. Personally, I feel that from the other point of view of really settling down as between India and Pakistan, it is desirable for our trade contacts to increase, for other contacts to increase. These can help indeed much more our people on the other side—the minority community on the other side—than mere talks and such like things. Talks, etc. can go only some distance. I would not say that if I were not sure in my mind that the people of Pakistan would welcome that, are prepared for that. I am quite sure of that, except for an excited few....

I do not understand honourable Members repeatedly talking of firmness, and strong action²¹ and all that. I may be no judge of my Government's firmness or weakness. It is for others to judge. Maybe we are not firm enough. Certainly, we cannot compare with some honourable Members opposite in regard to strong language, whatever else may be said in regard to action. But what is this cry I just fail to understand—this cry of firmness, cries of condemnation and cursing and vilifying. You must be clear about these things.

I said something which I knew was an invitation to criticism.²² I said: "I am not afraid of appeasement", but I qualified it, I said, not of evil, but of human beings, of groups of peoples, but I shall not be a party to appease evil, whatever the consequences.²³ And I do not understand....

I purposely and deliberately used that word on the previous occasion, that I am not afraid to appease. And if I may say so with the greatest respect, I showed a lot of courage in using that word. Few people today in Europe, in America, in any country, are prepared to use that word, because they are afraid of its meanings....²⁴

I am grateful for these illuminating interruptions, but I do not wish to end up in this rather trivial way. We have to deal with this very difficult question, and I do appeal to this House and to all, whether they sit on this side or the other side, that this question must be treated on the high level of an international

21. T.K. Choudhari, Sarangadhar Das, R.N.S. Deo and Hukam Singh wanted India to take firm and energetic action against Pakistan to secure just rights of the minority community in Pakistan to enable them to live there with honour and security.

22. Mookerjee said that the Prime Minister "is proud of 'appeasement'...he glorifies appeasement and goes on appeasing...what right has he to appease at the cost of the nation?"

23. Addressing Congress workers in Calcutta on 18 October 1952, Nehru had referred to the complaint often levelled against his policy as a policy of appeasement and said that his Government's approach to both national and international problems was based on Gandhian philosophy and their fight was against the evil and not against any person. If that was 'appeasement', India would like to appease the whole world.

24. Mookerjee intervened to say that Chamberlain did it with regard to Hitler and he was proud of it.

question which has international implications and consequences and not merely on a party level. So far as I am concerned, I would gladly confer with honourable Members opposite, but it becomes a little difficult to confer when the attitude, the approach, is so utterly different.

Now some honourable Members opposite have declared some kind of a day called "East Bengal Day" for some day in the future.²⁵ Now, this day would be celebrated presumably by speeches which will go in the perfervid style of Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra, stories of all kinds of abominations and inhumanities, to excite passions like that. Are you going to solve this problem in that way, I should like to know. Is that the path which any wise man, any responsible man or group ought to take, even to solve this problem?...²⁶

I am objecting to the perfervid language. I am not an admirer of perfervid and rathre hysterical oratory. It is a question of taste. Sometimes, the heart is to be controlled by the mind....²⁷ Reference has been made to the passport system. As the House knows we did not want the passport system. We resisted it. But when it was coming unilaterally, naturally it had to come on both sides. Immediately, we came to certain agreements.²⁸ When they wanted to postpone it again, just a few days before, we refused to postpone²⁹ it, but we said then: "We are prepared to scrap it, but we cannot just postpone it. Once we postpone it, we are neither here nor there, and the feeling of uncertainty continues." We are prepared to scrap it now, if you want it. There is no difficulty on our part.

25. On 10 November 1952, S.P. Mookerjee and Sucheta Kripalani, in a joint statement, made a call for observing 23 November as an All-India East Bengal Day by organizing meetings to express solidarity with Hindu minorities in Pakistan and to ask the Government to take appropriate measures "as would make a repetition of past injustice and cruelty and humiliation impossible."
26. L.K. Maitra wanted to know the language to which Nehru was objecting to.
27. Here, H.N. Mookerjee said that the passport system was extremely prejudicial and had affected the life of common traders between East and West Bengal and therefore it had given rise to an anti-passport movement in East Pakistan. He urged Government of India to reopen the question of passport system in order to give relief to the common people.
28. On 4 May 1952, Pakistan proposed introduction of passport-cum-visa system for regulating traffic between the two countries. After a four-day conference in Karachi from 15 May followed by a series of correspondence and consultations, an agreement was reached on various points relating to the passport question, and on 23 August, it was announced that passport-cum-visa system would be introduced from 15 October 1952.
29. On 10 October, the Government of Pakistan approached the Indian High Commission at Karachi for postponement of the introduction of passport-cum-visa system by a month on the ground that only a few persons in either country had acquired travel documents by that time. Hence enforcement of the system would cause virtual stoppage of all traffic between the two countries. The Government of India rejected Pakistan's request on 13 October on the ground that short-term postponement would result in increased uncertainty and confusion.

One honourable Member talked about masses of people held up all over as soon as this happened.³⁰ Now, that is, I do submit, very wide of the truth. It is a fact that when passports suddenly started, there were people here and there on the border and elsewhere, but very soon those were dealt with. Some came over here. They were given emergency certificates for passport or migration certificates. My colleague Mr Biswas went there, and in his report, he has said—I will read a paragraph of his report:

Since the introduction of the passport system, and by about the end of the first week of November, a total of about 250 families representing about 1250 persons have obtained migration certificates from the Indian Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca. There is no congestion of any kind of intending Hindu evacuees. At any rate—stationed in East Bengal an authority of the Indian High Commission visited some of the principal stations in East Bengal soon after the 15th October and found no such congestions. We also noticed none during our tours.

Now there is no doubt about two things. When the people came away in a rush in the first half of October, they came away principally because of the fear of this passport system, i.e. the fear that they might not be able to come if they wanted. But it is obvious that the passport system is not the origin or cause of their fear. There is something more basic about it, otherwise they would not have come. That is patent, that does not require argument. They have this feeling of insecurity, they have this feeling of unhappiness and uncertainty about the future, apart from the other difficulties they had to face, and I think this is common ground. When they found that perhaps in the future they might not be able to come, they tried to come in a rush. Now that they have discovered that at any rate so far as the rules are framed, those who want to migrate or want to travel are quite free to do so, that particular urge of rushing in is not there. But the other thing may well be there. Of course there are persons who gradually want to shift and there is that fear and apprehension. We have to deal with difficulties, we have to deal with imponderable things, have to deal with specific things of course, but we have to deal with imponderable things, fear, apprehension and the rest of that.

Take this evacuee property law, which was fortunately not introduced into West Bengal³¹ and East Pakistan. Although approaches were made to us, still that law was not introduced then. Take this evacuee property law, which from

30. S.P. Mookerjee said that thousands of people who had left their homes for coming over to India were suddenly detained on and after 15 October.

31. The Evacuee Property Act, 1950 enacted on 17 April 1950 was extended to the whole of India except the States of Assam, West Bengal, Tripura, Manipur and Jammu and Kashmir.

such laws as I know, seems to be a negation of all law. Yet certain circumstances compelled us to adopt that type of law, here; in Pakistan it was slightly worse, but there it is, and we go on doing things step by step, which any person with an amount of legal sense will rebel against. And what is the result of that evacuee property law there³² or here. Take for instance not only the evacuee, but that fantastic thing "the intending evacuee" coming on the scene. You declare a man an intending evacuee because you think that he might in future do something, and so you gain a certain control over his property....³³

I know a little more about it than my honourable friend Shri Choithram Gidwani, slightly more about it. I am not discussing the clauses of the law. I am talking about the consequences of that law, and the consequences of that law in Pakistan and in India are that vast numbers of people are under fear, and duress and oppression all the time; they cannot do any trade or any commerce, or sell their property—because there is no buyer—lest they should be declared an intending evacuees. A person is not declared an evacuee now, but he might be declared intending evacuee, so why should I get into trouble by buying or selling this property? That is the position of tens of thousands and millions of people. Our nationals in India as well as many people in Pakistan. It is worse still in Pakistan. We have got tied up in different knots in all these problems and it is all very well for us to say that our hands are completely clean and Pakistan's are all red with blood. I think our case in this matter is a strong one, but it does not become strong by our looking at the picture on one side only; we have to confess that our hands are not so clean, that many things that have been done on our side are not so good; we have to confess that while it is true that we have treated our people far better governmentally and otherwise, we have to confess that we have not removed fear and apprehension from their minds. I have not a shadow of doubt that if we do the right thing, then right consequences flow from it. I do not want this House or this country to submit to an iota of anything which lowers the self-respect and dignity of this country. I do not want this House to agree to anything which is injurious to those people in whom we are interested in any way especially in East Bengal, but let us think logically and clearly how to open those knots. We do not open a knot by putting another knot on the top of it or by putting a hammer and then trying to open it. As Rabindranath Tagore said, you open a box with a key, not by hammering the lid of the box. All the methods that are suggested of hammering the box will not only open it, but will ultimately cause damage to the box and everything else. I submit

32. Central Evacuee Property Ordinance (Pakistan) 1949 was amended on 9 April 1951.

33. Choithram Gidwani interrupted to say that unless a man sent some assets to Pakistan he was not declared as such.

that in this matter, we must adopt certainly a firm attitude, certainly a strong attitude, but at the same time a wise attitude, a far-seeing attitude, and not do something in the excitement of the moment for which we might have to repent later....³⁴

I do not know what the honourable Member means by that. I have said that I am prepared to scrap it if they are agreeable. If by opening afresh, the honourable Member means that I should send them a letter to that effect or any telegram, I am prepared to do so, and I declare it openly here....

34. H.N. Mukerjee wanted to know whether the Prime Minister was ready to open afresh with the Pakistan Government the question of scrapping the system of passports.

9. Memorandum on East Bengal¹

I think we should send a concise but comprehensive memorandum to Pakistan on the subject of East Bengal. This should be sent officially to the Pakistan Government and I shall send a copy of it to the Prime Minister with a covering letter.

2. This memorandum should review the situation there and the repeated waves of Hindus who leave Pakistan. It should state that it is clear that conditions in Pakistan for the minorities are not at all such as to remove fear and apprehension from their minds. The non-functioning of the minority commissions and boards and the arrests of people specially connected with them has created grave apprehension in the minds of the minorities there. I need not develop this argument, but the various matters which have come up before us should be mentioned briefly but forcibly and it must be stated that the continuance of this state of affairs is a matter of great concern to us not only from the human point of view, but because of its repercussions on the relations of Pakistan with India and the serious situation that arises from time to time....

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 15 November 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.

II. BORDER CONFLICTS

1. Firing on Indian Border¹

S.N. Das asked for details regarding Pakistan firing on the Indo-Pakistan border on the 1 and 2 November 1952.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, with your permission, I should like to make a somewhat longer statement than might be necessitated by this short notice question, so that the House may have the full picture of not only this particular incident that has occurred, but of other incidents also that sometimes occur on this border, between India and Pakistan on the western side.

Ever since the Partition, certain difficulties have arisen in regard to some border villages in East Punjab and West Punjab. The boundary line laid down by the Radcliffe Award² was not very clear and ignored certain geographical features. Thus some villages which are of Indian territory are on the wrong side of the river and not easily accessible to India. In the same way there are some villages belonging to Pakistan on the opposite side of the river and not easily accessible to Pakistan. The areas involved are relatively small, usually a hundred acres or so, and most of them are uncultivated and overgrown by bushes and jungle grass. In practice, the areas on the Indian side have been in the possession of India and the areas on the Pakistan side in the possession of Pakistan. The areas have been largely uninhabited. Since 1949 there has been an understanding with Pakistan that pending demarcation of the border, such areas will be left in the *de facto* possession of the country on whose side they lie.

There being no clear line of demarcation, border disputes have constantly arisen. At a number of Inter-Dominion Conferences held in 1948 many decisions

1. Statement in Parliament, 11 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 233-37. Extracts.
2. The Award of the two Boundary Commissions on the division of Bengal and Punjab between India and Pakistan announced by the Chairman of both commissions, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, on 17 August 1947, was his own decision in view of wide divergence of opinion on demarcation of new frontier among his colleagues in the commission consisting of equal number of Hindu and Muslim judges.

were taken.³ Among these was one relating to these border incidents on the East Punjab-West Punjab border.⁴

It was agreed that there was need for having a line of demarcation between East and West Punjab, especially in areas where the boundary line was not very clear. The possibility of setting up boundary pillars in this area was to be explored. It was recognized that difficulties arose on account of some villages belonging to one country being on the wrong side of the river in the other country. It was suggested that the two Financial Commissioners on either side, assisted by such expert revenue officers as they might consider necessary, might meet and make definite recommendations. They should also consider the question of the erection of boundary pillars.

It was also agreed that the Inspectors General of Police of East Punjab and West Punjab should meet from time to time to review the situation arising out of border incidents on both sides, assisted by the local district magistrates and the superintendents of police.

It was further agreed that the two provincial governments should warn the local border police, Home Guards, and National Guards, asking them to desist from giving any direct or indirect assistance to the raiders on both sides.

Since then such meetings as were envisaged in the Agreement have taken place and many border problems that have arisen have been dealt with. But the boundary pillars have not yet been put up. There have recently been a number of instances of petty conflict on the border in these particular territories.

Now, coming to this particular incident, the villages concerned in the recent firing on the Punjab border are Daoke, Bhaini, Rajputana and Rajathal in Amritsar district and Lao, Majoki, Ghurki and Qilla Jiwan Singh in Lahore district. A drainage channel known as Hudlara Nala runs along the boundary between these villages. Some time ago, a dam was constructed on the Nala in Pakistan territory and this caused drainage difficulties for the Indian villages. It was therefore decided to dig a diversion channel between two points of the Nala in Indian territory.

On the 22nd October, an Indian survey party was marking out the alignment for this channel when the Pakistan Border Police objected to the work. They entered Indian territory in Daoke village and removed flag markings. On the 23rd October when the survey party attempted to resume work, the Pakistan Border Police suddenly and without any provocation opened fire on them. The

3. In 1948, Inter-Dominion Conferences were held in Lahore (13-15 March), in Calcutta (15-18 April), in New Delhi (3-6 May), in Karachi (24-26 May), and in Lahore (5 July) where decisions on evacuee property, economic issues, recovery of abducted women, canal waters, financial matters and exchange of prisoners were taken.
4. The Conference held in New Delhi from 6 to 14 December 1948, among other matters, reached agreement on border incidents on the Punjab border.

Punjab Armed Police thereupon took up positions and returned the fire....It is not a fact that Indian forces fired at the inhabited areas of Pakistani villages or that Pakistani forces fired at the inhabited areas of Indian villages. It is however, possible that stray bullets may have found their way to the inhabited areas. There was no loss of life or damage to property on the Indian side. The Pakistan Government has reported that one person was injured on their side. There has been no firing since 2nd November.

The allegation⁵ that Indian forces entered territory in Pakistani possession is not correct. The boundary in the vicinity is such that three pockets of the Indian village Daoke lie on the Pakistani side of the Nala and conversely two pockets of the Pakistani village Majoki lie on the Indian side. Both these sets of pockets have been lying waste since Partition and are at the moment covered with wild growth. For all practical purposes, the pockets legally belonging to India are in Pakistani possession and those legally belonging to Pakistan are in Indian possession. This situation exists elsewhere on the Punjab border, especially in the vicinity of rivers. Since 1949, there has been an understanding with Pakistan that pending demarcation of the border, such areas will be left in the *de facto* possession of the country on whose side they lie. This is a sensible practical arrangement which has helped in reducing border incidents.

In the present instance, the attempt by the Pakistan Border Police to interfere with the Indian survey party by firing on them obliged the Punjab Armed Police to take up positions in the two pockets of the Pakistani village Majoki lying on the Indian side of the Nala. According to the Indo-Pakistan understanding mentioned above, these particular pockets, the area of which is about 90 acres altogether are and have been in Indian possession. Pakistan has never been in possession of them. Similarly India has not been in possession of a larger area on the Pakistani side of the Nala, although these are legally Indian territory. In accordance with the Indo-Pakistan understanding India cannot have any objection to Pakistan's remaining in possession of such Indian areas until the border is finally demarcated. Conversely, Pakistan cannot raise any objection to India's remaining in possession of similar Pakistani areas. The maintenance of the *status quo* according to the Indo-Pakistani understanding means that such *de facto* possession will not be interfered with, irrespective of the legal ownership according to the Radcliffe Award. There has been no breach by India of this position.

5. The *Dawn* on 3 November reported that the Indian forces on 1 November raided and occupied Pakistani villages of Ghurki and Nallo situated in a disputed territory on Indo-Pakistan border but "Indian invaders fled back after firing by Punjab Border Police." The *Dawn* on next day reported that trouble started on 1 November when East Panjab Border Police started heavy mortar fire on Pakistani border villages of Nallo, Ghurki, Qilla Jiwan Singh and Majoki.

It is unfortunate that the Pakistan border police should have opened fire on the Indian survey party in a minor irrigation dispute which ought to have been dealt with by the civil authorities of both sides. Such action is contrary to the interests of both countries in maintaining peace and settled conditions on the border. The Indo-Pakistan Agreement of December 1948 included provisions designed to ensure the maximum cooperation between the Governments of the East and West Punjab with a view to minimizing incidents on the border. The understanding of 1949, which I have already mentioned, was a further step in this direction. In the last year or so, however, there have been a number of incidents on the border and Financial Commissioners, district officials of the two Punjabs have had several meetings in an effort to settle the disputes. Preliminary steps have also been taken jointly to begin physical demarcation of the boundary....

III. GENERAL

1. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
October 29, 1952

My dear T.T.,

... The real question is a deeper one and does not relate to trade only. There is in Pakistan a group which is violently against India and is totally irresponsible. They have a considerable say in Government either on the Ministerial or official level. There are also many people in Pakistan who have no such animosity to India, except on special occasions when it is roused up, and have come to the conclusion that there should be better relations between the two countries.

In India also there are those who are always clamouring for the blood of Pakistan and there are many others who have no such wish and want peace and quiet and better relations. It so happens that each country hears a great deal about the extremist section of the other and thinks that that represents public opinion or Government's views. This embitters our relations.

I think it is perfectly true that so far as Governments are concerned, our Government has behaved better than the Pakistan Government. This is partly due to the fact that we have some standards which we try to maintain, and partly because we are a stronger Government. The Pakistan Government has no such standards and is a weak Government with numerous internal dissensions.

Any wise approach to the problem would make it clear that this continuous strain and conflict is not good for the two countries. This talk of economic sanctions completely ignores realities. Apart from our suffering as much as Pakistan might, the initiative goes to the extremists on both sides and conditions worsen.

If any Pakistan Minister wishes to come here to discuss matters, he should certainly be encouraged to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi
November 5, 1952

My dear Balvantray,

You know that the various Opposition Parties in Bengal held a so-called All-Parties Convention in which they demanded economic sanctions against Pakistan.² They have also fixed the 16th November as an East Bengal Day to be held all over India to repeat this demand.³

This has created a good deal of apprehension generally, and specially among Muslims in India, because it is feared that there might be some communal trouble on that day. Pakistan is making much of this.

I suggest to you that you write immediately to all our Pradesh Congress Committees about this and tell them that they must not only keep aloof completely from the observance of this day, but keep alert and explain to people that this kind of thing has nothing to do with protecting the minorities in East Bengal or the refugees who have come here.⁴ This is a political move entirely which will injure the interests of the Hindus in East Bengal and possibly lead to trouble here. You might ask the Pradesh Committees to issue circulars too to their district and other committees immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 320.

3. See *ante*, p. 339.

4. In a joint statement on 19 November, Balvantray Mehta and S.N. Agarwal, as General Secretaries of the Congress, asked Congressmen "to have nothing to do with the proposed demonstrations on 23 November as such observance cannot help at all in solving the problems of minorities in East Pakistan."

3. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New York Times statement that United States Government is directly interested in increasing strength of Pakistan Army and having air bases in Pakistan is of

1. New Delhi, 13 November 1952. V.K. Krishna-Menon Papers, NMML.

great importance.² Zafarullah Khan's denial³ does not convince any one. It is significant that *Dawn* has published long account⁴ on lines of *New York Times* statement from its Washington correspondent.

We have asked our Ambassador⁵ in Washington to try to find out what the position is. I should like you also to try to ascertain the facts about this matter.

2. The report dated 10 November stated that it was learnt that concerned American officials were "considering plans to building up Pakistan Army. The eventual plan is to build American air-fields in Pakistan, 90 minutes flying time from major Soviet industrial area."
3. On 10 November, Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister, said, "no Pakistan plans exist for the development of the Pakistan Army by Americans, or for granting American air-fields in Pakistan."
4. On 13 November.
5. G.L. Mehta.

4. Cable to Khwaja Nazimuddin¹

I have received your telegram No. 4970 dated November 17th.²

2. I do not know to what recent reports regarding the communal situation in West Bengal, Assam and Tripura you refer. We have constantly pointed out to your Government that reports in the Pakistan Press are tendentious and sometimes completely baseless.³ One of these recent reports referred to alleged Malda disturbances. These reports are a significant example of the dissemination

1. New Delhi, 19 November 1952. File No. L/52/6523/1, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Nazimuddin pointed to the reports about deteriorating communal situation in parts of eastern India and said that the proposed observance of East Bengal Day was likely to inflame communal passions while the measures to control the situation as proposed by the East Bengal Government had evoked no response from their Indian counterparts. He also regretted the rejection of Pakistan's proposal for a joint tour of riot-affected areas of Malda in West Bengal.
3. Reports about perpetration of atrocities on Muslims in West Bengal and Assam appearing in the *Sangbad* of 2 November and the *Azad* of 3 November were denied by Government of Assam on 10 November. Government of India lodged protest with Pakistan Government against reports in newspapers published on 3 November in Pakistan alleging killing of Muslims in Jalpaiguri district.

of falsehood without any attempt to find out real facts. Nothing of the kind, as reported in the Pakistan Press, happened at Malda.⁴

3. You refer in your telegram to the suggestion made by your Minorities Minister⁵ to Mr Biswas⁶ for a joint visit to Malda and that this was not accepted by Mr Biswas. I am sorry to find that your information is not correct. The proposal for a joint tour to Malda was accepted by Mr Biswas. It was subsequently pointed out that the condition of the motor roads in the district was not suitable and it was suggested that a Pakistan amphibious plane might be used. Mr Biswas authorized application for a permit to be obtained from the Delhi civil aviation authorities to allow the Pakistani plane to land in the river Malda. Subsequent information showed that the channel was not deep enough to enable the plane to land. This information was communicated to the Pakistan officials and Mr Ahmed⁷ appreciating the difficulties did not further press for this joint tour to Malda.

4. At Mr Biswas's instance the West Bengal Minority Commission paid a visit to the areas in question in Malda⁸ and they found that the reports of communal disturbances there were unfounded. Mr Ahmed stated to Mr Biswas that the source of his information was some member of the local Muslim League at Malda. On the basis of this vague and tenuous information, without further enquiry or attempt being made to verify it, serious charges were made and widely published. I trust you will agree with me that this does not indicate responsible behaviour on the part of those concerned. This kind of publicity creates the very situation that you and I deprecate.

5. You refer also to Mr Ahmed's request to Mr Biswas for both of them to go to Calcutta when the proposed protest day was going to be observed.⁹ It is not clear to me what Mr Ahmed or Mr Biswas, singly or jointly, could do in regard to this protest day by visiting Calcutta. The West Bengal Government is charged with this business and, under our instructions, will take all necessary

4. Some Hindu refugees from Rajshahi district who took shelter in Malda district, West Bengal looted a few Muslim houses in Sukhnagar and Chandpara villages on 17 October. Some of them were immediately arrested and the affected Muslims to whom relief was provided, returned to their homes. The Pakistan Press however alleged acts of mass murder, rape and arson having been committed which were denied by the Government of India on 4 November.
5. Azizuddin Ahmed, Central Minorities Minister, Pakistan.
6. C.C. Biswas, Central Minorities Minister, India.
7. Azizuddin Ahmed.
8. On 5-6 November, the West Bengal Minority Commission consisting of Kalipada Mukherjee, S.M. Abdullah and K.N. Bandopadhyaya visited the villages of Aiho, Sukhnagar, and Chandpara referred to in Pakistan press.
9. See *ante*, p. 339.

steps. No one in Calcutta or elsewhere need have any apprehensions on this score.

6. Your attention might have been drawn to what I stated in our Parliament on the 15th November in regard to the proposed East Bengal Protest Day.¹⁰ I condemned in strong language this attempt of some Opposition groups in India to try to take party advantage and excite public feelings in regard to a subject which must be dealt with calmly and peacefully. It is not our practice normally to ban public demonstrations. That is against the spirit of our Constitution and we have found that it leads to unfortunate results. Only in very special and limited cases do we ban demonstrations. We have in fact banned the proposed demonstration in Tripura.

7. You must have been informed that certain recent events in Pakistan have powerfully moved Indian feeling. The recent mass exodus from Pakistan to West Bengal and Tripura was undoubtedly partly due to fears connected with the introduction of the passport system. But that was only a temporary cause and it is obvious that the real reason was much deeper. No one leaves his home and lands unless he is obsessed with apprehension and fear. That exodus demonstrated forcibly again that large numbers of the minority community in Eastern Pakistan live in fear and insecurity. The prospect of not being able to go away after the passport system was introduced suddenly made them rush across the border.

8. We have repeatedly pointed out to your Government that some of the essential provisions laid down in the Prime Ministers' Agreement of April 1950¹¹ were not being acted upon in Eastern Pakistan. The Minority Boards and Commissions¹² have not functioned there at all for a long time. A Member of the East Pakistan Minority Commission has been in prison for about a year and no one has even been appointed to replace him.¹³ If even a Member of that Commission, which was appointed to protect the rights of minorities, cannot protect himself, you will appreciate how others feel about it. The non-

10. See *ante*, p. 339.

11. This Agreement signed by Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan in Delhi on 8 April 1950 guaranteed equality of citizenship to minorities in East and West Bengal, prescribed measures to be taken for protection of migrants from East and West Bengal, Assam and Tripura.

12. The Nehru-Liaquat Agreement envisaged setting up of three Minority Commissions in East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam to facilitate implementation of the Agreement. The Commissions maintained contacts with minorities in districts through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 1948.

13. Manoranjan Dhar, the only Hindu member of the Commission who was also the Secretary of the Congress Party in the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, was arrested under Public Safety Act during the East Pakistan State language movement in February 1952. He was released on 30 May 1953.

functioning of Minority Boards and Commissions has had a serious effect on the minorities in Eastern Pakistan. It appears that any member of the minority community who speaks freely of their disabilities is likely to get into trouble. If any variation in the procedure laid down in the 1950 Agreement is to be made this should be done after joint consultation. We are prepared for such consideration.

9. For a considerable time past the Pakistan Press as well as some noted personalities in Pakistan have spoken in terms of war with India. Their writings obviously excite passions and create powerful reactions both in Pakistan and in India. Recently I was surprised and distressed to follow the proceedings of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Lyallpur at which you were present. This Conference called upon the Pakistan Government to take direct action on the Kashmir issue.¹⁴ I am unable to understand what direct action means in this context except war.

10. At the East Pakistan Muslim League Conference you are reported to have said:¹⁵

We seek a solution of this (Kashmir) dispute through peaceful means through the United Nations. If this course should fail, we shall have to consider other courses of action that may be open to us.

You are further reported to have said: "It is the Muslim League which avenged the downfall of the Muslim Empire in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent."

11. Such statements can have only one meaning and that is war. I was not aware till now that it was the purpose of the Muslim League to avenge the downfall of the Muslim Empire. I shall be glad to know if it is a further purpose of the League to establish another Muslim Empire in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

12. It is with the deepest regret that I have to bring these instances to your notice. They are only some selected instances of the continuous propaganda that has gone on and is going on in Pakistan against India and in favour of war with India. I would beg you to give thought to the reactions of these statements and this propaganda on the minorities in Pakistan and on all the people in India to whatever religion or other persuasion they might belong. In spite of this, the situation in India has remained surprisingly normal.

14. The West Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Lyallpur from 7 to 9 November and inaugurated by Nazimuddin called upon the Pakistan Government to "take direct action for the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir if the UN persist in its dilatory tactics" and urged the nation to get ready for the liberation of Kashmir in the next two months.

15. On 13 October 1952 at Dacca.

13. It is true that some individuals and groups in India express themselves in objectionable and improper language, but the whole force of our Government as well as of our great national organization, the Congress, is used to combat this objectionable propaganda of some groups in India. We have done so with success and we propose to continue to deal with any such propaganda in India adequately both on the governmental and the non-official plane.

14. I would not complain if some Opposition groups or individuals misbehaved occasionally. But it is a different matter when the leaders of Pakistan, including the head of the Government, as well as the Muslim League organization, which is the Government party in Pakistan, themselves indulge in exciting communal passion and issuing threats of war. There is a vast difference between irresponsible individuals saying something and responsible leaders and representatives of Government saying the same thing.

15. I recognize that the relations of India and Pakistan are not good. It is because of this that those who are in charge of the destinies of either of these countries have a very special responsibility to discharge. I claim that my Government have endeavoured to discharge that responsibility and have not been afraid of saying and doing things which might make them unpopular. But I deeply regret to find a lack of that responsibility in the leaders of Pakistan. Fate and circumstance have placed us in these high positions of responsibility and what we say or do might have far-reaching effect on millions of people. It is a heavy burden we carry.

16. It has seemed to me tragic that anyone should ever talk of war between India and Pakistan. I ventured to suggest to your predecessor, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan that both countries should declare unequivocally that on no account and for no reason will they go to war with each other for the solution of any problem or any matter in dispute between them. War solves no problems. It is a confession of defeat and surrender to disaster. Unfortunately Mr Liaquat Ali Khan was not prepared to give that undertaking on behalf of his Government. Even so we have solemnly stated that India will not go to war with Pakistan whatever happens, unless she is attacked.¹⁶ We shall abide by that declaration. I invite you, as I invited your predecessor, to make a similar declaration. If both our countries make it clear that our problems would be solved by peaceful methods alone and that on no account would we go to war with each other, a great burden would be lifted from the minds of millions of people in Pakistan and in India. A situation would be created when it would be far easier to solve those problems and to develop the normal friendly cooperative relations between India and Pakistan, which, I am sure, the vast majority of people in both these countries desire. History, Geography and many a common heritage dictate this. We should be wise enough to understand this lesson of the past

16. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15 Part I, pp. 415-424.

and the present and thus build a future for India and Pakistan which is free from fear and hatred and conflict and in which we cooperate to our mutual advantage.

17. If you share with me the sentiments and objectives referred to above, as I very much hope that you do, then it should not be difficult for us to find some way of approach which would lead to a solution of our problems. So far as we are concerned we shall gladly welcome this.

5. Discussion on Indo-Pakistan Problems¹

Our High Commissioner need not take any particular step in this matter. It is for the Prime Minister of Pakistan to reply fully to my last message² to him. We can then consider what further step we should take.

2. You refer to Khwaja Nazimuddin getting in touch with our people in London. I do not know what you mean by this. Nobody in London is going to discuss these matters with him. Before leaving Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin talked about raising the Kashmir issue in the Commonwealth Conference. If he does so, he will be snubbed and our representative will refuse to have anything to do with it.

3. Khwaja Nazimuddin is full of good intentions when he talks to our High Commissioner, but either he is incapable of giving effect to them, or he does not want to do so. Probably, it is the former.

4. I am prepared to discuss any matter with him. But it is clear that so far as Kashmir is concerned, there is not much room for us to vary our position. As for canal waters, and the evacuee property problem, we have suggested every kind of approach, including some kind of arbitration and reference to an international court. They have been rejected. I am prepared to discuss those fully. He should understand, however, that the East Bengal problem is not a minor one so far as we are concerned. It is, for the present, the most important issue we have to face vis-a-vis Pakistan.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 25 November 1952. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 349-54.

6. Exploitation of Language Movement¹

With reference to the attached telegram, the APP Report² about what occurred at the AICC meeting is, of course, completely wrong. I am rather doubtful if any contradiction from us here would serve any useful purpose, because nobody here has heard of this. But you should certainly telegraph to Deputy High Commissioner, Dacca as well as our High Commissioner in Karachi.

2. There was no AICC meeting in Delhi, as mentioned. Indeed, there was no meeting of any kind in Delhi or elsewhere on the dates mentioned. The AICC met in Calcutta on the 21st and 22nd March 1952. The Congress Working Committee met on the 2nd February and the 7th March in Delhi.

3. It is completely false to say that any attempt was made or direction issued on the line suggested in the message. In fact, when this matter was referred to casually (not in the AICC meeting but in the Working Committee) it was clearly stated that there should be no interference whatever with this language movement in East Bengal for obvious reasons that this would be exploited by the East Bengal Government. The West Bengal Congress people thoroughly realized this and pointed this out to us themselves, and said that the movement was very largely a movement of East Bengal Muslims. In fact, we did not want even the East Bengal Hindus to participate in this.

4. All this, of course, need not be said in your reply. But you should say to both Deputy High Commissioner and High Commissioner, Karachi that the statement made by APP and Mafizuddin Ahmed³ is completely unfounded. There was no meeting of the AICC held in Delhi on that date or in fact any other date this year and no such directions were issued as suggested. In fact, this would have been completely contrary to our policy. You may authorize them to issue a contradiction.

5. Ask High Commissioner, Karachi to find out exactly what Mafizuddin Ahmed said and inform the Pakistan Government that that statement is completely wrong and mischievous.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 28 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. According to the Associated Press of Pakistan report on the debate in Pakistan Parliament on the issue of controlling the entry of Indians into Pakistan on 25 November, Mafizuddin Ahmed, the Pakistan Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation in his speech alleged that the AICC at its meeting in Delhi on 22 February 1952 had decided to exploit the language movement in East Pakistan and directed the West Bengal PCC to utilize the "golden opportunity." And following this, the latter advised the East Bengal Congress to encourage subversive activities and infiltration into East Bengal.
3. (b. 1898); Parliamentary Secretary, Muslim League Ministry, Bengal, 1943 and 1946; member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1947; Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation, Government of East Pakistan, 1947.

7. Policy on Canal Waters¹

These are general considerations. The approach is right, but each matter has to be considered separately as it arises.²

It is not quite clear to me how we are to put an end to endless arguments and how we strive to create an atmosphere in which the Kashmir dispute could be solved amicably.

Nor do I understand the advice given about our being generous in regard to canal waters. It appears to be presumed that if we follow our policy, the Punjab peasant would suffer injury.³ This matter has not been dealt with by the East Punjab Government except in regard to some details. It has all along been dealt with by the Government of India at the highest level.⁴

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 19 December 1952. File No. PI/52/1084/201, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. B.F.H.B. Tyabji, the Commonwealth Secretary, in a note to Nehru on 19 December after visiting Pakistan from 12 to 18 December, suggested that all possible efforts be made by India to ensure closer contacts between people and the officials of the two countries in spite of impediments placed by Pakistan Government. He also made suggestions for settlement of Kashmir and canal waters disputes.
3. Tyabji stated that "...any attempts to benefit from our control of the Punjab rivers at the expense of the West Pakistan agriculturists would be against principles guiding Indian foreign policy."
4. Tyabji suggested that the canal waters dispute be dealt with at the highest level in the Ministry of External Affairs and not by the East Punjab Government.

8. Abducted Persons Amendment Bill¹

This Bill,² Sir, surely is one which we should consider completely apart from,

1. Statement in Parliament, 20 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. VI, Part II, cols. 2929-2934.
2. Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Amendment Bill was brought in the House in order to extend the life of the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act 1949 passed following agreement reached on the question between India and Pakistan in September 1947. The Act was to expire on 31 December 1952.

if I may say so, party affiliations or any views generally in regard to political or economic or other affairs. It deals with the results of an extraordinary situation that arose in this country and in Pakistan and it tries to deal with it on a humanitarian plane.

Those of us, and there must be many here, who witnessed what happened in August, September and October, those two or three months of 1947 both in Pakistan and in India can never forget that horror, can never forget the bestial things that they saw and heard and witnessed. It was degradation of the human species in Pakistan and in India. Let us not raise our heads and say it is Pakistan alone that did it, because we did it. We must confess what we did before we try to say that others did it also. On both sides there was horror, unspeakable. And, the worst of that horror was the way women were treated. It was not a question of a woman running away with a man or a man impassioned, laying hands on a woman and abducting her. It was not that. It was something infinitely worse. It was a deliberate means adopted, if I may say so, of carrying on a communal war in which poor women were the innocent victims.

I am not blaming any individual. I am not even blaming, if I may say so, many of those who did this horrible deed at that time. There was madness all round. People were swept away by that madness. But, the madness passed and we began to think again about these matters and to realize how thin the crust was which kept us and made us behave in a civilized manner, and how easily that crust cracked, whether it was through anger at something which the other party had done. Whatever the reason may be, the crust cracked and these people behaved whether in India or in Pakistan in the most inhuman and barbarous way. It was a terrible thing. All that happened, killing and destruction, was bad enough. It was bad enough that women should be treated in this way. But something that was infinitely worse was that large groups of people should deliberately do this as a weapon of offence, as a weapon of retaliation. That was a horrible thought.

Soon after these horrible happenings, attention was given to the abducted women. Surely, Sir, I need hardly say, whether in India or in Pakistan, there are decent people everywhere. There are many people who are not decent; there are many people who are bad in any country. But to condemn a country and the whole of the people living in a country is not wise, is not just, has nothing to do with facts. There are good people and bad people everywhere. Sometimes, even good people behave in a bad way; sometimes circumstances compel them and make them mad. So, people both in India and Pakistan, many of them, reacted very strongly to this, because, they felt it was the uttermost shame that these had happened, whether in this country or there. One of the earliest things that we tried

to do and gradually build up was some organization to recover these women.³

I might say, taking it all and all, that in spite of all the conflicts with Pakistan that we had had, in spite of all the grievances that we have against Pakistan, so far as this particular approach was concerned, throughout these four or five years, there were persons in Pakistan—not all, some, a good number—as there were persons of course in India who wholeheartedly and honestly worked to this end and cooperated with each other.

There are social workers in Pakistan who have devoted themselves to this task and worked earnestly to this end throughout this period. There are people in Pakistan as there are people in India, who are frustrated who have come in the way of this work, who have tried to put difficulties in the way of this work. There are others, the very people, the guilty ones, the abductors and the like who have, naturally to save themselves as well as for other reasons, tried to obstruct. There have been enormous difficulties, and perhaps everyone here does not realize the nature of the difficulty, because if a person is going to get into trouble with the police because he abducted a woman, if he is on the point of discovery, we have known cases where they have killed that woman, so that there might be no evidence. So, one cannot go on a straightforward way and present one's compliments to them and say "Hand over the lady to us." One has to see indirectly and in other ways so as to save that poor woman. Also, that poor woman is made, after a period to feel that if she tried to go back to her own people she would be ostracized and that she may be killed. And I know of cases where this has happened: and it is impossible for her to go back. So, she lives a frustrated and unhappy life.

There are difficulties also, undoubtedly where a woman has outlived, or somehow adapted herself to her new surroundings, and has more or less settled down. If so, so far as I am concerned, let her remain there. If she has settled down, well and good. Why should we uproot her again? It will be absurd to do another wrong just to correct a previous wrong. But the point is, we should give her a chance, an opportunity to come back if she has not adjusted herself, if she wants to come back. And I put it to this House that if there is a single woman, let us say, in Pakistan—a single woman from India in Pakistan—who is kept under duress by circumstances anywhere, but wants to come back to India to her own people, well, it is our duty to afford her an opportunity to come back.

3. By an agreement reached on 3 September 1947 between the two Prime Ministers, followed by the Inter-Dominion Agreement of 6 December 1947 and by the enactment of the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act 1949 of India and the Pakistan's Ordinance of May 1949, a machinery was set up involving the official as well as non-official agencies to organize the work of recovery of abducted persons in the two countries.

If that is so, it is not a question of a few thousands or a few lakhs of rupees. We cannot measure this in terms of money. Let us not waste money. Of course, let us be economical, but do not measure this question in terms of money, so that if there is a single woman there, we should make every effort to get her back, to give her an opportunity to come back. We have to make that effort.

My honourable friend who just spoke before me apparently hinted that by some pressure tactics or otherwise—he said we need not go to war, but short of war, we should do some thing.⁴ Now, whatever justification there might be for that kind of talk in regard to other matters, I really do not understand in the slightest how in this matter, in this extraordinary delicate thing, you can do any such thing. You are not dealing principally with a Government, the Pakistan Government. The Pakistan Government you are dealing with—you are cooperating with it—in order to do this, but you are ultimately dealing with the individual who has abducted, whether in Pakistan or in India. And if, as I said, you take some steps whereby the first person who gets into trouble is the woman, and not the man. She is disposed of. She is removed from the scene of action. We have traced sometimes women being taken away from place to place, to a dozen places, and it has been a very difficult matter to go on tracing them from one place to another, and the woman did not want to come. She was really under duress, being carried away. So, if you adopt certain tactics, it will not give you any results at all, but immediately put the life of that woman or those women in jeopardy. And well you have not succeeded. This kind of thing can only succeed by this type of thing—there is no other way—by the co-operation of the two Governments. It cannot be done otherwise. Obviously we cannot send our Army and the Police—an Army patrol or a Police patrol—to go and search the houses of people all over Pakistan, asking: “Is there a Hindu woman?” Nor are we going to permit Pakistan Army or Police patrol to go about here searching every house, so that we have inevitably to use, to take the assistance of, the other Government’s machinery on that side, just as they have to take the assistance of that machinery here, whatever that machinery may be.

This machinery was set up four or five years ago in consultation with each other, and, on the whole, I say the amount of co-operation between the

4. Hukam Singh said that while he would not suggest that a war with Pakistan be started for recovery of abducted women he also did not see “the justification that we should sit around a table with those abductors, who are keeping our daughters...” He wanted something substantial to be done to assure those women that “we have feelings for those poor victims that have been left behind.”

two sets has been quite satisfactory.⁵ There have been bad sports here and there. I am talking about that machinery; I am not talking about the whole of Pakistan—because there are plenty of people who have come in the way, who have given us trouble in this matter, but I am talking about particular social workers and others engaged in this, and I can include in this some senior police officers who have really done help in every possible way to recover these women. The figures may not be as satisfactory as we had hoped, but they are not so bad either; considering the difficulties of the situation, considering that recoveries have gone, in one case, to about 8,000 people or 9,000 and in the other to about 15,000 or 16,000. Just imagine for a moment that you have recovered from duress or from a life of extreme unhappiness, thousands of women. Is that a small thing?

Honourable Members sometimes ask: "What is the per capita cost of recovery? I really do not understand; first of all, physically how we calculate the per capita cost of these figures I do not know. You may, of course, say that this whole Department has cost Rs 15 or Rs 20 lakhs or whatever it is during this period, and you have recovered 10,000 women. You divide one figure by the other and call it per capita cost. Maybe, but just imagine the kind of thing that you have to do about it—all manner of things, and they overlap. It is quite impossible to measure that, therefore, in terms of money, in that sense. But, when you think of the good this has done, is it not good enough that 20,000 or 25,000 women have been recovered? Even if a few women had been involved, our country or any country ought to have gone all-out to recover them, to save them from a life of extreme misery and unhappiness.

My honourable friend referred to a particular case. He gave a large number of details.⁶ Naturally, I cannot answer about that case because I know nothing

5. Two base camps were established for reception and detention of recovered abducted persons, one in Jalandhar manned by Pakistan social workers and police, and the other in Lahore manned by Indian social workers and police. The authorized police personnel in both countries were empowered to organize search of the abducted persons and deliver them to the custody of the incharge of the camp, who was empowered to detain and subsequently hand them over to the relatives after enquiry. Disputes were referred to a tribunal consisting of two members—one each from India and Pakistan. In case of difference of opinion among members comprising the tribunal, the matter went to top officials of the two Governments who sent their recommendations to respective Governments for decision to be taken through mutual consultations.
6. Hukam Singh said that one Nikka Singh, a Sikh, had a Muslim woman who brought a three-year old daughter with her and they lived with Nikka Singh. When the daughter became 21, Nikka Singh married her to one Veer Singh—a Sikh, in 1945. On 27 January 1952, this girl was taken away by police who did not release her inspite of her husband's plea backed by evidence to prove that she was a Sikh girl brought up by a Sikh father and married to a Sikh. She was sent to Pakistan.

about it. And I can concede—I do not know, but I can concede—that some false step may be taken, some mistake may be made, and we should try to see that that is not done, or, if by any chance, it is done, it is undone as soon as it can be done. For instance, so far as this law is concerned, it has nothing to do with it, with the misapplication of the law or the misbehaviour of an individual. That is a matter which can be looked into or considered separately, and in fact, personally, I do not think that kind of thing happened much. I cannot say it has not happened. It may have happened. How can I deny without enquiry into every single case? But I would urge him to consider this, that if a man goes to him and gives him a story, it does not necessarily follow that the story that the man has given him is one hundred per cent true. It may be, I do not know, but it does not necessarily follow, because, he has only heard one side and a partial side. For instance, in this particular case as he was mentioning this, I tried to enquire. I could not get much, but I was told that many of the papers produced were suspected to be forged. Whether they are I do not know. The matter is under enquiry. The very case is under enquiry at present, and I understand that the enquiry was delayed because of that high power decision against the Act.⁷

Hukam Singh said that before the enquiry was completed, the girl could have been sent away.

JN: I do not know the facts. Therefore, I cannot say. If the House is interested, I shall arrange to place a statement on this case on the Table of the House, or as the House will not be meeting for some time, it can be circulated. It can be sent to those Members interested. Whether this case is a right or a wrong one—the facts I mean—is a matter for enquiry and decision. But that, I would submit to the House, has nothing to do with the main question before us. And I do submit that from every point of view, the humanitarian point of view, the point of view of self-respect, of women's honour and more especially from the point of view of making it clear to the country—and this is, I think, the most important point of view for the future—we have to declare that these kinds of things will not be tolerated by public opinion in this country, and by Parliament in this country. Of course, if we make people think that while we do not attach very much importance to this, we adapt ourselves to these things as and when they happen, they will happen again, on, if not a bigger scale, a big enough scale. Therefore it is necessary that the public opinion should set

7. A full bench of Punjab High Court on 10 June 1952 held that the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act 1949 was *ultra vires* of Article 22 of the Constitution. The Supreme Court however upheld the validity of the Act upon appeal by the Government.

itself dead against this kind of business, and there are many ways of doing so. One way is to carry on with this recovery work and complete it, to show that we attach importance to it.

Therefore, I submit that so far as this Bill in its present form and shape is concerned, it is something which should be passed unanimously as a humanitarian measure by this House.

Hukam Singh asked how many out of the 2000 persons that were referred to by Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar as being in the custody of Government servants in Karachi were got back to India?

JN: I could not answer that question immediately. I do not know in what context Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar said that.⁸

8. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar during discussions on Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Bill on 15 December 1949 had declared in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) that he had supplied to the Pakistan Government fresh lists of about 7,520 names of abducted persons yet to be recovered from Pakistan which included some 5,000 persons about whom definite clues were furnished and out of which 2,000 were specifically stated to be in the custody of government servants in Pakistan.

9. Attempts to Get Pakistan to Join MEDO¹

... 3. I do not think there would be any harm in our Press writing intelligently about the Middle-Eastern Defence Pact and the attempts being made to get Pakistan to join it.² Some facts and indications might be supplied to them. But it must be clearly understood that this is done on their own behalf and our Ministry is not brought into the picture at all.

4. I think it would be desirable for our Ambassador in Washington² to try to discuss this matter with Mr Acheson.³ The only possible result of this would be to indicate to the US Government that we are greatly interested in this and that any such arrangement with Pakistan would have repercussions in India. It is as well that they should know this.

1. Note, 24 December 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. G.L. Mehta.

3. US Secretary of State.

16

KASHMIR

I. THE JAMMU AGITATION

1. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1952

My dear Sachar,

I find that at the request of the J&K Government, you have been sending some of your police officers² and teargas squads to Jammu. I am glad you did this, as this Praja Parishad agitation³ is wholly objectionable. Indeed I do not think it has much reality behind it. It has received encouragement from outside, even from Delhi. It is playing directly into the hands of Pakistan.

I am informed that Pathankot is a principal base for this agitation and that even some arms have been smuggled into Jammu from Pathankot. I should like you to have this matter enquired into and for some kind of watch being kept of the Pathankot area upto Gurdaspur to find out what is happening there and who is involved....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. See *post*, p. 370.
3. The Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad started a campaign in Jammu on 23 November in favour of Kashmir's total accession to the Indian Union and to protest against the displacement of the Maharaja and the manner in which the Sadar-i-Riyasat was elected.

2. Situation in Jammu¹

...There are one or two statements made which rather surprise me. The honourable Member² talked about some kind of ban being introduced yesterday.

1. Statement in Parliament, 4 December 1952, *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. VI, Part II, cols. 1572-75.
2. U.M. Trivedi, a Bharatiya Jana Sangh Member from Rajasthan, referred to the ban on the entry of Indians into Jammu and Kashmir.

Well, I am not aware of any such thing. As a matter of fact, for the last four or five years, ever since the military operations were going on, there has been a rule introduced by the Government of India—not by the Kashmir Government—requiring people who go there to take a permit, because we found that all manner of wrong people went there, for purposes of espionage, etc. That rule is not very strictly applied except in very special cases because on the other hand we wish to encourage and we have encouraged tourists going there in large numbers. Therefore, although, normally, the permit is issued by the Defence Ministry, arrangements were made for these permits to be issued by a large number of authorities, district magistrates and the like, in various parts of India. So far as I know no change has been made either yesterday or today. In the last few weeks or months the same rule applied. It may be—I cannot say—that the rule may be applied with greater scrutiny. There is a possibility. Then it is true that in the course of the last two weeks or so, the Jammu and Kashmir Government asked us to send them some additional police. At our request the Punjab State Government had sent them 162 ordinary policemen plus two tear gas squads that consisted of twelve men each. That is from the Punjab State because all these disorders are taking place in Jammu and Kashmir.

Reference has been made in these adjournment motions to satyagraha movement and lathi-charging of innocent people and all that. I do not know what my honourable friend means by satyagraha but I have never come across anything more remote from satyagraha than what is taking place in Jammu and Kashmir....³

I am not discussing the matter and I do suggest, Sir, that some honourable Members in this House are trying to encourage utterly undesirable activities there....⁴

I have proof of that....⁵

Honourable Members of the Hindu Mahasabha in this House....⁶

3. At this point, S.P. Mookerjee appealed to the Deputy Speaker that if the Prime Minister was to be allowed to go into the merits of the question, then he should also have the right to speak in reply.
4. Some Members protested in chorus.
5. Mookerjee wanted the Prime Minister to identify the Members.
6. V.G. Deshpande said that as the allegation made was serious, a committee of privileges should be appointed, and the Prime Minister asked to substantiate the charge. If he could not, then he should withdraw it. N.C. Chatterjee also felt that it had been a thoroughly unfounded allegation.

Is not the adjournment motion itself in support of the undesirable activities? I am prepared to justify every word of what I say....⁷

It is a very simple matter that some people are indulging in disorderly activities in the State. Among other activities were a number of raids on boys' and girls' schools, burning books and other scandalous state of affairs and if I were there, I would have taken sterner measures than the Jammu and Kashmir Government have taken....⁸

I am perfectly prepared to state such facts as are in my possession for the information of the House. I do not see how any useful purpose would be served by such a debate. Apart from the legal aspect of it, I am prepared to place before this House all such facts as I can gather.

7. When Deshpande said that it was perfectly legitimate to move adjournment motion and the Prime Minister should not evade discussion, the Deputy Speaker asked whether it was not a State subject.
8. The Deputy Speaker disallowed Trivedi's motion following Nehru's statement that the ban had been there for years for the safety of the State. He also disallowed S.P. Mookerjee's motion because the matter was an internal law and order problem of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Mookerjee felt that in view of the conflicting reports, the House might have a half day's debate on the next day.

3. The Praja Parishad Movement¹

Some time ago I wrote to you and asked for an immediate enquiry by our Intelligence into the Jammu disorders and their contacts with Delhi and elsewhere. I have not heard from you about this. This is an important matter, as it has become more and more obvious that the Jammu Praja Parishad movement is not only closely allied with the Jana Sangh, the RSS, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc., but to some extent directed from Delhi and Punjab. It has as its objective something much more than some petty change in Jammu.

I have received some information about this, which is significant. The leaders of this movement are thinking of spreading out from Jammu into the Punjab first of all and then Delhi.² They refer to it as a major movement

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 8 December 1952. JN Collection.
2. On 2 December, the Praja Parishad appealed for support to their movement and decided to send a delegation to Punjab to counter the propaganda carried out against them there by the Kashmir Government, and to mobilize support. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh in Punjab, in a directive, asked all its branches in the State to fully cooperate with the Parishad delegation.

against our Government to establish Hindu Rashtra all over India. The three allied topics are said to be Kashmir of course and the refugees of East Bengal especially and cow protection.

My information is that Prem Nath Dogra has been in contact with Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Ram Narayan Singh, MP (Bihar) and the Secretary of the Punjab Jana Sangh.³ Durga Das⁴ is the dictator of the satyagraha from Jalandhar.

It is stated that a considerable quantity of arms and ammunitions have been stocked by the Praja Parishad. Also three months' rations in various houses. Considerable sums of money have been given to them from Delhi and Punjab. It is reported that Lala Yograj of the Punjab National Bank has contributed, or promised to contribute, Rs. 20,000/-.

The Provincial Jana Sangh of the Punjab is very active in this matter.⁵ Among its members is Lal Chand Sabharwal, Advocate of Jalandhar. He met on the 30th November a delegation of Praja Parishad workers of Jammu and Kashmir, consisting of Dhanwant Singh, Ram Lal and Shri Gupta. Among the Punjab people are Lal Chand Sabharwal, Shri Ram Ramji and B.N. Joshi. The Jana Sangh of the Punjab has sent Rs 11,000/- to the Praja Parishad.

At present it is reported that the Praja Parishad delegation is in Delhi to see Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee and the Jana Sangh Guru Golwalkar to discuss further plans.⁶

I should like you to treat this matter as important and urgent and have full enquiries made.

I have also received a report that Maharaja Hari Singh has contributed some money to the Praja Parishad.

3. Krishanlal was the General Secretary of the Punjab State Jana Sangh.
4. Durga Das Verma, General Secretary, Praja Parishad, had been invested with full powers by the party to organize the campaign for Kashmir's full accession to India.
5. On 30 November 1952, the Working Committee of the Punjab branch of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, while expressing its sympathy with the satyagraha started by the All Jammu and Kashmir Parishad, deputed some of its members to visit Jammu to study the situation and report back to the Working Committee.
6. The delegation came to Delhi on 1 December 1952 to consult leaders belonging to all political parties, including S.P. Mookerjee and M.S. Golwalkar, on the Jammu situation.

4. Agitation in Jammu and Kashmir¹

...The Praja Parishad of Jammu started an agitation.² The objects of it were stated to be:

- (1) Complete accession of the State to India,
- (2) the use of the Indian Flag to the exclusion of the State Flag, and
- (3) self-determination for the people of Jammu if there is no complete accession to the Union of India.

This agitation took an aggressive form immediately after the election of Yuvaraj Karan Singh as the Sadar-i-Riyasat of the State.³ When the Sadar-i-Riyasat came to Jammu on November 24th, the Praja Parishad asked the people to boycott his reception and to observe hartal. As a matter of fact, Shri Karan Singh received a warm welcome from large crowds in Jammu City. Some Praja Parishad volunteers tried to interfere with this reception by destroying some of the gates and decorations that had been erected by the people. Stones were thrown on the cars following the Sadar-i-Riyasat's car. There was defiance of authority in various ways and provocative speeches were made. The State Government, however, took no action against the demonstrators of the Parishad for two days while this continued.

On the 26th November, the President of the Praja Parishad, Shri Prem Nath Dogra, and fourteen others were arrested for breaches of the law. In Jammu City and in Samba, Kathua, Akhnoor, Ranbirsinghpura and Bhadarwah, active defiance of the law, accompanied by intimidation, hooliganism and violence, continued to take place. A number of officers and police constables were injured by stones being thrown at them. On the 27th November the police at Samba were stoned heavily and some were injured. Thereupon they opened fire, but there was no casualty.

On 28th November the Additional District Magistrate of Udhampur and several police constables were injured by stones being thrown at them by Praja Parishad volunteers.

On 2nd December, Praja Parishad volunteers and supporters raided a Government School at Akhnoor, destroyed the furniture and made a bonfire of papers and charts.

1. Statement in Parliament, 12 December 1952, *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols 1450-55. Extracts.
2. On 23 November 1952.
3. On 14 November 1952.

On 3rd December, the Magistrate on duty, the Inspector of Police and other police officials and constables at Udhampur were injured, some seriously, by stones being thrown at them.

On 5th December, an armed crowd led by Praja Parishad volunteers attempted to attack the Tehsil Treasury at Ranbirsinghpura. Many among this crowd carried spears, axes and lathis. The Treasury guards fired, but there was no casualty.

There were many other instances of stone-throwing and destruction by Praja Parishad volunteers. According to our information, firing was resorted to by the police on two occasions, as mentioned above. On both the occasions, firing appears to have been in the air and there was no casualty. On one occasion, the police used tear-gas. This was on the 3rd December at Udhampur. Three lathi charges by the police have been reported to us. No case of death or injury to the public or to the Praja Parishad volunteers has been reported, while numerous cases of serious injuries to officers on duty and police constables have been reported.

Upto the 8th December, 402 persons are reported to have been arrested.

Among the other activities of the Praja Parishad volunteers has been to help some landlords to take possession forcibly of the lands from which they had been dispossessed under the land reform schemes.⁴

It must be remembered that these activities of the Praja Parishad are taking place in what might be called the war zone, that is, where military operations took place previously and where the Indian Army is still on duty protecting the border. The Army has kept entirely aloof and has not been utilized in any way in the suppression of these disturbances which have been dealt with solely by the police. As stated by me on an earlier occasion, two tear-gas squads of 12 men each and 162 policemen were sent by the Punjab Government to Jammu at the request of the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The position thus has been that in spite of attempts to create widespread disorder and violence, the Government of the State have dealt with this agitation with restraint. They have had the support of a considerable number of people who disapproved of this agitation and violence.

The Praja Parishad movement has been very far from peaceful. In view of the agreement between the Government of India and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir State, the agitation is as much directed against the Government of India, and this Parliament which approved of the agreement and the steps taken thereunder, as against the Government of Jammu and Kashmir State. Although a demand is made for a complete accession to India, the steps taken

4. Under the reforms, while the average holding was barely two acres, a ceiling for a holding had been placed at roughly twenty-three acres. Orchards were not appropriated. Grazing lands had also remained with the land-holders.

must obviously have a contrary effect. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the Praja Parishad agitation has been welcomed by certain people and newspapers in Pakistan and the 'Azad' Radio has described the volunteers as "the heroes of the Praja Parishad".⁵ It is also worth noting that this agitation synchronized with the consideration of the Kashmir issue in the Security Council.⁶

It would appear, therefore, that the real objective of this agitation is something other than what has been proclaimed. The leaders of the Praja Parishad have been in constant touch with leaders of some organizations in India and, more especially in East Punjab and in Delhi. These organizations are the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha. The leaders of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha have publicly supported the Parishad's agitation and have called for the observance of a "Jammu Day".⁷ The RSS has taken a special interest in this agitation. A deputation of Praja Parishad workers has toured and is still touring Punjab and Pepsu endeavouring to enrol volunteers and setting up branches for this purpose at Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana and Patiala.

Master Tara Singh, also issued a statement supporting the Praja Parishad's agitation in Jammu. At a meeting held at Amritsar on 7 December, highly irresponsible and provocative speeches were delivered by the leaders of the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Hindu Mahasabha.⁸

We have received information that the Praja Parishad has collected some money in the Punjab and in Delhi. Also that rations and some arms and ammunitions have been stocked.

It would appear that organizers of this movement and some of their sympathizers in other parts of India look upon this agitation as something not affecting Jammu Province only but having a larger significance. Jammu Province is supposed to be the base of operations.

The situation in Jammu is well under control, though sporadic occurrences continue.

The House will appreciate the objectionable, anti-social, reactionary and subversive character of this movement. If there are legitimate grievances, they can no doubt be considered in a normal and peaceful way. The Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir State is an elected Assembly and it contains thirty representatives from Jammu Province out of a total of seventy-five. That

5. In its programmes entitled *Dhol-ka-Pol* and *Dawat-e-Haq*, the "Azad Kashmir" Radio commented on the Praja Parishad agitation since its start in Jammu and Kashmir.
6. On 3 December 1952.
7. On 9 December the leaders of different political parties in the Parliament appealed to the people to observe 14 December as "All Bharat Jammu and Kashmir day."
8. Tara Singh, speaking at Jalandhar on 1st and at Amritsar on 7th and 10th December, described the Praja Parishad agitation in Jammu as a fight for freedom.

Assembly accepted unanimously the agreement between the Government of India and the State Government.

I should like to express my admiration and deep sympathy for the young Yuvaraj who at a very early age has had to shoulder a heavy responsibility and who has now to face this unworthy and disruptive agitation from the very people who should have helped him...⁹ I have no idea of what was brought to the notice of the Inspector General of Police in Samba on a particular day at a particular hour...¹⁰ One definite information which I have stated already about Samba is that on the 27th November, the police were sent to that region. Some were injured. There is no doubt about the inquiry of the policemen. There is a clear report about injury. Whether they inflicted self-injuries or not, the honourable Member can inquire into....¹¹ So far as I know, it is not a fact....

9. V.G. Deshpande a Hindu Mahasabha member, wanted clarification about an incident of violence on 27 November 1952 which was brought to the notice of the Inspector General of Police and the Deputy Home Minister by some members of Jammu and Kashmir State Constituent Assembly when they visited the place that day.
10. Deshpande further asked whether it was a fact that four policemen in plain clothes were caught on 28 November at Jammu carrying stones in their pockets and the police detained only one of them.
11. Deshpande enquired whether in the lathi charges at Bhadarwah 210 persons including fifty ladies were injured.

5. To Shaikh Abdullah¹

New Delhi
December 14, 1952

My dear Shaikh Sahib,²

You must have seen the statement I made about Jammu in Parliament³ here the other day. Before making that statement, I went fairly deeply into the matter and tried to get as much information as possible. Bakshi⁴ sent me a good deal of information. Some of this came before I made this statement, some after. Other sources also helped me somewhat to understand the position.

1. JN Collection.
2. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir at this time.
3. See *ante*, pp. 369-72.
4. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, who was Deputy Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir at this time.

It is clear that we cannot deal with the Praja Parishad as such and that we must proceed and establish law and order wherever there is a disturbance. What I am rather worried about is that the Praja Parishad has, for the moment, got the sympathy of a large number of other people. There does appear to be a widespread feeling of frustration in Jammu. Some of it may have legitimate causes, some may be wholly unreasonable. But there is a grave feeling of dissatisfaction and frustration. I get the impression that the Jammu people feel that all importance is attached to Kashmir in the State and they are ignored. Not only are they ignored but they are often condemned as a bad lot. Thus they get the sensation of being treated as some kind of a subordinate part of the State. Any such idea, of course, is unjustified. But if it is there, it is something which should be removed. No person or group or part of the State should have a feeling of unjust and partial treatment.

There are some obvious inconveniences of the Jammu people, such as lack of water, which cannot suddenly be removed, though perhaps something might be done. There may be other grievances which are more easily capable of being removed so that they might not feel that they are being forgotten and not cared for. I am sure you must be giving your attention to these matters.

Then there is the political side which will really come up before your Constituent Assembly when framing the Constitution or sooner. I am merely writing to you to say something that is rather obvious and to which you must be giving your own mind. A problem of this kind has to be treated, apart from the law and order approach, psychologically so as to isolate the real mischief-makers from the many others who do not really mean mischief but are driven by circumstances into it. You must always try to win these latter people over, and often they have legitimate grievances.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
19 December, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I have drawn your attention previously to the communal agitations going on in some parts of the country. There is the agitation in Jammu by the Praja Parishad,

1. File No. 25(6)/1952-PMS. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 3 (New Delhi, 1987), pp. 198-99. Also available in JN Collection.

which used to be known previously as a branch of the RSS. There is the agitation about East Bengal refugees; and there is the agitation about cow-slaughter.

The people at the back of these agitations belong to communal organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jana Sangh, the RSS, and the Ram Rajya Parishad. Appropriately, Master Tara Singh and his Akali Dal have lined up with them for their particular purpose. In another context, the Akali Dal has lined up with the Communists in Pepsu.² There is no principle involved, only a background of hatred of the Government and a desire to create widespread disorder, out of which they hope that something favourable to them might emerge. It is surprising that the Praja Socialist Party should have fallen into this trap and lined up with these communal organizations. It is difficult to see where the socialism comes in here.

In Jammu there is an increasing tendency and preparations for violence.³ In Bengal there is much talk of a challenge being thrown out to Government by hartals and possible attempts to stop movements of goods, etc., to Pakistan by train, steamer or boat. This, it is hoped, will develop into a critical communal situation and Muslims might not find it easy to remain where they are. Indeed some of the extreme elements talk openly of driving out the Muslims.⁴

Master Tara Singh of the Akali Dal has been delivering very virulent speeches. He is frank at least and constantly talks about "finishing" this person or that person, whatever that might mean.

The Praja Parishad agitation in Jammu, if it succeeded, would, instead of bringing about a closer association with India, break up the State and play directly into the hands of Pakistan. It is astonishing how irresponsibly these communal groups are behaving and how the Praja Socialist Party is following meekly in their trail.

I am writing to you on the basis of reliable information so that you may know the developments that are taking place and be prepared for them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The United Front Ministry headed by Gian Singh Rarewala in Pepsu of which the Akali Dal was the main constituent was dependent on conditional support of three Communist MLAs' at this time.
3. There were reports of police firing on two occasions between 26 November and 8 December when violence broke out in Jammu City and other places in the vicinity. The Praja Parishad volunteers were reported to have helped several landlords to forcibly reoccupy the land which had been taken away from them under the land reforms scheme. Money, arms and ammunitions were also believed to have been collected in Delhi and Punjab.
4. The East Bengal Minority Rights Council was reported to have made such a statement.

7. Firing on Demonstrators in Jammu¹

... (b)² The agitation has been from its beginning largely localised in Jammu and a few small towns, namely, Akhnoor, Samba, Ranbirsinghpura, Bhadarwah, Udampur, Chhamb. It has been accompanied by mob violence, destruction and looting. Several magistrates and a number of policemen have sustained injuries, some of them serious. In spite of these injuries, the violence and looting, the police appear to have behaved with considerable restraint in the face of personal risk and grave provocation.

(c) The question of the appointment of a Commission is a matter entirely for the Jammu and Kashmir Government to consider, since it relates to the maintenance of law and order in the State. The National Flag is not honoured by people misusing it and making it a symbol for illegal activities. The Government of India have framed rules regulating the use and display of the National Flag on buildings or other places. Under these rules, the Flag may not be used or displayed, except on special occasions, such as Independence Day, Republic Day, etc., by persons who are not authorized to use it...³

I presume so. As a matter of fact, if the honourable Member had listened to my answer, he would have noticed that it was not at the *tahsil* building, where the flag was hoisted that the firing took place. It was when the crowd proceeded and attacked the police station that the firing took place....⁴

What the Jammu leaders have said I do not know, but they normally say the wrong things in the wrong place....⁵

The honourable Member should remember that this is entirely for the State Government. As a matter of fact they have appointed a Judge. I think he is a subordinate judge and he is actually conducting the enquiry.

1. Statement in Parliament, 20 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. IV, Part I, cols. 1887-88. Extracts.
2. The statement was made in response to N.C. Chatterjee's query regarding the reported police firing on 14 December 1952 in Chhamb on members of a procession who were armed with lathis, axes and stones and had attacked the *tahsil* buildings and the police station.
3. Chatterjee asked whether the flag, said to be hoisted by Melaram, the person killed as a result of firing, was the Indian National Flag.
4. Chatterjee wanted to know whether the Jammu leaders had charged that the National Conference had engaged agent provocateurs to create trouble in order to discredit the movement.
5. Chatterjee suggested that the Prime Minister should see to it that only a high court judge was appointed to conduct the judicial enquiry and not a subordinate or a civil judge.

II. AT THE UN

1. No Imposed Settlement¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, it is a long list. Now I do not know what you want me to say about Kashmir. You all know that it is before the Security Council. I have nothing further to say about it. I do not know in what form it will come up and when—probably in the course of a week or so—it may depend upon their convenience. That is all I know. I have no idea except, of course, that Dr Graham² will say something and the parties concerned will say something. But how else it will develop, I cannot say.

Question: There was a story that an Anglo-American Resolution was being sponsored on the subject.

JN: I have seen no Resolution. We know nothing about it. There may or may not be a Resolution, we do not know.³

Q: Do we take it that our position remains the same, namely, that we do not accept any imposed settlement?

JN: We do not accept imposition from anybody, anywhere, at any time on any subject, leave out Kashmir. We cooperate; we do not accept impositions.

Q: In view of the fact that our Government does not recognize the Nationalist Chinese Government, will our Government be prepared to participate in the Kashmir discussion if it comes up when the representative of the Nationalist China is in the Chair?

JN: Certainly, of course. Nationalist China and Formosa is a member of the Security Council. And this has been happening for a long time now.

1. Remarks at a press conference at New Delhi, 2 November 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the conference see pp. 74-76, 172-174, 319-322, 410-413, 471-472, 491-494, 523-526.
2. Frank Graham, the UN mediator in the Kashmir dispute since May 1951.
3. The Anglo-American joint draft Resolution submitted in the Security Council on 5 November 1952 asked both India and Pakistan to start immediate negotiations on the question of the quantum of troops to be retained on each side of the ceasefire line following demilitarization.

Q: What will be your attitude if in the Security Council the Anglo-American Resolution tries to specify the quantum of troops,⁴ as suggested by Dr. Graham?

JN: It is a hypothetical question. If they say this or that, we will have to look at it and then reply....

4. Graham had suggested retention of 3,000 to 6,000 troops by Pakistan and 12,000 to 18,000 troops by India.

2. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Immediately following telegram² contains instructions for reply to Jebb's speech. UK and USA draft Resolution,³ more especially paragraph, 7,⁴ is wholly unacceptable.

It would be better if Zafrullah Khan⁵ speaks before you do so and indicates Pakistan's attitude.

You need not worry about Jebb's hint that he will take Kashmir issue to General Assembly.⁶ We are not afraid of this but we will insist on whole subject being discussed.

1. New Delhi, 10 November 1952. File No. 14/4/60-KU, MEA.
2. See next item.
3. See next item.
4. It urged the Indian and Pakistan Governments to reach an agreement on the specific number of the Forces to remain on each side of the demilitarized zone which was to be between 3,000 to 6,000 on the Pakistan side of the ceasefire and between 12,000 to 18,000 on the Indian side of the ceasefire line.
5. Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister and permanent representative of Pakistan at the United Nations at this time.
6. On 5 November, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, in her letter to Nehru, mentioned that Jebb, the representative of UK in UN, after handing her a copy of the draft Resolution in the morning, had threatened that if a solution was not arrived at within thirty days "we shall be compelled to take the matter to the General Assembly."

In Pakistan constant threats of war are being made. Yesterday Muslim League Conference at Lyallpur (Punjab)⁷ presided over by Prime Minister Nazimuddin fixed two months for "the liberation of occupied Kashmir".

Political and economic conditions in Pakistan more especially in 'Azad' areas have deteriorated. Hence these repeated attempts to divert attention. Hence also danger of adventurism.

7. See *ante*, p. 352.

3. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Kashmir. Jebb's² speech contains several inaccurate statements which are being pointed out to you in another telegram. His whole approach is opposed to UN Commission's Resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949³ and is completely unacceptable to us. In course of his speech Jebb says:

The sponsors of this Resolution⁴ hope that there will be no tendency on the part of either of the Governments to go behind these Resolutions.

1. New Delhi, 10 November 1952. File No. 14/4/60-KU. Vol.-II, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Gladwyn Jebb gave his speech on 5 November while introducing the Resolution in the Security Council.
3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, p. 289 and Vol. 9, p. 225.
4. The Resolution proposed that to solve the Kashmir dispute by "free and impartial plebiscite", the Security Council would appoint its representative to effect: (i) demilitarization of the State on the basis of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan Resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949; (ii) if the UN Representative within three months of his arrival in the subcontinent failed to bring about demilitarization, or to obtain the two parties' agreement to a plan of demilitarization, he would report to the Security Council the points of difference between parties in regard to interpretation and execution of the agreed Resolutions of 13 August, 1948 and 5 January, 1949 which he considered must be resolved to enable demilitarization to be carried out; and (iii) in case of failure, the Resolution suggested arbitration by persons appointed by ICJ.

It is not we but sponsors of draft Resolution that are going behind UN Resolutions and ignoring certain vital parts of them. We have adhered throughout to these Resolutions but our difficulty has been that repeated attempts have been and are being made to bypass these Resolutions, in letter and spirit. We cannot be party to reversal of previous decisions taken by UN Commission with agreement of parties.

We were unable to accept Security Council Resolution of 30th March 1951⁵ as we did not agree to terms of reference contained in it and because this sought to impose a decision upon us. But because of our earnest desire to arrive at a peaceful settlement, we gave our full cooperation to the UN Representative. We wish to make it clear that we cannot accept any decision imposed upon us, but will gladly continue exploring every avenue for a peaceful settlement on the lines laid down by the UN Commission Resolutions or other lines. We appreciate greatly Dr Graham's efforts but it must be recognized that those efforts failed because of disagreement on issues that we consider vital. It must be remembered also that Dr Graham confined his attention to question of demilitarization and did not consider other important matters.⁶

Our position remains as stated in relevant paragraphs of Annexure Five to Graham's latest report. UK-USA draft Resolution and Jebb's speech are entirely at variance with that position. Jebb is reported to have affirmed:

The character of the forces to be left on either side of ceasefire line should be broadly of the same kind.

Further that:

The British Government have never thought that the proposal to limit the forces on the Pakistan side of the ceasefire line to an armed civil police, while leaving a military police on the other side, was consistent with a really free plebiscite.

This approach is completely inconsistent with and contrary to the principles underlined in UN Commission's Resolutions. We have not accepted this approach at any time and can never accept it. To do so would mean our recognizing right of the aggressor to keep armed forces and exercise authority on our territory.

The British Government appears to have a very short memory and conveniently forgets what does not suit it to remember. It is because of this attitude of seeming impartiality but deliberate attempt to work for preconceived

5. B.N. Rau, India's representative, stated that the Resolution continued to ignore the basic facts of the situation in Kashmir and it included provisions which India had constantly made clear it could not accept. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16 Part II, p. 230.
6. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, p. 359.

objectives, regardless of facts, that this trouble has continued and a settlement has been delayed. There can be no settlement which ignores reality and the facts of the case.

The UN Commission's Resolution of 1948 was based on recognition of "new situation" which had arisen by invasion of Kashmir State territory by Pakistan forces. The sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir Government over entire State, including areas invaded and occupied by Pakistan forces, was recognized and first step agreed upon was total withdrawal of Pakistan forces from all parts of State territory. The Government of India's constitutional responsibility for protecting the State from external aggression was recognized. Government of India was to withdraw bulk of its forces but always keep enough armed forces in State to give it protection. So-called 'Azad Kashmir' forces were to be largely disbanded and disarmed. It might be noted that 'Azad Kashmir' Government has never been recognized by any other authority, including Pakistan Government. In effect, Pakistan Government has held full and direct control of this area and of all forces there. 'Azad' forces were greatly augmented later and became integral part of Pakistan Army.

The first prerequisite, the withdrawal of Pakistan forces from invaded territory, and the responsibility of "local authorities" for maintenance of law and order, which are of purely local character, clearly indicate character of force to be maintained on the other side of the ceasefire line. This force cannot possibly be a military force but only a police force, part of which may be armed.

Our demand regarding non-maintenance of any military force on either side of ceasefire line as well as for elimination of any other authority directed by Pakistan, was based on fact that Pakistan is an aggressor. Pakistan's responsibilities, whether they are discharged by regular Pakistan troops or by 'Azad Kashmir' forces or by the Gilgit and Northern Scouts cannot be equated to ours.

Jebb refers to Anglo-US proposal of February 1951⁷ that neutral force might be placed in Kashmir.⁸ He ought to know that we rejected this proposal as being inconsistent with the dignity of an independent nation and as gross unfairness insofar as it puts the aggressor on the same level as the party injured. We cannot accept any such suggestion.

7. The British representative recalled the Anglo-American proposal of February 1951 that a 'neutral force' might be used in Kashmir to facilitate demilitarization, in case either side feared renewal of conflict.
8. The draft Resolution placed before the Security Council on 21 February stated: "the possibility that any forces required for the purpose of facilitating demilitarization and the holding of the plebiscite might be provided from member States of the UN if raised locally."

It is five years now since this matter was raised by us in the Security Council. During all this lengthy period the basic issues have not been considered by the Security Council. These basic issues were: The origin of the conflict by sudden aggression on a peaceful population, the havoc caused by this, the denial by Pakistan (through Zafrullah Khan) of her part in this aggression and her subsequent admission when facts came out and could not be denied. Continuous attempts have been made to bypass these basic facts and sidetrack issues. The UN Commission made brief and indirect reference to aggression. Even this has been ignored by the Security Council although we have pointed this out repeatedly. Nevertheless, in our earnest desire for a peaceful settlement, we have explored avenues for settlement and, at our instance, a ceasefire was agreed to at the end of 1948. We declared that on no account would we start military operations and that we would continue to seek a peaceful settlement. Pakistan, though invited by us to do so, has refused to make this declaration and constant threats of war have been and are being held out even now in Pakistan.

It is because of this ignoring of the origin of this conflict and the evasion and falsehoods that have accompanied it throughout, that no way out for a settlement has so far been found. We are unable any longer to bypass the real issues and we demand that all the facts governing the Kashmir situation should be considered by the Security Council and, in particular, the origins of this dispute and the principles governing the UN Commission's resolutions.

Any consideration of this problem must proceed on the recognition of the sovereignty of the Jammu and Kashmir over the entire territory of that State, of the fact that this State, by virtue of accession to India, became a part of the territory of the Indian Union, and of the Government of India's responsibility for the security of the State against external aggression. This leads inevitably to the conclusion that all armed forces should be removed from the Pakistan side of the ceasefire line and that Pakistan should exercise no authority over the area which it invaded.

We must, therefore, reject utterly the proposal made in the draft Resolution and we are not prepared to have any talks on the basis suggested in paragraph 7 of that Resolution or in Jebb's speech. Otherwise we are prepared to explore all avenues for a peaceful settlement. We ask the Security Council for a full consideration of the basic issues as stated above.

4. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
November 18, 1952

Nan dear,

...My birthday has now become firmly established as Children's Day and there were children's demonstrations in many places, the biggest being in Delhi. It was a good show where 20,000 children collected in the Stadium.² It has also become a day when new schools are opened. They call them presents to me, which is a good idea of giving a present. I had issued a brief note in the press that I would accept no present.

I confess to a feeling of amazement at your description of Gladwyn Jebb's behaviour³ when he handed to you his draft Resolution on Kashmir. Have the English learnt nothing at all during the last few years? I am not thinking so much of their draft Resolution, although that is bad enough, but rather of the way they think they can bully us. If there is one thing that all the powers in the world cannot do, it is to bully us. I have already sent you full directions about the Kashmir Resolution.⁴ Privately, you can inform Eden⁵ that I am exceedingly sorry at the attitude of the UK Government in this matter and I do not consider it either a fair one or a friendly one. You should further mention to him the implied threat of Gladwyn Jebb which, as was natural, has the reverse effect upon me. Anyhow we should not be affected by these little matters and should judge the question on the merits. On the merits, we will not accept this Resolution, whatever happens. For our part we wish a discussion in the General Assembly.

The UK Government is, I am sorry to say, getting into the habit of making one mistake after another. Personally I am not in the least anxious about the Kashmir matter because we shall pursue our policy in spite of what the UK or USA might say or in spite of even the UN, if necessary.

Yesterday Yuvaraj Karan Singh was installed in his new elective capacity as Sadar-i-Riyasat of Kashmir. That is the new title given to the Head of the State. This was done with proper pomp and ceremony at Srinagar. In Jammu, however, there is some sullenness and some little trouble by the communal elements.

It appears that our Korea resolution⁶ is going to be opposed by the US. Indeed Chester Bowles⁷ came to us the other day and darkly hinted with deep

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. On 14 November, children from one hundred and forty six schools participated in Nehru's birthday celebrations at Ferozeshah Kotla Ground, Delhi.

3. See *ante*, p. 377.

4. See *ante*, pp. 378-81.

5. Anthony Eden was the British Foreign Secretary at this time.

6. See *post*, p. 424.

7. US Ambassador to India.

regret that the forces in America, which do not want an armistice in Korea, are becoming stronger. If that is so, then tragedy awaits us. I wish the USA and the UK would realize how unpopular they are becoming over various matters.

You mention the racial issue⁸ and that the UK want to divide the Asians and others over this matter. I am quite clear in my mind that we should stick to our position and not care too much about an odd vote or two or as to what the UK or the USA think. I am tired of this business of manoeuvring. Let us try to follow the right path. That is more important than getting a Resolution passed in the UN.

You mention something about publicity in the US.⁹ I do not know about any new scheme that has been sent to our Ambassador there. I shall enquire into it. I do not myself see why we should get so much excited about this matter.

With love from
Jawahar

8. Vijayalakshmi Pandit wrote that the argument that would be bandied about in the UN would be to the effect that India was herself being brought before the bar of world opinion in the General Assembly on Kashmir question. "So why should she point a finger at South Africa?"
9. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting had proposed that a Minister should be put in charge of publicity in Washington who should also look after the work of publicity in the UN and the two Indian Consulates in USA.

5. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

We have only seen some newspaper reports of Zafrullah's speech.² Excerpts telegraphed by you have not yet reached us and we are not clear about precise

1. New Delhi, 18 December 1952. File No. 52/316/NGO/54, MEA.
2. On 16 December, speaking at the Security Council, Zafrullah Khan made an offer to withdraw Pakistan troops from Kashmir and agreed to the stationing of 28,000 Indian troops without armour or artillery on the Indian side of the ceasefire line, if India would agree to drop her demand for the disbandment of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces. He said that before the Pakistan Army moved out the bulk of the Indian forces must be withdrawn. On completion of the troops' withdrawal the Plebiscite Administrator would take over and the Resolution of 13 August 1948 could then be immediately implemented.

terms of Zafrullah's offer. Withdrawal of Pakistan Army and leaving 'Azad' forces has no meaning whatever, as latter are wholly parts of Pakistan Army. In fact Zafrullah's offer appears to be really worse than what Graham had suggested. We are not prepared to agree to retention of any part of Pakistan Army including 'Azad' forces in area occupied by Pakistan now which is to be evacuated. This so called offer bypasses and is to some extent in contravention of UN Commission Resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949.

As you have already stated we are always prepared to explore every avenue which may lead to a peaceful solution without violating certain basic principles. We are therefore prepared to continue negotiations under Graham's auspices from the point at which they were left off at Geneva. But it should be clearly understood that we cannot agree to have negotiations on the basis of the joint Anglo-American Resolution which completely ignores those principles as well as some of the previous decisions of the UN Commission.

If after receiving Zafrullah's speech we have anything more to say we shall telegraph to you.

6. Anglo-US Resolution on Kashmir¹

(a)² Government of India have neither accepted nor agreed to accept the Resolution sponsored by the UK and US representatives in regard to Kashmir.

(b)³ The representative of Pakistan delivered a very long speech in the Security Council a few days ago. We have not seen the full text of the speech yet. But from the extracts that we have received, it appears that he is prepared generally to accept the Resolution, although he has criticized some parts of it. At the same time, he has put forward various other proposals relating to the strength of troops to be maintained on either side of the ceasefire line....

(c)⁴ Our delegation in the UN has made it clear that there are certain parts of the Resolution which they cannot accept....

1. Reply to question, 20 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. IV, Part I, col. 1889. Extracts.
2. M.S. Gurupadaswamy, a PSP Member, asked whether the Government of India had accepted or agreed to accept the latest Anglo-US Resolution on Kashmir.
3. He wanted to know whether the Government of Pakistan had accepted the Resolution.
4. He asked about the stand taken by the Indian delegation on the Resolution.

The honourable Member has raised an interesting point. In the speech⁵ that Mr Zafrullah Khan made, he has made out for the unwary that he is offering something new. As a matter of fact the suggestion he has made is far worse than most suggestions we have thus far had to consider, because it involves keeping a very large well-armed Pakistan force in those territories which are called the 'Azad' territories.

Mr Zafrullah Khan says that he will withdraw the Pakistan armies, but the so-called 'Azad' forces are absolutely hundred per cent parts of the Pakistan Army as well-trained, as well-equipped. This means that while Dr Graham was discussing the reduction of forces and had suggested that Pakistan might retain—I forget now—a few thousand, 5,000, 7,000 or 8,000 according to Mr Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan could retain anything from 20,000 to 30,000 troops there because he does not call them Pakistan troops—he calls them 'Azad' troops. So that, really this suggestion made is ingenious and can only take in the unwary and those who do not know the facts of the case....

5. See *ante*, p. 383.

7. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

In answer to question in Parliament yesterday² I said that Government of India have neither accepted nor agreed to accept the latest Anglo-American proposals. Replying to supplementaries I added that the so-called 'Azad' forces formed for all purposes part of the Pakistan Army and were as well equipped as any unit of that army. This meant that while Graham contemplated a reduction of Pakistani forces to a few thousands Zafrullah's own proposals implied the retention of anything from twenty thousand to twenty-eight thousand Indian troops to whose retention he was prepared to agree.

2. *Dawn* in its issue of December 19, carried a particularly outspoken leading article headed 'No Other Way' which advocated resort to war by Pakistan in the event of India's rejection of the latest proposals. Following is

1. New Delhi, 21 December 1952. File No. 52/316/NGO/54, MEA.

2. See the preceding item.

relevant extract: "Bharat's formal rejection of the offer when it comes, will immediately raise the issue of the next step. If the Security Council does not act even after Bharat's rejection of our offer to hold a plebiscite, practically on Bharat's own terms, then Pakistan must turn to history for an alternative. With a full knowledge of the importance and implications of what we are saying, we do say in the name of Pakistan's 76 million people that Bharat will have to be offered something which she cannot refuse. In other words, failure of the Security Council to act this time can only drive this country to war."

3. This unambiguous statement of Pakistan's aims and policy gives added significance to Zafrullah's proposals aiming at the maintenance of 'Azad' forces in menacingly large numbers. It also underlines the grave threat that exists to the security of Kashmir which we are pledged to protect with all our strength. To say, as *Dawn* does, that Zafrullah's proposal is almost an acceptance of India's terms is completely wrong and baseless. This must be made perfectly clear. It is also a reversal of UN Commission's Resolutions of 1948 and 1949 which were intended to remove threat to Kashmir from Pakistan. If large Pakistan forces remain in 'Azad' territory backed by Pakistan Army nearby that threat will remain ever present and we can take no risks. We have therefore insisted on 'Azad' area being completely demilitarized by disbandment and disarmament of 'Azad' forces and only limited neutral civil force to remain there for law and order.

8. UN Resolution on Kashmir¹

I have just seen² in the Madras papers a report of the debate on the Kashmir issue in the Security Council³ and the passage of this Resolution in the Council in spite of our opposition.

2. We have already made our position very clear and we are not going to participate in any talks on the basis of that Resolution. The persistence of the UK and the USA in this Resolution, in spite of what we have told them, raises a number of issues.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, MEA, 26 December 1952. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 52/324/NGO-55, MEA.
2. Nehru was at Edapalayan, Kerala, at this time.
3. On 23 December 1952, the Security Council adopted the Anglo-American Resolution.

3. On my return to Delhi⁴ we shall have to consider what detailed steps we might take. The broad issue is clear and we might inform our Delegation immediately that we will adhere to our declared stand. They should convey this information to Dr Graham politely, but firmly. The members of our Delegation will be coming back to India and indeed there will be no one left there to carry on any talks.

4. I think you should send for the representatives of the UK and the USA separately and tell them that we have noted with surprise and deep regret that their country has persisted in pressing forward their Resolution in spite of what we have made clear to them. We do not propose to abide by that Resolution, as we think it is an entirely novel approach which is opposed to the previous UN decisions on this subject. We are much concerned at the attitude of the UK and the USA towards India in this matter which must have reactions on our people.

5. You might send a brief telegram to our High Commissioner in London informing him of the steps you are taking.

4. Nehru returned to Delhi on 29 December.

9. India to Ignore UN Decision on Kashmir¹

In the matter of Kashmir in spite of our cooperation, the United Nations has treated India in a cavalier way which has no regard for facts or reality.

It has surprised me greatly how the Security Council had consistently avoided considering the basic problem in Kashmir, that is, the invasion of the state by the Pakistan forces.

I have much to say about this Kashmir Resolution. Or, rather I am going to have much to say. But it is a serious matter and I think it is only right that I should get back to Delhi and get into full touch with the various developments. I read about this Resolution day before yesterday at the Periyar Lake. I would rather have my say later.

But we made our position clear in regard to this Resolution repeatedly in the Security Council, and only the other day² in Parliament we made it clear that we cannot accept a part of this Resolution, which, according to us, is contrary to the previous decisions of the United Nations Commission on

1. Remarks at a press conference in Thiruvananthapuram 28 December 1952. From the *National Herald*, 29 December 1952.

2. On 20 December 1952. See *ante*, pp. 384-85.

Kashmir. It has surprised me greatly how the Security Council, first of all, consistently avoids considering the basic problems in regard to the Kashmir issue, that is the problem raised by us in our original complaint. It has never been touched by the Security Council. Indirectly and to a slight extent the United Nations Kashmir Commission referred to it when they hinted at Pakistan being the aggressor in Kashmir. But the Security Council has gone on discussing the issue without reference to these basic problems which gave rise to the issue, and at the last meeting one of its members clearly stated that they will consider nothing about the past and how these difficulties arose. That seems to me an extraordinary attitude to take up for a responsible organization or a responsible representative of any country.

We have always taken our stand in regard to Kashmir on certain basic principles and certain assurances which we gave right at the beginning to the people of Kashmir as well as to the world at large. If we are asked to give up these basic principles and to go against our pledge we cannot do so. This is not a question of territory for us or of any other advantage to us. It is a question of following a certain policy not only in regard to Kashmir but in regard to the whole of India. To give up that policy will affect the whole of India and will have disastrous consequences. To betray those who relied upon us would be baseness which no country with any self-respect ought to do.

We have loyally cooperated with the Security Council and the United Nations in this matter and we regret very greatly that in spite of this cooperation we have been treated in a cavalier way which has no regard for facts or reality. It passes my comprehension how any person can justify parts of the Anglo-American Resolution, now passed by the Security Council.³ As we have stated we do not accept it, we are not going to act under its compulsion.

Question: Will there be any change of attitude on the part of India this time, considering the fact that India had extended her cooperation in the implementation of the last Security Council Resolution on the Kashmir issue?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have stated that we are always prepared to explore avenues of peaceful settlement with the help of the United Nations or otherwise. This will continue to be our approach but we will not function in any way in terms of the recent Security Council Resolution or have talks on that basis.

3. On 23 December, the Security Council adopted the Anglo-American Resolution by nine votes with the Soviet Union abstaining. The Resolution urged India and Pakistan to enter into immediate negotiations in order to reach an agreement on the specified number of troops on each side of the ceasefire line at the end of demilitarization.

10. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

In the event of Dr Graham approaching you and enquiring about the basis of future talks, you should inform him that we have been deeply grieved at the way the Anglo-American Resolution on Kashmir was passed in spite of our strong opposition and even when we had made it perfectly clear that we cannot accept it. This can only mean an intention on the part of the sponsors to try to compel us by issuing some kind of an ultimatum. We cannot act under this compulsion, nor can we give up the basic principles on which our policy not only in Kashmir but in India has been founded. We have made our position perfectly clear repeatedly. We are convinced that the Resolution recently passed is opposed to the agreements arrived at in the earlier UN Resolutions on Kashmir and the assurances given to us by the Commission. We cannot agree to any forces, however small, belonging to or under the direction of Pakistan being kept in any part of Kashmir State territory. Any negotiations on the basis of joint Resolution cannot lead to any results and we are, therefore, not in a position to participate in any such negotiations. If, however, our basic position is recognized, we shall gladly continue negotiations under Dr Graham's auspices.

1. New Delhi, 31 December 1952. File No. 52/200/NGO-52, MEA.

III. GENERAL

1. To Shaikh Abdullah¹

New Delhi
October 29, 1952

My dear Shaikh Sahib,

...The point you had raised about Article 370 was discussed fully. As a matter of fact that point does not arise at all. The President takes action. The point can only arise when it is necessary for the President to take action again. There can be two views about this matter and we can consider that point if and when it arises. If necessary, we could even consider an amendment of our Constitution then. Obviously, we cannot amend the Constitution in a few days. Nor, indeed, is it at all necessary for our purpose at present.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

Shahimiri² appreciated this and agreed, and the Attorney-General has added a few lines to his previous opinion more or less in keeping with what I have said above.

Therefore, all we have to do is to go ahead now, and we await your final word about the date.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. M.A. Shahimiri, a judge of the Kashmir High Court, was the Constitutional Adviser to the Government of Kashmir.

2. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi
October 30, 1952

My dear Yuvaraj,

Thank you for your message of good wishes on the occasion of the Dewali. I have recently returned from a visit to the North-East Frontier of ours.² I spent a week there and travelled widely in various States and tribal areas. I found this visit exceedingly interesting. I liked the people very much.

As you know, we have had repeated discussions with Shaikh Abdullah and his advisers about the legal formalities to be gone through to bring about the changes desired in the Jammu and Kashmir State, more particularly those relating to the Head of the State. We have consulted our Law Ministry, Attorney-General and others. At long last these matters have been finally settled and it has been agreed that the President should act under Article 370 of the Constitution and vary the explanation given there in regard to the Head of the State. Other procedural details have also been settled.

This matter has long been pending, and it is desirable that it should be settled at an early date. Otherwise, needless uncertainty continues and gives rise to agitation. It is proposed, therefore, that the necessary steps should be taken roundabout the middle of November—say 16th or 17th—while the Constituent Assembly is sitting in Srinagar. It is better to finalize this at this

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru visited Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura from 19 to 25 October 1952. See *ante*, p. 145.

stage than to postpone it. Shaikh Abdullah will, no doubt, meet you and speak to you in order to fix up details. I hope that you will agree to the steps we have suggested. That is the only course that is open to us now, and we should not hesitate to take it. Any other course, or an attempt at postponement, will only lead to difficulty and trouble.

I am afraid your father, the Maharaja, has not been very cooperative. We have tried to explain matters to him, and to help him as far as possible. But he appears to be totally unaware of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world, and puts forward some pleas which have no application in the present. The Home Minister, Dr Katju, is in correspondence with him. We cannot obviously wait indefinitely for the conclusion of this correspondence, and we have to take action in any event.

You will remember suggesting to me that I should meet the President or some others of the Praja Parishad of Jammu. In deference to your wishes I had said that I was prepared to do so if they asked for an interview, although I had an unfortunate experience previously about such interviews. Since then I have not only not had any such request, but I have noticed a deliberate attempt on the part of the Praja Parishad to carry on an aggressive and threatening agitation not only round about Jammu, but in other parts of India. I confess I do not understand this except on the supposition that the Praja Parishad is functioning completely on the lines of the RSS organization and its chief aim is to give trouble to our Government. We do not deal with communal organizations as such, and apart from this, an organization that is issuing threats to us, and behaving most irresponsibly, cannot be encouraged in any way. I know the kind of persons the Praja Parishad people meet in Delhi and elsewhere. We have full reports of that. These persons are continually giving us trouble in various ways. I shall, therefore, have to take up a fairly strong line with these Praja Parishad people. I am not prepared to meet them now. Any such meeting will only be exploited by them.

I had hoped to be able to visit Kashmir for a day or two sometime in November. But I find that this is not possible as I am far too full up during that month. I am vaguely thinking of paying a brief visit to Jammu sometime in December.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi
November 2, 1952

My dear Yuvaraj,

I returned today from my visit to Wardha, Sewagram, etc. Just before I went, I wrote to you. This afternoon Dr Katju showed me a letter² that you had written to him. He will be replying to you, but I am supplementing that briefly. In all these matters that we have been considering, it is always better not to appear to bargain about things. Ultimately it is not assurances and promises that count in a democratic set-up but the relationship and the personal element. I would, therefore, advise you not to pay too much attention to the various matters that you have raised. The principal one is about the entire Constitution and waiting for it to be finalized. Obviously this question does not arise at this stage. We have discussed it enough and come to certain conclusions.

As for your freedom to resign at any stage, surely every individual has that freedom. To lay stress on it would mean that you are already thinking of resigning at some later stage. That is hardly a good beginning.

Again, your desire to go abroad occasionally is something to which there should be no bar. But long visits abroad would obviously be undesirable. Indeed, apart from other considerations, the question of exchange comes in.

Then there is the possibility of some provision about impeachment in the Constitution. This has to be looked at not from a personal point of view but as something which is desirable or not. I would have preferred to have no such provision, but really it is not a very important matter.

This whole business depends on a number of factors, the principal one being the relationship of Kashmir State to the Indian Union. If that breaks down in any way, then of course all kinds of difficulties come in. In the nature of things, however, this is exceedingly unlikely and hardly conceivable. One should, therefore, proceed on that assumption. If anything big happens, then of course we have to adjust ourselves accordingly. If that relationship persists, as it must as far as I can see, then these speculations have no force or importance.

You mention the flag. Personally I think that the Head of the State should have a personal flag. Our President has a personal flag. Our Governors have their own personal flags.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.N. Katju also.

2. Karan Singh, in his letter to Katju, the Home and the States Minister, asked for some clarifications regarding the position and functions of the Sadar-i-Riyasat, the name given to the office of the Head of State under the new Constitution.

KASHMIR

If you have to start a new relationship, it should be under as favourable auspices as possible and with goodwill. That is a stronger guarantee than anything else.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

I have received a copy of the letter the President has sent you about Kashmir. I am a little tired both of the President's interventions in this matter and the general attitude taken up by the Yuvaraj. If you like, you can have a talk with Gopalaswami, as he is intimately connected with all these matters, and then reply to the President.

I am sending a brief reply² to the President, copy of which I enclose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was also sent to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar.
2. See next item.

5. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1952

My dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th November addressed to Dr Katju in regard to the proposed constitutional changes in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

1. JN Collection.

The Minister of States will no doubt write to you on this subject. But as you have been good enough to send me a copy of your letter to him, I am briefly indicating my own views.

The question of the constitutional changes has been considered by us repeatedly during the last many months. We have discussed it in the Cabinet Committee, with representatives of the Kashmir Government and with our law officers. We have of course given the fullest consideration to what you have written on this subject.

This matter was, in the circumstances, a very difficult one to handle. It was not merely a constitutional or legal issue but a political one with far-reaching consequences. The States Minister and I had the great advantage of consultations with Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who has been intimately connected with Kashmir affairs not only throughout these last five difficult years but also during earlier periods. His knowledge of all the principal actors in the drama of Kashmir is very considerable. He has known and served under the Maharaja and has seen the Yuvaraj of Kashmir grow up. He has known the present Prime Minister of Kashmir and his colleagues also very well. He has conducted negotiations in regard to Kashmir in the Security Council as well as elsewhere.

After very prolonged and difficult talks and negotiations with the Kashmir Government, we arrived at certain decisions and an agreement. This agreement did not embody everything that we would have liked to have, but we felt that it was a fair and proper agreement in all the circumstances and safeguarded our interests adequately without doing any injury to our Constitution. Finally a detailed time table was drawn up for the steps to be taken by the President, the Government of India and Kashmir Government. We are endeavouring to proceed in accordance with this time table. Any change or upsetting of this time table is likely to have grave consequences.

You refer in your letter to Dr Katju to the oath.² I would undoubtedly have liked to have the oath in a somewhat different form. But I do not quite attach the importance to this matter that you do.

2. Rajendra Prasad, pointing out to the omissions of any reference to the Constitution of India from the oath to be taken by the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir before entering upon his office, stated that Jammu and Kashmir having been specifically included in the territory of India, the Constitution of India was supreme and the constitution framed by the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly would operate only because the Constitution of India so expressly provided for it in Article 370. Hence, the Constitutional Head of Jammu and Kashmir "should be required to swear allegiance to the Constitution of India. A mere allegiance by implication will not do."

Regarding your second point,³ I can only repeat what I have said above that we have considered every aspect of this question and come to certain conclusions which have to be given effect to now. We cannot reopen six months' discussions.

In regard to the third point,⁴ that is the moral aspect of this matter, I regret I do not agree with you. It would be more correct to say that I consider the Maharaja's claim as highly immoral and objectionable. If I may mention here what I stated to my colleagues, I agreed to the proposed payments of a privy purse to the Maharaja with considerable reluctance because I did not think that he deserved it from any moral or equitable point of view. The Maharaja sent you a long memorandum. A copy of this was sent to me also. This memorandum was not only full of wrong statements and distorted facts but was also offensive and highly objectionable. Many references were made in it to me which were very unbecoming for the Maharaja. I did not pay too much attention to them as I considered him not in his right senses. I have no doubt in my mind that the troubles with which Kashmir and the people of Kashmir have been afflicted are largely due to the Maharaja. For him to claim as of right all kinds of privileges and payments seems to me, in these circumstances, to be quite extraordinary. I agreed to certain payments only in deference to my colleagues' views. We are supposed to be guardians of the public purse and I feel that we would be betraying our charge if we acceded to the Maharaja's claims.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Rajendra Prasad referring to the proposal for substituting an elected head of Jammu and Kashmir for the hereditary Ruler commented that the Constituent Assembly of the State should come to a decision on all matters relating to the State's Constitution before making a recommendation to the President to abrogate or modify Article 370.
4. Stressing the desirability of keeping the moral aspect of the question in view, Rajendra Prasad said that "it would not be difficult to settle the matter with the Maharaja and thus honour our original agreement with him before giving effect to the proposal now under consideration."

6. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
November 9, 1952

My dear Gopalaswami,

I enclose a copy of a letter² I have written to Katju. Bakshi came to see me tonight. He is naturally greatly worried about this uncertain position. I think that this should be finalized immediately. It does seem absurd that no decision can be taken a few days before the change is going to be made. I hope you will be able to convince Karan Singh to see matters in the right perspective.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. See next item.

7. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
November 9, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

The Kashmir Affair, that is the question of the Head of the State, cannot remain hanging any longer. That is not fair to any party concerned. Within a few days arrangements have to be made in Srinagar. In fact, arrangements have begun. It is obvious that if the Yuvaraj did not agree, that would create grave difficulties at the last moment. I think, therefore, that a final decision should be arrived at tomorrow, Monday. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad has to go back to Kashmir and he can hardly go back in a state of indecision.

I continue to be strongly of opinion that the Yuvaraj should agree. Bakshi has had a long talk with him and, I think, has removed some of his difficulties. He can have a personal flag of his own. They will take every care not to put him in an embarrassing position in Jammu or elsewhere. Karan Singh appears to be worried about his father, that is, he thinks that no decision has yet been arrived at. He should be told about our decision and we are going to give effect to it anyhow.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

From any point of view, and more especially from the Yuvaraj's point of view, his non-acceptance will be injurious. It will harm the cause of Kashmir generally and more especially the very Jammu Hindus whom he seeks to protect. He himself will be put in a very embarrassing position. He can hardly stay on in Srinagar or Jammu after this decision.

I really do not see how, in these circumstances, he can come to any decision but that of acceptance of the offer made to him. This acceptance does not bind him forever and it is always open to him to retire or resign if he so likes. But if he does not accept, that means he puts himself out of court in many ways, not only in Kashmir but elsewhere. I hope you will try to get an affirmative decision from him tomorrow, Monday. The privy purse matter should be cleared up....

Have you informed Hari Singh about the privy purse² and other matters? Gopalaswami is of opinion that we should take early steps in regard to the privy purse.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

2. It was reduced from Rs. 28 to 10 lakhs and distributed between Karan Singh and his parents.

8. To Shaikh Abdullah¹

New Delhi
November 15, 1952

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

I am sending you these few lines to convey my greetings and good wishes on the new phase of the history of the Jammu and Kashmir State, which you are starting from tomorrow. I know very well all the tremendous difficulties that you and the people of Jammu and Kashmir State have had to face during the last five years and more. This has been a time of trial for them as for us. In spite of them, however, the State has gone ahead and made substantial progress and now you start a new chapter in that long story by giving effect to a part

1. JN Collection.

of your new Constitution² and electing Yuvaraj Karan Singh as the Head of the State, the Sadar-i-Riyasat. That is a happy beginning.

The bonds of friendship and comradeship that tie the Jammu and Kashmir State and India together have grown very close during these years of trial and tribulation. I have no doubt that they will grow closer still to the mutual advantage of us all. We have tried to adhere to certain basic principles and have not discarded them under stress of circumstances. That is the surest guarantee that our foundations are good.

With all my affectionate good wishes to you and the people of Jammu and Kashmir State.

I am
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 12 November, the Kashmir Constituent Assembly passed a Bill to amend the thirteen years old Constitution. The new Bill sought to substitute the words "His Highness" wherever they occurred in the Constitution by the words "Sadar-i-Riyasat", "Commands of His Highness" by "Orders of the Sadar-i-Riyasat" and "Prerogatives of the Maharaja" by "Powers of the Sadar-i-Riyasat."

9. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
November 15, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Your letter of November 14th about the possibility of the Kashmir issue being raised at the Prime Ministers' Conference.²

I think it is very unlikely that this issue will be considered by the Conference although the Pakistan Prime Minister is bound to raise it. On the last occasion, Liaquat Ali Khan raised this issue in the Prime Ministers' Conference. I said that that Conference had nothing to do with it. Some other members of the Conference also agreed, but they suggested that there might be informal talks between Prime Ministers outside the Conference. This was agreed to and Attlee³ invited Liaquat Ali Khan and me and the Prime Ministers

1. JN Collection.

2. At the conference, held from 27 November to 9 December, Deshmukh represented India as Nehru could not attend because the Parliament was in session at that time.

3. Clement Attlee, leader of the British Labour Party at this time.

of Canada, Australia and New Zealand for such an informal talk. In fact, he invited us to Chequers for this. These talks produced no result.⁴

Nazimuddin is new to the Conference and, in order to justify himself, he is likely to raise this question at the Conference itself. Your answer should be that this question has nothing to do with the Conference and we are not prepared to discuss other affairs at a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. If it is suggested that this might be done informally, you can very well say that you are not in a position to discuss matters outside the subjects for which the Conference was convened, even informally.

In the remote contingency of the Conference wishing to deal with it, you will, of course, say that you cannot participate in that particular meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See, *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15 Pt. II, pp. 278-85.

10. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi
15 November 1952

My dear Yuvaraj,

I write to congratulate you on the high honour that has been conferred upon you by the people of Jammu and Kashmir State on your election as Sadar-i-Riyasat. I should like to congratulate the people of the State also on their wise choice. This puts a great responsibility upon you, for you have not merely to follow an established convention but rather to help in making conventions for the future. You know how dear the future of the State is to me. It is dear to me because of my own intimate relationship with Kashmir and it is dear to me also because of the numerous ties that bind the State to India. Our future is linked together and we have to face good fortune and ill fortune alike together. A new chapter opens now in the Jammu and Kashmir State. And yet, although it is new, it is a continuation of the old but in a different form. The processes of life, whether that of an individual or of a nation, are both a continuation and a continuous change.

1. JN Collection. Also printed in *The Heir Apparent, an Autobiography* by Karan Singh, (Delhi, 1982), pp. 145-46.

I earnestly hope that the changes that have been brought about in the Constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir State will lead to the greater prosperity and happiness of the people of the State and will bring them even closer to India, of which they are such an intimate part.

To you, who have to shoulder this burden and this responsibility at such an early age, I send all my good wishes and my affection.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

My dear Tiger,²

I am sending you separately a semi-formal letter of congratulation and good wishes. I did not quite know how to address such a letter. You know that I shall often think of you and that you can always rely on such help and guidance as I can give.³

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Karan Singh, affectionately addressed as Tiger by his friends and close relatives.
3. This was a small note appended to this letter by Nehru.

11. Elected Head of Jammu and Kashmir State¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The following action has been taken:²

(i) A public notification has been issued amending the definition of the term "The Government of the State" in the Explanation in Clause (1) of Article 370.

(ii) An Order has also been made by the President providing that the term 'Rajpramukh' in the provisions of the Constitution applicable to the State means the Sadar-i-Riyasat; and making certain other consequential changes.

1. Statement in Parliament, 18 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 499-502.
2. N.C. Chatterjee wanted to know the steps Government proposed to take to amend the Constitution of India in view of the decision of the Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir State to replace the Rajpramukh by Sadar-i-Riyasat who would be elected by the State Legislature as Head of the State.

(iii) The President has been pleased, on the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly of the State, to recognize Yuvaraj Karan Singh as the Sadar-i-Riyasat; and Yuvaraj Karan Singh has taken over his office.

(b) and (c)³ These steps have been taken in furtherance of the agreement arrived at by the Government of India with the Jammu and Kashmir Government. I placed this agreement before the House in the course of a statement made during the last session,⁴ when there was a debate on this subject in Parliament. The Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir State also accepted by Resolution,⁵ the terms of the agreement. Part of that agreement has now been given effect to by the Jammu and Kashmir Government by suitably amending their own old Constitution and giving effect to that amendment. The remaining part has not yet been incorporated in the new Constitution that the Constituent Assembly of the State is drawing up. It will no doubt find a place in that new Constitution when this is finalized. Some matters have to be discussed further in detail with the Jammu and Kashmir Government....⁶

I have just said, Sir, that in so far as other matters are concerned, the Constitution has not been drafted by the Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir State, but the Constituent Assembly of that State has accepted that agreement which embodied some of these provisions here, as placed before this House....⁷

No, Sir, they remain exactly the same as they were before....⁸

3. Chatterjee also wanted to know whether the Jammu and Kashmir Government had finally agreed to implement the terms mentioned in the Prime Minister's statement in regard to Kashmir before Parliament on 24th July 1952 concerning the application of the provisions of the Indian Constitution, with or without modifications relating to: (i) Citizenship, (ii) Fundamental Rights, (iii) Financial Integration, (iv) Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and (v) Application of Article 352 (Emergency Powers of the President) of the Indian Constitution. He also wanted to know the procedure and the time of the implementation of such an agreement by the State of Jammu and Kashmir.
4. The Parliament approved Delhi Pact on 7 August 1952.
5. It was accepted by the Assembly on 19 August.
6. Chatterjee asked whether the Government of Jammu and Kashmir had finalized its position with regard to the applicability of Article 32 of the Constitution of India and accepted the Supreme Court of India as the highest tribunal for the enforcement of Fundamental Rights.
7. Chatterjee also enquired whether the election or the appointment of the Sadar-i-Riyasat of the Jammu and Kashmir State in any way was derogatory to the constitutional powers and the status of the President of India.
8. He further asked whether the Government of Jammu and Kashmir had indicated to the Government of India that they were in any way detracting either from the position which they had taken up or from the commitments that they had already made.

No, Sir, if they have indicated anything at all, it is that they are sticking to their position and they propose to go along the lines previously intimated and agreed to....⁹

This is a matter which was referred to during the debate that took place in the last Session. There is no question of supersession of the flag of the Indian Union. It is flown there. I cannot say at the moment whether it was flown yesterday or the day before that. But there is no question of supersession at all. This has been stated quite clearly by the Government, and I believe also the Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir State....¹⁰

I have no recollection of the Maharaja of Kashmir saying that. Whether he said it in the course of some communication—oral or otherwise—I do not know. The Maharaja of Kashmir has been in communication with us, and he is much more interested in the amount of privy purse he is likely to get than in other matters....¹¹

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has been treated separately in this matter, because it is a very special and separate case. Throughout all these years, it has had to be dealt with in a particular way as, indeed, Article 370 of the Constitution indicates. What is going to happen in the other States in regard to the Rajpramukhs or in regard to other matters will be for this House to consider later....¹²

The oath was drafted by the Constituent Assembly. It was part of the Constituent Assembly's draft, I believe, and that oath refers to the Constitution of that State, but part of it is inevitably the Constitution of our Union. There is nothing wrong in it or nothing contrary but it is not the same as the oath taken by the Governors or Rajpramukhs here—just as in other matters there are differences, e.g., the name is Sadar-i-Riyasat instead of Rajpramukh....¹³

9. Chatterjee said that as per press reports the new flag of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was hoisted on the fort and the Government buildings of the State. He enquired whether the Indian flag was also flown along with the State flag, or was the State flag flown in supersession of the Indian flag.
10. Chatterjee further asked whether it was a fact that the Maharaja of Kashmir offered to abdicate or terminate his rule provided the Nizam of Hyderabad and other Rajpramukhs belonging to Part B States also offered to do the same.
11. He finally asked if the State of Jammu and Kashmir was to be singled out for special treatment by the election of the Sadar-i-Riyasat of that State, or the other Part B States would also have the elected heads.
12. V.G. Deshpande asked whether Yuvaraj Karan Singh in his oath had omitted any reference to the Indian Constitution and substituted it by a reference to the Constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir and what was the reason for this deviation as the other Heads of States took oath as prescribed under Article 159 of the Constitution.
13. Sarangadhar Das asked whether the Government had any information as to whether the Indian National Flag was flown along with the Jammu and Kashmir Flag and if it was not so then would they take up the matter with the Jammu and Kashmir Government.

I really do not know what and where the flags were flown yesterday in Srinagar or Jammu. I cannot say that. But the Indian National Flag is flown on important occasions in important places.¹⁴

So far as I know, there was no abdication, voluntary or otherwise. It was only a question of the President exercising his right to recognize, under the Constitution, any Head of the State he chooses....

14. Hukam Singh asked whether the Government of India had exerted any pressure to effect an abdication by the Maharaja of Kashmir, or whether it was voluntary.

12. To Shaikh Abdullah¹

New Delhi
December 4, 1952

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

I met the Bakula of Ladakh at Sanchi and here in Delhi. He referred to various matters and various complaints. I shall not go into these as you can easily ascertain them from himself. But I feel that some steps should be taken in Ladakh to satisfy the Buddhist population there.² Delay in taking action leads to difficulties later on.

One matter which he mentioned to me was that the Ladakhi language should be the medium of instruction in primary schools. I think this is a reasonable demand. We are teaching Tibetan in our primary schools all along the Tibetan border.

He asked me if he could go to Lhasa to get some manuscripts and books from there. I told him that this would not be a good time to go there.

He referred to a sum of money—Rs. 10,000/- which I had sent for relief in Ladakh about a year ago. I had sent this to Beg.³ He said that none of this money had been spent in his part of Ladakh and that much of it was still unspent. If this is so, the balance could well be spent in that part of Ladakh.

He complained about the present Deputy Commissioner, Dachan or some such name, and said that he had no experience of law and there were numerous pending appeals before him.

1. JN Collection.

2. According to Bakula, though the Ladakhis formed a distinct cultural entity they had only two members in the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly on the basis of population. This made them feel that they were totally subordinate to the Kashmiris.

3. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Revenue Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

His principal request was for some kind of a statutory advisory committee for Ladakh.⁴

I am writing this in some haste as I am going away to Bombay early tomorrow.

I hope you will come to Hyderabad for the Congress Session.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Bakula suggested setting up a statutory advisory committee to which it would be obligatory for the State Legislature to refer all legislation vitally affecting Ladakh.

1. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

I have given careful consideration to your recent telegrams and more especially long message containing report of your interview with Chou En-lai.² We have conveyed your messages to our delegation in New York.

2. At this stage, it will not be wise for me to make a statement here. Any statement on our behalf should be made in UN. You can assure Chou En-lai that we shall strive our utmost to find some way out of impasse. This matter is being dealt with by Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Krishna Menon, both of whom are thoroughly seized of Chinese viewpoint and know the general background.

1. New Delhi, 26 October 1952. File Nos.-12/62/NGO-52, Vols I-VI, and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA.
2. At Chou En-lai's request, N. Raghavan, India's Ambassador to China, met him on 18 October 1952 when Chou En-lai handed him over an eight-page statement. The statement mentioned that: (1) repatriation of all prisoners after armistice was an immutable principle and was originally suggested by the American side itself under the draft Armistice Agreement; (2) the specific method and procedure of such repatriation was open to discussion; (3) the principle of "no forced repatriation" permeating all three US proposals of 28 September 1952 was unacceptable; (4) however despite this, China had accepted the more reasonable elements of US proposals regarding method and procedure to be adopted for repatriation of prisoners; (5) through screening in demilitarized zone was unacceptable; and finally (6) the US side broke off negotiations, not merely to detain war prisoners but to put pressure on UN to endorse its unjust stand.

2. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Korea. On return from North-East Frontier, I have been examining telegrams from Peking and from you and have also seen US Resolution on Korea.² It is

1. New Delhi, 26 October 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Copy of this cable was also sent to V.K. Krishna Menon.
2. On 24 October 1952, the American Delegation to the UN General Assembly submitted to the Political Committee a Resolution, supported by twenty other countries, including the United Kingdom which called upon the North Korean and the Chinese authorities to (i) recognize the right of voluntary repatriation to the prisoners taken by the UN Command and (ii) to reject forced repatriation.

as difficult for us to give any specific instructions, apart from general line which we have suggested and which is governed by dominant consideration of securing peace and not of condemning either party or taking any action which makes peaceful settlement more difficult. I am glad that Krishna Menon is in charge of this matter, as he is acquainted with full background.

2. It is clear that in spite of close approach on many secondary matters, there still remains vital difference on main issue of manner of repatriation of prisoners. We sent you by air mail on 19 October a very long telegram received from Raghavan describing long interview which he had with Chou En-lai at latter's urgent request.³ Chou En-lai was anxious that his message should be communicated to me immediately. This anxiety indicates desire on his part to resume negotiations and to seek Indian support in UN. This is, however, no yielding on basic issue. There is just a possibility of some way out being found consistent with that basic position.

3. I think there is some justification in Chou En-lai's complaint that UN Command abruptly broke off negotiations⁴ on 8 October and refused even to discuss Chinese latest proposals.⁵ According to Chou En-lai, this was meant to put pressure on UN to endorse US stand. North Korean letter of 16 October was attempt to resume negotiations. This was also rejected by US.

4. Both sides agree that no force should be used and each alleges that the other is bent on using force either to retain prisoners or to force back prisoners.

5. Some distinction apparently is made between Chinese and North Korean prisoners. Latest Chinese position was conveyed to Kaul as follows:

North Korea also would never agree on principle of voluntary repatriation. However question of releasing all Korean prisoners of war in demilitarized zone after interview by joint Red Cross and or neutral observer is worth consideration separately. Of course, all foreign prisoners of war including Chinese volunteers must be repatriated.

6. Chou En-lai displayed considerable anxiety that I should get his message immediately. Raghavan suggested my making some public statement emphasizing desirability of resumption of negotiations. Obviously this is not desirable at this stage.

3. See *ante*, p. 407.

4. On 8 October 1952, during the armistice talks, the US side ignored the stand taken by China and North Korea, read out a prepared statement, left the meeting without waiting to hear any reply and broke off the negotiations.

5. China's counter-proposal of 8 October 1952 contained in a letter of Kim Il Sung and Pen Teh-huai to General Mark Clark, Commander-in-Chief, UN Command in Far East, stated that the US side's maintaining the principle of voluntary repatriation in reality meant forcible detention of war prisoners. The letter insisted on the repatriation of all foreign captured personnel including the Chinese volunteers.

7. Impression I got is of desire of US to rush UN into confirming US action generally and more specifically in regard to prisoners' issue. This reminds me of what happened when resolution on China being declared as aggressor was brought before UN.⁶

8. If it is possible some limited compromise might be attempted. At any rate basic consideration to be kept in view is to avoid decision which bars or makes more difficult compromise in future or has effect of stiffening Chinese attitude.

9. US Resolution before General Assembly gives general approval to military action in Korea, as well as armistice negotiations. Former must include all the bombing that has gone on in recent months. It also gives unqualified support to US attitude on repatriation of prisoners of war. If this is accepted then chances of possible agreement fade out. We cannot therefore support all parts of this resolution and if it is put to vote we shall have to abstain, explaining our position.

10. It will be for you to decide what steps you should take in this matter. It might be desirable to contact UK delegate as well as other likely persons and explain to them situation as we see it.

6. When on 20 January 1952, China was, on US initiative, branded as an aggressor by the United Nations, India disapproved of this step, as she thought that it would hamper peaceful negotiations and increase the chances of war.

3. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram No. 345 dated 26 October.² Copies of Raghavan's telegram of 18 October were sent from our Ministry separately to you and to Krishna Menon to facilitate consideration by both of you. There is no mystery about this and I do not understand why there should be any misunderstanding.³ I mentioned this in my telegram sent last night.

I shall be glad if you and Krishna Menon after discussing matter could indicate to me any particular line that is proposed to be adopted in regard to Korea.

1. New Delhi, 27 October 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit informed Nehru that "Casey of Australia came to see me today to ascertain if we had any ideas on Korea. He enquired regarding possibility of diplomatic intervention by India in Peking and asked "how good is your Ambassador there." He also offered cooperation of his Delegation on Tunisia and Morocco but refrained from mentioning South African issue. Though he emphasized his visit as personal, I think he was speaking also for the UK. At the end of the visit he casually expressed the hope that "I would stay with Krishna Menon in Political Committee when he handled Korea. The Commonwealth does not seem very warm towards Krishna."
3. She had enquired from R.K. Nehru whether Raghavan's telegram of 18 October to the Prime Minister was sent separately to Krishna Menon also.

4. Possibility of Agreement on Korea¹

Question: Will you say something on Korea?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is not much to say about Korea. I still hope that it might be possible to come to an agreement in the UN or elsewhere which will facilitate first a truce,² and then subsequently, a wider settlement. You will

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 2 November 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference see pp. 74-76, 172-174, 319-322, 376-377, 471-472, 491-494, 523-526.
2. Negotiations between the UN Command and the Communists for truce in Korea started in July 1951 but remained deadlocked on the question of repatriation of the prisoners of war when the UN maintained that all prisoners of war should have the right to choose for themselves whether or not they desired to be repatriated whilst the Communists demanded that repatriation should be compulsory and not voluntary.

notice that really so far as the truce is concerned, the issues have been very greatly narrowed down. Both parties say that no force is to be used in this connection in regard to prisoners. That is one of the major issues and they both say that, but to some extent they interpret it in different ways and it should be possible that the interpretation might approximate and overlap ultimately. Anyhow, I hope, that something satisfactory will emerge.

Q: Are press reports true that Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit is negotiating behind the scenes?

JN: I don't know what you mean by negotiating. The delegations in UN are constantly conferring with each other. The Asian group confers, perhaps, a little more amongst itself. With other groups too that is constantly happening on every subject coming before the UN. Separate delegations do not come there, without knowing, what others are going to do. They confer and try to find out ways of cooperation in regard to any matter before the UN. That is happening. I don't know what you mean by negotiating.

Q: She had a meeting with Dean Acheson. I am going by the press reports.

JN: I know.

Q: Was there any approach by America or England either at Government or delegation level to solve the Korean problem?

JN: It is not a question of any approach. People have had talks. Nobody approaches anybody else. They talk to find a way out. It is not a formal approach. Obviously it is quite patent that every country concerned with this Korean affair would very much like a settlement. They discuss to explore ways of getting over certain difficulties.

Q: Is it your information that among the Chinese prisoners in USA's hands or in UN hands, there is a very large number of troops belonging to Chiang Kai-shek's army at one time.

JN: Is it your information that among the Chinese prisoners? How am I to know? I believe that is a charge made on the part of the North Koreans. Not exactly that but there are people among the prisoners belonging to, you might say, the Chiang Kai-shek or Syngman Rhee group.³ I have no means of checking who they are and what they are doing there.

3. M. Vyshinsky, speaking before the UN Political Committee on 29 October 1952, said that the agents of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek had committed brutalities in the prisoners camps at the behest of the American Command.

Q: Are the Chinese democratic enough to give full freedom to the prisoners to go back or not?

JN: Where does democracy come in?

Q: Some may like to go back?

JN: I don't want to enter into Chinese affairs. There is such a thing as the Geneva Convention⁴ and conventions are made to be obeyed. It is international convention. Much can be said on either side but as I said just now and I will say it very definitely, no force should be used. If we accept that on either side, most difficulties disappear.

Q: What was the position after the ceasefire in Kashmir? Was any such question put to Pakistan prisoners?

JN: The question did not arise.

Q: Was the question ever put?

JN: No.

Q: Would India be prepared to be a neutral zone if the proposal to evacuate the prisoners to a neutral zone is accepted?

JN: All these proposals have been made from time to time; but there is no point in discussing the different proposals made in the course of the last six months or more. The general attitude we take up in the UN or elsewhere is to help in arriving at a settlement, not to criticize this party or that party, for that does not help at all.

Q: What is your attitude to the Soviet Resolution suggesting a new commission⁵ on this subject?

4. A series of international treaties signed in Geneva between 1864 to 1949 for the purpose of mitigating the effects of war on soldiers and civilians.
5. On 29 October 1952, Vyshinsky proposed before the UN Political Committee the establishment of a special commission for the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue with the participation of the parties directly concerned and of other States including such States as had no part in the Korean war. This Commission should be directed to take urgent measures for the unification of Korea to be carried out by the Koreans themselves under the supervision of the Commission.

JN: You can judge these Resolutions from a strictly isolated point of view, regardless of the context; but the better way to judge is to see if it leads to the result aimed at. A thing may be correct in itself, and yet it may not lead to the result aimed at. What we want is to try and find out some way of reaching the result. It is poor consolation to say that you are right.

Q: So the ceasefire cannot take place before these issues are settled?

JN: How am I to answer? I am not one of the parties to the ceasefire.

Q: One more question, if you please, about Korea. I would like to know your views about the use of Napalm or petroleum jelly, which is next only to the atom bomb, and which does not kill but burns and is thus a weapon of torture?

JN: As far I know from what I have read about it or seen in some pictures, it is a very horrible thing, and my views are against use of any such weapons.

5. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegram 383 dated November 1st² has been forwarded to our Delegation in New York.

We are sending you separately certain proposals for Resolution on Korea which we would like to put forward. This is an attempt to find a middle way keeping in view Chinese views and sentiments. As soon as you receive this we should like you to communicate them to Chou En-lai.

1. New Delhi, 2 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. N. Raghavan, India's Ambassador to People's Republic of China after meeting Chou En-lai on 31 October, conveyed in this cable that three significant new points made by Chou were: (1) the "secret agents" of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee who had allegedly infiltrated among the Chinese and North Korean forces need not be repatriated; (2) the Korean prisoners of war could be visited by the joint Red Cross teams and classified in their present camps; and (3) the Chinese were adamant mainly on recognition of the principle of total repatriation as laid down in Geneva Convention, not so much in its full application—and once the principle was conceded, they seemed to be willing to wait till classification of prisoners is completed, and visits and inspections carried out before repatriation actually took place.

6. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram No. 355 dated October 31 containing suggestions for fresh approach on our behalf regarding Korea.²

I have received telegram³ from Raghavan giving substance of interview with Chou En-lai. This is being repeated to you as it is important and gives general impression that Chinese are anxious to explore all avenues of settlement subject always to their adherence to Geneva Convention. This is hopeful for your proposed approach though we must not be too optimistic.

I am communicating to Raghavan substance of your proposals for him to convey them from him to Chou En-lai. His reply will take some time and probably you cannot wait for it. I suggest therefore that you can proceed along lines suggested by you with such variations as Chou En-lai's latest message and other circumstances may require.

1. New Delhi, 2 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. The cable was also addressed to V.K. Krishna Menon.
2. These suggestions as desired by Menon were communicated to N. Raghavan by Nehru to convey them to Chou En-lai. See *post*, pp. 414-18.
3. See *ante*, p. 413.

7. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegram 383 dated November 1.² We have repeated this to our Delegation³ in New York. Also to our High Commissioner⁴ in London. Please express my appreciation to Chou En-lai for the clarifications he has made and tell him that we have conveyed them to our Delegation.

2. We have received long message from Krishna Menon analysing position on Korea and Resolutions put forward before Committee on behalf of Americans

1. New Delhi, 2 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 413.
3. The Delegation comprised Vijayalakshmi Pandit, V. Krishna Menon, B. Shiva Rao, Ali Yawar Jung and G.S. Pathak.
4. B.G. Kher.

and Russians.⁵ Neither of these Resolutions is likely to lead to any settlement or even to agreement on prisoners of war issue. Therefore we have to examine possible other approaches. The issues have been narrowed down greatly and, in effect, are now questions more of prestige than of real substance. A way out must therefore avoid hurting prestige of either party. Our estimate is that such middle way proposal would gain support of Asian countries and many Commonwealth, non-European and Latin countries. It might not be opposed by Russians or Americans, though of course it is difficult to be positive at this stage.

Hence it is desirable to put forward such middle way proposals on our behalf with agreement of a number of other countries.

3. While no draft Resolution for such proposal has been sent to us, following principles, which should govern draft, have been suggested:

(A) Repatriation of prisoners of war shall be according to Geneva Convention of 1949 and established international principles governing the treatment of prisoners of war.

(B) The result of (A) above is that repatriation takes place in terms of Article 118⁶ of Geneva Convention on which Chinese rely. Prisoners would then be released from military control and, after identification and classification as agreed by Chinese, would be repatriated *de jure*.

(C) The custody of the prisoners by the detaining Power would then cease and, with it, all the issues raised by the Chinese such as objectionable guards, coercion, etc., would cease.

(D) Repatriation according to these proposals takes place under the provision and through the medium of the four neutral Powers (as a body)

5. The joint 21-Power draft Resolution on Korea backed by USA submitted before the First Committee on 24 October 1952 called China and North Korea to agree on an armistice which recognized the rights of the prisoners of war to an unrestricted opportunity to be repatriated and which also avoided the use of force in their repatriation. The USSR draft Resolution on Korea submitted to the Assembly on 29 October advocated establishment of a Commission to take steps for settlement of the Korean question on the basis of unification of Korea by the Koreans under its supervision. Krishna Menon in his message of 31 October had also said that the US Resolution did not offer the basis of an agreement between the UN and the Chinese. Menon said that since the Russian draft also did not offer any compromise but only reiterated the Chinese position he proposed a middle-way proposal, which might get acceptance.
6. Article 118 of the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 relating to the Treatment of Prisoners of War is as follows: "Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities. In the absence of stipulations to the above effect in any agreement concluded between the Parties to the conflict with a view to cessation of hostilities...each of the detaining Powers shall itself establish and execute without delay a plan of repatriation in conformity, with the principle laid down in the foregoing paragraph. In either case, the measures adopted shall be brought to the knowledge of the prisoners of war..."

unless they themselves agree on detailed arrangements such as inspecting teams, Red Crosses, etc. The neutral Powers would become the "Protecting Powers" in terms of the Geneva Convention. (See Articles 13 etc.).⁷

(E) The position then would be that the bulk of the prisoners of war or, if the Chinese assertions are correct, all of them would return. No prisoner can be detained by the detaining Powers, as the position would be that the prisoners are released from military control and are under the supervision and control of the Protecting Powers. If however there are, as asserted by the Allied side, prisoners who do not want to return (even after persuasion and re-education), such prisoners would approach on their own initiative the Committee of Neutrals, the Protecting Powers, who would have to be convinced that the cases are genuine in which case such prisoners would be interned as agreed by them pending the conclusion of peace or until they wish to return, whichever is earlier.

(F) The plan of repatriation with all its details has to be communicated according to Geneva Convention to the prisoners (Article 118); therefore they know that if they really do not wish to return they must convince the neutrals.

(G) The neutral Powers can appoint inspecting teams etc., as proposed by the Chinese under the Convention.

(H) All parties to the conflict undertake that "prisoners will at all times be treated humanely" as enjoined by the Convention both in its basic principles and in its many provisions (particularly Article 13). No party will therefore be able to use force in respect of removing, detaining or otherwise dealing with prisoners. The Committee of Neutrals, the Protecting Powers will be charged with this responsibility.

NOTE. As the Committee of the four neutral Powers may reach a deadlock on interpretations (arising from their political backgrounds) it would help and prove a good solution if the Chinese would agree that all questions of interpretation and dispute in regard to the violation of the Convention shall be settled in terms of Article 132⁸ of the Convention. This Article provides for the appointment of an Umpire. As the Chinese have been insisting on the Geneva Convention, they can be reasonably expected to accept this.

The Conference in Geneva in 1949 also recommended in a Resolution⁹ that in case the parties are unable to settle by other means a dispute relating

7. The text of Article 13 of the Convention is as follows: "Prisoners of war must be humanely treated...must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation and against insults and public curiosity. Measures of reprisal against prisoners of war are prohibited."

8. Article 132 lays down: "At the request of a Party to the conflict an enquiry shall be instituted, in a manner to be decided between the interested Parties. Concerning the procedure for the enquiry, the Parties should agree on the choice of an Umpire who will decide upon the procedure to be followed..."

9. Resolution No. 1 of the Diplomatic Conference in Geneva 1949.

to interpretation or application of the Convention, they should endeavour to agree to submit it to the International Court of Justice. In view of all the above, the Chinese can agree to an Umpire being selected and they can be asked to accept the appointment of an Umpire by agreement between the four neutrals.

4. It will be noticed that above proposals are not repeat not based on screening or asking questions of prisoners by the detaining power. Classification for the purpose of identification and ascertaining domicile which the Chinese have asked for or agreed may however be necessary.

5. Above proposals, it is felt, would meet situation in United Nations and should prove acceptable to Chinese, because they bring issues of the deadlock under umbrella of Geneva Convention and provide what is hoped would be possible and acceptable machinery.

6. Clause about non-user of force is stated as a general principle applicable to both sides and equally to detention and repatriation. It is not therefore a provision which should militate against any Chinese view. (It may cover American scruples in regard to non-voluntary repatriation.) The clause is also totally in accordance and indeed implied by the Convention.

7. All provisions are reciprocal, interpretations rest with neutrals. Access to prisoners is provided for in repatriation of all in the sense of release from Military control and from that of the detaining power, except in such ways as may be directed by the Committee of Neutrals, is provided for. It can also be provided that the Red Cross of both sides shall be on an equal basis.

8. The position of the Protecting Powers is contained in Article 8¹⁰ of the Convention. This Article also refers to the provision of staff and to delegation of functions.

9. I suggest that you may put forward these general proposals on my behalf to the Chinese. It is better not to mention what other countries might support them or might acquiesce in them, though you may say that we hope to get adequate support for these proposals. You may point out that:

- (1) Proposals are based on and are in terms of Geneva Convention.
- (2) That they dispense with screening and such other matters to which the Chinese object.
- (3) Opportunity of re-education is provided.
- (4) Non-user of force clause is different from voluntary repatriation and is a humane provision in terms of the Convention, applicable equally to both parties.

10. Article 8 of the Convention says: "the present Convention shall be applied with cooperation and scrutiny of the Protecting Powers whose duty it is to safeguard the interests of the Parties to the conflict..." ,

- (5) Repatriation takes place in terms of Articles 7 and 118. The prisoners are released and repatriated in toto from the custody of the detaining Powers as provided by Article 118.

10. You will no doubt point out to Chou En-lai our great anxiety to help in settling this matter and to do so keeping in full view Chinese wishes and sentiments. I earnestly hope that this general approach will be agreeable to them. We cannot at this stage give precise terms of possible resolution which will have to be left to our Delegation.

11. As Chinese reply is likely to be delayed it may be necessary to put forward these proposals even before that reply is received in the hope that they will appeal on merits to both parties and gain support of great body of UN opinion. The proposals do not come from the Americans but have been evolved by us.

12. The wider issue of the Korean settlement is not covered by these proposals. Once, however, we get over this vital initial difficulty, it will be easier to proceed with the consideration of the wider issue.

8. To G.S. Bajpai¹

New Delhi

November 2, 1952

My dear Girja,²

...On my return today to Delhi I received two telegrams: One from Raghavan from Peking which was sent after an interview with Chou En-lai.³ This was a definite advance in some ways on the previous position, though the basic difference still continued. The other was from Krishna Menon making certain suggestions for a resolution which we might put forward as representing a middle way. According to Krishna Menon, this would have a great deal of support and might not be opposed either by America or Russia. On the whole, the suggestions seemed feasible. We have sent them on to Peking⁴ and communicated Raghavan's telegram to Vijayalakshmi. I do not know if these papers are being sent to you by our office. They are rather lengthy documents.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Governor of Bombay.

3. See *ante*, p. 413.

4. See *ante*, pp. 414-18.

I agree with you that Vyshinsky's approach was a moderate one. I have an idea that things are moving towards some kind of a settlement of the Korean truce. It seems clear to me that Chou En-lai is anxious that we should do something about it. He has sent for Raghavan twice and had long interviews.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Continuation my last telegram containing certain proposals for resolution on Korea.² Please refer to telegram 209 dated June 15th from Indembassy Peking to me. This gives substance of interview with Chou En-lai when Korean proposals were discussed.³ Our present suggestions closely follow to large extent what Chou En-lai then suggested. In particular, I would draw your attention to sub-paras (10) and (2) of main para 2⁴ and sub-para (b) of main para 4.⁵ Indeed, present proposals indicate further concessions to Chinese position.

This is for your information and for such use as you may put it to in course of conversation with Chinese authorities. There is no question of our trying to hold Chou En-lai down to what he said previously, but this does indicate that their point of view is being met.

1. New Delhi, 3 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 414-18.
3. The discussions took place between K.M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador to Beijing and Chou En-lai on 15 June 1952.
4. "(1) The UN Command accept in principle that all prisoners on the conclusion of the Armistice will go back to their homes, and (2) those prisoners who show a disinclination to be repatriated may be brought to Panmunjom but not under Military escort and may be interviewed there by a Committee of 8 personnel from the four neutral States agreed upon and the Red Cross of both sides. The Chinese and Korean Governments will be prepared to abide by the view expressed at the interview."
5. "(b) that he (Chou En-lai) was willing to discuss our proposals if the Americans agree that *prima facie* all prisoners must be assumed to desire repatriation and only those who express their unwillingness after being free from military control, influence of Kuomintang and Syngman Rhee agents should be interviewed by an independent body."

10. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Please keep me informed of progress made regarding Korean proposals. Kher met Eden before latter's departure for United States.² Eden was anxious to know what we were doing about Korea. He said that he would be speaking to General Assembly on Tuesday and hoped to have something helpful to say on Korea.³ He suggested if India had any draft proposals, that might not be tabled until he arrived New York and had opportunity of consultations with our Delegation there. I am passing this on to you. You will act as you think proper.

Raghavan telegraphs that he has received no reply from Chinese Government to our last message conveying substance of your proposals on Korea. He met Chou En-lai casually two or three times at social functions, but no mention of this was made. Chinese silence on this need not necessarily be taken to mean their rejection. They can hardly commit themselves to our proposal. Publicly they support Soviet resolution. Probably they will be guided by Soviet reactions in United Nations.

1. New Delhi, 8 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. B.G. Kher, the Indian High Commissioner in Britain met Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, on 7 November 1952.
3. Rejecting the Russian proposals for a new Korean Commission as an immediate solution of the armistice deadlock, Eden, on 11 November 1952, laid down in the UN that (1) all prisoners had the right to be released under an armistice; (2) prisoners had the right of speedy repatriation; (3) repatriation facilities should be provided by the detaining side; and (4) force should not be used in the disposal of prisoners.

11. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your long telegram No. 375 dated 9 November.² I have conveyed some parts

1. New Delhi, 11 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. Menon in his cable conveyed reactions of the US, USSR and the Canadian Delegations in the UN to the Indian proposals for solution of the Korean problem. He wanted to know the Chinese reaction to the proposals and whether he should put forward the proposals in the form of a Resolution even if there was no clear agreement among the parties beforehand.

of it to Raghavan.³ We have received no response from Peking yet. On the whole this is perhaps a good sign. We are informing Raghavan that we have nothing to do with Indonesian Resolution.⁴

It is for you to judge timing and procedure regarding your Resolution. I agree with you that it is desirable to put this forward as a proposed solution even if there is no clear agreement beforehand....

3. See *ante*, pp. 414-18.

4. The Resolution had proposed formation of a committee to look into the question. China, however, suspected that the Resolution toed the Anglo-US line of thinking on the subject of repatriation. To allay the Chinese suspicion, Menon suggested that Raghavan should inform the Chinese that India was not a party to the Resolution.

12. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

We have been anxiously waiting for Chinese reactions to proposals made by us for Korean settlement. We do not wish you to appear insistent in demanding reply. I can appreciate that Chinese Government does not wish to commit itself to any specific proposal at this stage. Not replying to us and not objecting to our proposal itself gives some hope.

Krishna Menon telegraphs² that American Presidential election has created some difficulties though there is no great change and on the whole Indian approach is being appreciated. UK and others trying to obtain US agreement. Apparently US not happy about proposed committee of four neutrals among whom Poland and Czechoslovakia are likely to figure. Much therefore turns on the Umpire issue. Agreement about Umpire must necessarily precede ceasefire.

Our Delegation has not yet placed any formal resolution on Agenda because it was considered better to have personal discussions first. But it may become necessary soon to propose formal Resolution. This would have been much easier if we knew Chinese reactions. If the Resolution has to be given to UK or US it will previously be transmitted to you for conveying it to Chinese Government.

1. New Delhi, 11 November 1952. JN Collection.

2. On 9 November 1952.

It would also be given to Russians. I leave it to your discretion to approach Chinese again about this matter. We should have liked to have their general reaction on our tentative proposals and more especially whether they would resist any part of it. What is most important however is whether they would play on the Umpire issue by indicating to their two friends Poles and Czechs that a reasonable solution for appointing an Umpire, a country or individual, must be found in the interests of the Armistice.

All kinds of Resolutions are being put forward on Korea in United Nations. They have little importance. I understand that Indonesian Resolution³ has been telegraphed to Indonesian Charge d'Affaires in Peking for communication to the Chinese Government. Our Delegation has nothing to do with this Resolution and indeed only saw it in the Press. We wish to avoid any suspicion by Chinese Government that we are playing some kind of double game.

3. See *ante*, p. 421.

13. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
November 12, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I had your telegram² two or three days ago. I have not written to you because we were exchanging telegrams and I have continued to tour³ about a good deal. I find that this touring is very necessary. Of course this adds to my work tremendously and I cannot keep pace with it.

About Korea, there is no further news from Peking. I have again sent a telegram⁴ to Raghavan, but there is no reply. All we can say is that no reply means that there is no strong objection to the steps we might take. It is understandable that the Chinese Government does not wish to commit itself. If the Soviet Delegation agrees to anything that you put forward, that should mean Chinese agreement also.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. See *ante*, pp. 420-21.

3. From 19 October to 25 October, Nehru toured the North-Eastern Frontier Areas and between 30 October and 2 November 1952, he visited Sagar, Nagpur, Wardha and Sewagram.

4. See the previous item.

You and Vijayalakshmi will have to judge about the timing of any such step and what it should be. We have given you enough indications of how our mind works.

Your telegram containing points for a Resolution on Korea has been kept completely secret here and has not been communicated to anyone. The substance of it was sent to Raghavan.

I have just received your letter of November 4th sending me the verbatim texts of Acheson's and Vyshinsky's speeches.⁵ They are useful.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

5. Speaking on 24 October, on the 21-power draft Resolution in the Political Committee, Dean Acheson gave a general survey of the past events in Korea and held USSR responsible for the Korean War. Vyshinsky, speaking on 29 October on the Soviet draft resolution also gave an account of past events in Korea and while discussing the question of responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities criticized Acheson's speech and denied the allegations made against the USSR.

14. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Raghavan telegraphs² to us that in course of interview with Asian Director Kaul³ referred incidentally to Korea and our suggestions. Chen Chia-kang⁴ said:

We understand very well attitude of Government of India. We have seen many reports from News Agencies that many proposals are being raised in United Nations but nevertheless there is one central question which has not been settled and which is the main obstruction to reaching a settlement i.e. the American insistence on so-called "no forced repatriation" which really means "forced detention". Chen added that Chinese Government were right now studying the proposals of the Government of India and said "There has been a continuous exchange of views between Governments of India and China on the question of

1. New Delhi, 13 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. On 12 November.
3. Triloki Nath Kaul.
4. Chinese diplomat; Head of the Asian Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1952-56; Ambassador to the UAR, 1956-66; Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1966.

Korean Peace Negotiations and I am sure that hereafter also there will be exchanges of views between our two Governments on this question.

Raghavan expects to be called by Chou En-lai soon.

Kaul made it clear that we had nothing to do with Indonesian⁵ and other moves.

5. The Indonesian proposals were handed over to Chang Han-fu on 12 November by her Charge' d' Affaires in Beijing.

15. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

...Please convey this Resolution² immediately on receipt to Chou En-lai as coming from me. Tell him that this represents our most earnest effort to bring hostilities to end and also as the first essential step to Far East settlement. It is our belief that we have shown full understanding of essentials of the Chinese point of view in our endeavours and to bring about the Political Conference for settlement of the Korean question. I earnestly hope that this Resolution will meet with his general approval.

1. New Delhi, 16 November 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The draft Resolution, forwarded by V.K. Krishna Menon on 16 November, among other things, proposed the release and repatriation of all prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1949, the well established principles of international law, and the relevant provisions of the draft Armistice Agreement. It also proposed that the prisoners should neither be prevented nor forced to return to their homelands, and a repatriation commission consisting of the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland should supervise the arrangements; and that a political conference be convened within ninety days to settle by negotiations withdrawal of foreign troops and a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The proposals were to be communicated by the President of the Assembly to the Governments of China and North Korea inviting their acceptance.

16. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Korea. Raghavan enquires meaning of words “depending upon them” in para 5² of Draft Resolution as sent by you to me. Should “depending” read as impressing?

Raghavan has not met Chou En-lai yet but his general impression is that our Korean proposals were not being viewed with dissatisfaction. Chang Han-fu said to him:³

We did not want to commit ourselves before knowing attitude of new American President. We are waiting for his policy statement. Americans want Europeans fight Europeans and Asians fight Asians. Mrs. Pandit's bold and brilliant stand at United Nations greatly appreciated by us.

My own information here in regard to likely American approach to Korean problem now is rather disturbing.

1. New Delhi, 18 November 1952. File No. 12/62/NGO-52, MEA.
2. Para five of the draft Resolution stated that each party to the conflict, in accordance with arrangements prescribed by the Repatriation Commission, would be free “to explain to the prisoners of war depending upon them their rights” and also inform them on any matters relating to their return to their homelands. Krishna Menon on 18 November informed that “Depending upon them” was a technical phrase taken from the Geneva convention referring to the relationship between prisoners and his state of origin.
3. During a private dinner hosted by Raghavan on 16 November in Beijing for Chang Han-fu, Vice-Foreign Minister and Chen Chia-kang, the head of the Asian Department of the Foreign Ministry.

17. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

...Our information about American approach to Korean problem, apart from our Resolution, is rather disturbing. Certain groups opposed to resumption of armistice talks are gaining influence in USA. You need not mention this to Chinese authorities. But in view of this trend of American opinion it seems all the more desirable that China should adopt clear attitude in favour of armistice and settlement. This would anyhow strengthen Chinese position. You may generally mention this aspect.

1. New Delhi, 18 November 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.

18. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Korea Resolution has been introduced in Political Committee of UN² by Krishna Menon on behalf of India Delegation. Apart from US,³ there has been generally favourable reaction.⁴ Even in America, many important press comments are favourable.⁵ Leading members of UN have expressed their surprise at US Government's hasty rejection of Resolution. Indeed, owing to pressure of other countries⁶ and of public opinion, US Government spokesman had to tone down his previous comment and to say that there were some good aspects of the Resolution.⁷ It appears that considerable pressure is being exercised on US not to be obstructive.

1. New Delhi, 20 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. India's Resolution on Korea was handed over to UN on 17 November and Krishna Menon introduced the same in the Political Committee on 19 November.
3. An American spokesman at a press conference on 17 November said that though the Indian Resolution accepted the principle of non-forcible repatriation, the USA could not accept any machinery which would deliver prisoners possibly by force into the "indefinite custody" of some repatriation machinery. He added that any armistice agreement must decide the issue of prisoners of war once for all and not defer it to any subsequent political conference as proposed in the Indian plan.
4. On 19 November, Sir Percy Spender, the leader of the Australian Delegation said that the Indian plan might prove to be one which the Political Committee should consider first in supersession of all other draft resolutions before it. A British spokesman in UN said that Indian plan contained important proposal and should be examined with great care. French reaction to the Indian plan was described by its spokesman as "basically favourable to the spirit of the Resolution".
5. While *The New York Times* of 19 November commented that Indian proposals "represent considerable progress" and were entitled "to a careful study...", *The New York Herald Tribune* stated: "The vigour with which US spokesman in the UN moved to oppose the Indian Resolution even before it had been formally presented or explained seems to suggest a certain want of tact." *The New York Post* commented: "The proposal should not be lightly written off."
6. On 19 November, the 21 nations with troops in Korea, supporting US stand on the prisoners of war issue, told her that they felt the Indian plan must be given fair trial.
7. The American spokesman who had on 17 November criticized the Indian Resolution said on the next day that there were some "good aspects" of the Resolution.

2. Difficulty in America at present is due to expected changes in administration after Eisenhower's election.⁸ Present Government not prepared to commit itself and Eisenhower has been silent thus far.⁹

3. General appraisal is that, if Peking Government expressed its approval of India's proposal, this would probably make it very difficult for US to reject it and acceptance by UN General Assembly would become very probable.

4. I realize that Chinese Government would prefer not to commit itself at this stage. But, on the other hand, it would be unfortunate if this attitude was utilized by opponents of Resolution in UN. Even without final commitment, if Chinese Government could give some indication of their approval, it would help.

5. You might convey substance of this message to Chinese Government.

8. In the Presidential elections in USA which were concluded on 4 November, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican candidate, defeated his Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson.
9. Anthony Eden, in a cable to Nehru from New York, in the last week of November informed that Eisenhower during a private meeting asked him, "if I had the opportunity, to say how glad he was that the Government of India had found a general initiative of this kind possible and how much he hoped that it would lead to growing friendship between India and USA."

19. The Situation in Korea¹

May I intervene, Sir, to say a few words about a matter which is not on the agenda of Parliament, but which, nevertheless, is exercising the minds of all of us here as well as in the country and indeed in a great part of the world. At this moment momentous issues affecting the peace of the world are being debated in the United Nations. In furtherance of India's policy to serve the cause of peace our Delegation in the United Nations has put forward, with our full concurrence, a Resolution relating to the Korean situation. In this Resolution we have endeavoured to the utmost of our ability to suggest an honourable

1. Statement in Parliament, 21 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People)*, *Official Report*, 1952, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 991-93.

way out of the difficulties that have thus far come in the way of a settlement. This Resolution does not settle everything. It is a step, we hope, in the right direction which, if accepted in the spirit in which we have put it forward, might well lead to a lightening of the tremendous burden that is oppressing humanity. We have offered this Resolution in all humility of spirit, and I am happy that the distinguished representatives of the nations assembled in New York are viewing it with favour.

A moment comes in the life of a nation, and sometimes of the world, when the future hangs on a decision that might be taken. That moment is here and on the United Nations has been cast the great responsibility at this critical juncture of seizing this moment with courage and determination and thus justifying the great purpose for which it was started. The noble words of the Charter of the United Nations ring in our ears and we remember the great hopes that those words raised in the minds of the peoples of the world. Since then some adverse fate has pursued us and baffled our best endeavours and instead of achieving the peace that was sought, the world struggles with the shadow of war. Fear and hatred and violence raise their ugly heads and tortured humanity looks helplessly on these tragic developments. The lights have grown dim.

Yet the light is there which can disperse the shadows that threaten to overwhelm us and it is given to the United Nations today to light up that bright flame afresh and bring back to people's minds the great purpose for which it was founded. At this crisis I would earnestly appeal to the nations represented at the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as those nations who are not present there but who are so intimately concerned with this matter, to justify the hopes that the peoples of the world place on them, and by a joint effort, to exorcise the spirit of war and raise up the banner of peace in the world. Thus will the United Nations prove true to its ideals and to its purpose; thus will the present generation justify itself.

I am sure that in this matter I speak with the full concurrence of every Member of this House to whatever group or party he or she might belong and indeed with the full and ardent approval of the millions of our people.

On our Delegation in the United Nations is cast a heavy responsibility. I should like this House to send them a message of encouragement and goodwill which would strengthen them in the difficult task they have undertaken.

I speak these words not only with anxious hope but with a prayer in my heart that we of this generation might prove worthy of our inheritance, of the passionate hopes and aspirations of innumerable people who hunger for peace and of the future that we claim to build.

20. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegram 404,² dated 24th November, just received....

I regret this greatly, but there is nothing more that we can do at present. Chinese rejection of our Resolution is undoubtedly playing into American hands in the United Nations. I hope that, as stated, publicity will not be given to it.

1. New Delhi, 25 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Extracts. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Raghavan in his cable stated that China had rejected the Indian Resolution on Korea and the Chinese Foreign Ministry had given him an *aide memoire* on 24 November. Among other things, the *aide memoire* declared that the Indian Resolution in actuality gave recognition to the United States Government's so-called principle of "voluntary repatriation" and negated its affirmation to repatriate in accordance with the Geneva Convention, international practice and provisions of the draft armistice agreement because the Resolution stated that force should not be used against prisoners of war to prevent or effect their return to their homelands and recommended handing over the prisoners to a Repatriation Commission consisting of neutral countries to whom they could convey their options.

21. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
November 25, 1952

Nan dear,

This afternoon I received your handwritten letter of the 18th November. Immediately after I got the telegram from Peking conveying to me the *aide memoire* of the Chinese Government rejecting our Korean Resolution.² A little later came the news that Russia had definitely rejected it at the UN.³

I have sent you the Chinese *aide memoire*.⁴ I do not quite know what more to say about it. It is obvious that our attempt at finding a solution has failed. Looking back at the various steps taken, it seems now that almost any attempt was foredoomed to failure. The world is determined to commit suicide. There is really no common ground between the American position and the

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. See the previous item.
3. See *post*, p. 432.
4. On 25 November.

Chinese. The other countries hardly count. Krishna Menon thought that by the exercise of ingenuity he could get round the basic difficulties. His Resolution was undoubtedly ingenious. Inevitably, in the circumstances, it inclined more towards what might be considered the UK point of view. His dealings were principally with the UK people. I do not know how far he dealt with Vyshinsky or the Russians. He met them no doubt once or twice. Any way, the Resolution is dead and it does not very much matter how many people vote for it and how many against. It is not quite clear to me what step you are going to take about it now. I am rather sorry that the burden of rejection has fallen on the Chinese and thus the Americans have not got to assume that responsibility.

I have received today also your report of your conversation with John Foster Dulles.⁵ This is very interesting. He was obviously trying to woo you and, through you, India. He was obviously afraid of an armistice suddenly descending upon them in Korea, because then he would have to face the whole political question of the Far East. In other words, he was afraid of the peace.

The rapidity with which the UN is disintegrating is astonishing. I am rather doubtful if it will survive, in its present shape, even another year or two. Even the Unesco is in difficulties. For the moment, I do not know what we can do about it except to remain quiet. If you have any suggestions, you will of course let me know.

I knew that Krishna had been difficult, but your account⁶ has distressed me. What can one do with him? I suppose, now that his Resolution is more or less over, he will sulk even more and blame others for it. I am very sorry that you have had to face all this trouble.

I should myself like you to return here during the Christmas recess, if there is going to be a recess. The only thing that makes me hesitate to make up my mind is a feeling of uncertainty about the UN. As we have taken up a number of major questions, we shall see them through. Probably, these questions will be over by the time the UN breaks up for Christmas. If so, of course, there is no difficulty in your and the others coming back. It may be that the Christmas recess is a longish one. Even so, you should come back. In all

5. Dulles, the US Secretary of State designate, invited Vijayalakshmi Pandit to lunch on 14 November. The main purpose of the meeting was to ascertain India's reaction to the American election and explore possible areas of agreement with India. Dulles hinted that a meeting between her and Eisenhower might be profitable. The talk also touched on Korea, settlement of the Far Eastern issue and the Indo-American understanding.
6. In her cables to Nehru on 4, 5 and 25 November, Vijayalakshmi reported that Krishna Menon kept the sole charge of the Korean issue to himself because he would not take anyone into confidence. Right from the beginning he had adopted an attitude of extreme secrecy about the Korean question making her position awkward. Each time she had suggested his talking to members of Delegation he had said that there was nothing to report.

probability you will thus come back, but I should like to be more sure about the future before we finalize this.

Very probably Krishna will want to go back. Shiva Rao⁷ has already written to me saying that he wants to return fairly soon. Apa Pant⁸ is returning early in December. Ali Yawar⁹ ought to be going back to his Embassy. If there is nothing important left for the General Assembly, we could just leave a skeleton delegation.

One thing that we must deal with is the Kashmir issue and I should like you to be in charge of this. If this does not come up soon enough, then we might be put in some difficulty regarding your programme.

I have little doubt that efforts are being made by the USA and the UK to rope in Pakistan into their Western military orbit.¹⁰ Very probably, the present Pakistan leaders are agreeable to this, but I rather doubt if they can deliver the goods. They will get into trouble if it is publicly known that the USA or the UK are having military bases, etc., in Pakistan. Meanwhile, troubles in the Middle East not only continue, but grow in volume and Iraq is now in turmoil.¹¹ It is astonishing how British and American policy are collapsing in these countries. The British ought to have known better. The Americans can apparently only think in military terms now and forget that human beings have to be handled differently....

With love from
Jawahar

7. B. Shiva Rao, member of India's delegation to the UN General Assembly.
8. Apa B. Pant, alternate delegate to the delegation and Commissioner for Government of India in British East Africa.
9. Ali Yawar Jung, member of the delegation and India's Ambassador to Argentina.
10. See *ante*, p. 362.
11. All Opposition Parties (except Constitutional Unionists) of Iraq called for boycott of general elections as a reaction to the Royal Proclamation of 27 October calling for fresh elections. The Opposition Parties demanded: (1) amendment of Constitution to give more powers to the Parliament; (2) agrarian reforms; (3) abrogation of the Anglo-Iraqi Friendship Treaty of 1928; and (4) withdrawal from the Middle East Command as envisaged by the Western Powers. On 22 November, the non-Party Cabinet headed by Mustafa el-Umari resigned and on the following day the Chief of General Staff, General Nureddin Muhammed, taking over as Prime Minister, proclaimed martial law, ordered dissolution of all political parties and arrest of all Opposition leaders.

22. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

I have just received telegram² from Raghavan. He met Chang Han-fu who gave him *aide memoire* on behalf of his Government rejecting our Korean Resolution. This *aide memoire* being telegraphed to you separately.

Raghavan discussed matter with Chang Han-fu for some time, but Chang Han-fu repeated old arguments.

On enquiry whether *aide memoire* would be given publicity by China, Chang Han-fu replied in negative.

1. New Delhi, 25 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, and 12/64/NGO-52. MEA.
2. See *ante*, p. 429.

23. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Now that the Soviet Union has categorically rejected² our Korean Resolution I think it will be desirable for us not to mention Chinese decision or *aide-memoire* on this subject. This should be kept secret insofar as we are concerned.

I should like to know what your Delegation proposes to do now in regard to our Resolution.

1. New Delhi, 25 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Vyshinsky, the Soviet Foreign Minister, rejected on 24 November the Indian Resolution in the Political Committee claiming that it did not offer a "satisfactory solution".

24. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 413, dated 25th November.² Korean Resolution. I have already sent you telegram today³ on this subject and shall await your further reactions about future steps.

I am troubled by development that has taken place and by tone and content of Vyshinsky's speech.⁴ I have little doubt that Chinese Government was originally not unfavourable to our Resolution. Something, therefore, happened to make them reject it completely. This presumably was advice of Soviet Government as well as trend of discussions in UN. I have a feeling that we paid great deal of attention to UK and some other countries and not enough attention to USSR. Unfortunately, we could not even keep our Ambassador in Moscow⁵ fully informed of latest development.

Present position is that for first time we are being driven into supporting one group as against other. Our role as peace-makers is likely to be affected thereby.

I hope all members of our Delegation are being kept in touch with developments. If you think that, considering everything, we should proceed with our Resolution, we should do so. But I should like tactful and friendly approach to Chinese and Russians to continue.

1. New Delhi, 26 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. This cable was addressed to V.K. Krishna Menon also.
2. Krishna Menon in his telegram assured to keep the Chinese *aide memoire* rejecting Indian Resolution secret and commented that this development made "acceptance by the General Assembly of reasonable proposals even more vital if only to prevent decisions which would worsen position."
3. See next item.
4. On 24 November, Vyshinsky, the Soviet Foreign Minister called the principle of non-forcible repatriation of prisoners as "artificially fabricated" and in contravention of the Geneva Convention of 1949. He also alleged that the Indian proposal was a cover to hide the fact of "forcible detention" and was "not designed to end the Korean war but to perpetuate it."
5. K.P.S. Menon.

25. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Chester Bowles² has just seen me and conveyed special message from Acheson³ suggesting amplification of paragraph seventeen⁴ of our Resolution. Suggested change chiefly refers to last two or three lines and, in particular, to replace words 'care and maintenance' by 'care and disposition' and period of sixty days to be reduced to thirty days. I told him that I was not greatly interested in verbal changes. I was interested in some agreed settlement. If there is going to be no settlement as a result of this Resolution, then there appears to be little point in passing any Resolution. For my part, I was prepared to accept any wording provided it had the desired result. In any event, we could not consider changes here. This was for our Delegation to consider and they could discuss it with the US and other Delegations.

It is clear that, if we accept proposed change, this will mean an additional argument for Soviet and Chinese to repeat that we are putting forward American viewpoint under somewhat different garb. Thus, any variation of Resolution in this respect is undesirable.

But, I am concerned much more with the bigger question as to whether we should proceed with this Resolution or not in view of rejection by Chinese Government. I am inclined to think that we should not proceed with it as this will certainly not lead to any armistice at Panmunjom.

I should like to have views of your Delegation as to what your recommendation is about this matter and how you would like to proceed. You will, no doubt, keep in touch with other Delegations and, more particularly, the Arab-Asian group. I do not want you to discuss details with them, but it is desirable to make them feel that we consult them so as far as possible, to have their goodwill in any step that we might take.

Please keep Chinese *aide memoire* and rejection secret.

1. New Delhi, 26 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA.
2. US Ambassador to India.
3. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, USA.
4. On 26 November, the representative of India submitted a second revision amending the final sentence of the paragraph seventeen to read as: If at the end of a further sixty days there are any prisoners of war whose return to their homelands has not been provided for by the political conference the responsibility for their care and maintenance and for their subsequent disposition shall be transferred to the United Nations, which in all matters relating to them shall act strictly in accordance with international law.

26. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

...Vyshinsky's speech at the UN has made it fairly clear that the Chinese Government also reject our proposal. We are now considering what further step we should take in this matter and whether it is desirable to proceed with this Resolution. We are waiting for our Delegation's views.

You would have noticed that our Resolution brought about publicly a clear divergence of views² between UK and USA. This fact might be brought to the notice of the Chinese Government at a suitable opportunity.

We have deeply regretted the tone and partly the substance of Vyshinsky's speech as this imputes motives to us. If our good faith in trying for a peaceful settlement is not appreciated, then, of course, it becomes difficult for us to take any step.

1. New Delhi, 26 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Minister said on 22 November that his country "backed the Indian plan which did not depart from the principle of voluntary repatriation but the USA thinks it does." A spokesman of the US Delegation to the UN on the same day said that Indian Resolution was unacceptable to US as it contained important deficiencies and Britain was "much more closely tied to the Indian Resolution as it is drafted and feels that only slight, if any, changes are needed."

27. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram No. 415 November 26² just received. I shall send brief message

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1952. This cable was addressed to V.K. Krishna Menon also. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA.
2. Krishna Menon in his telegram wanted Nehru to send to Chou En-lai an *aide memoire* being drafted by him in reply to China's *aide memoire*. Meanwhile, he wanted China to be immediately requested to examine again Indian Resolution and await clarifications before concluding that India was acting contrary to the principles that she had hitherto expressed. She should also be told that "we are not departing from any principle or positions we have hitherto understood." Krishna Menon added that the *People's Daily* of 24 November quoting Tass report from its New York to the effect that the Indian Resolution was the US proposals in a different garb, was therefore a distortion which had probably been believed by China.

immediately to Raghavan and shall await your further suggestions for *aide-memoire* to be sent to China.

In view of Vyshinsky's statement³ that China has rejected our Resolution you will have to admit this but you may well say we hope Chinese Government will give further consideration to this matter. You might add that we have kept Chinese Government informed about our Resolution right from the beginning because we considered it important to have their approval. It was therefore a disappointment to us that at last moment they should have expressed their disapproval of Resolution but we still hope they will consider this matter again with our fuller clarifications and appreciate that we have not departed from any principle or position that we have hitherto held and have endeavoured to achieve an armistice in Korea on equal and reasonable basis.

3. On 26 November, Vyshinsky, the Soviet Foreign Minister, told the General Assembly's Political Committee that China had turned down the Indian plan.

28. Chinese Reaction to Indian Proposal¹

On the whole, I agree that we should continue with our Resolution and we have suggested this to our Delegation.

While I agree with much that you say,² I do not wholly agree about two matters. The rejection by the Chinese Government of our proposal did not come as a surprise to me. Secondly, I do not think it is correct to say that the Chinese Government told our Ambassador that they would keep their rejection secret. What they said was, in answer to our Ambassador, that they would give no publicity. They have not given publicity on their side. Obviously, the rejection would have come out some time or other. Obviously also, they must have informed Russia.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 27 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. B.F.H.B. Tyabji, the Commonwealth Secretary, in his note of 27 November, referring to Vyshinsky's declaration in the Political Committee on 26 November about Chinese rejection of Indian plan, commented that the Chinese rejection was unexpected and the USSR had destroyed chances of Korean settlement on lines proposed by India, carrying China along with them willy nilly. This Tyabji considered was clear from the fact that the Chinese Government had told Indian Ambassador in Beijing that they would keep their rejection secret, but then Vyshinsky declared the above in the UN. Tyabji wanted India to continue with her Resolution in the UN.

29. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹

As Vyshinsky has announced that China has rejected our Korean Resolution, we are admitting this but stating that we hope still that Chinese Government will reconsider their decision. We are sending them an *aide memoire*² amplifying our Resolution. It is very unlikely that they will change their opinion. But we want them to feel that we do not ignore them and wish to do our utmost to meet their views. Indeed, our Resolution was drawn up keeping in view their opinions expressed to us on various occasions during past few months. Also, we kept them in touch throughout and sent them first certain principles³ and then later the draft Resolution⁴ itself. They did not commit themselves, but they definitely gave us the impression that they were not opposed to it. I am inclined to think that their final decision was largely due to Soviet advice or pressure plus some rather distorted reports carried by Tass Agency about proceedings in UN.

2. We realize that no settlement is possible if one major party rejects proposal. Nevertheless, we feel that it would be more harmful for us to withdraw this Resolution now. It would be replaced by something much worse.⁵

3. One new development caused by our Resolution was clear and open difference of opinion between UK and USA. As you know, USA had completely rejected Resolution right at the beginning and UK generally accepted it. Later, pressure from large number of countries compelled USA to revise their opinion. They asked for some changes. We are not prepared to make any major change and it is, therefore, doubtful if USA will finally support Resolution. Otherwise, there appears to be no opposition excepting for Soviet group.

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Also available in JN Collection. K.P.S. Menon was India's Ambassador to Moscow at this time.
2. See *post*, p. 442.
3. See *ante*, pp. 414-18.
4. See *ante*, p. 424.
5. Under the terms of 21-Power draft Resolution moved by UK and USA which came before the Political Committee on 24 October 1952, the Governments of People's China and North Korea were asked "to avert further bloodshed by having their negotiators agree to an armistice which recognized the right of all prisoners of war to an unrestricted opportunity to be repatriated and which avoided the use of force in their repatriation."

4. Recently, there has been marked change coming over American opinion about Korea and responsible newspapers even talk of recognizing⁶ China. This is partly due to pressure of growing opinion in other countries canalized by Indian Resolution. Also to weak American military position in Korea.

5. In spite of Vyshinsky's fierce and very ungenerous attack on India,⁷ we do not propose to reply in that vein. Our approach will continue to be friendly.

6. The *Washington Post* on 25 November described US intransigence on the Indian proposal for repatriation of the prisoners of war as a "lost opportunity to put America on the side of a solution by other than sheer military means." The same issue of the *Post* carried a long letter stating that "if by recognizing Red China or allowing her into the UN we succeed in breaking the present stalemate we shall have paid a small price."

7. See *ante*, p. 433.

30. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

In view of Vyshinsky's statement in New York that China has rejected our Resolution, we shall have to admit this fact. But we do not propose to give publicity to Chinese *aide memoire*, and I hope that Chinese Government will also not take this step. Indeed, we propose to say that, while it is true that Chinese Government had indicated their disapproval of our Resolution, we still hoped that, on reconsideration and fuller examination after our clarification, they might change their opinion.

We are anxious that Chinese Government should not think that we are pushing through our Resolution without regard to their protest. The position is that, if we do not persevere with our Resolution, a much worse Resolution is likely to be passed which is likely to aggravate crisis. Our Delegation is having a hard time. They are trying to obtain improvement of clause 17² to confirm terms (in the Resolution itself) that anything done thereof shall be done only in accordance with international law....

We hope to send you soon an *aide memoire* in reply to Chinese *aide memoire*. In this, we hope to clarify our Resolution.

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Extracts. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 434.

I might inform you that Tass reports³ referred to in your telegram are distortions and do not represent the facts. Probably, Chinese have accepted these reports.

Meanwhile, I should like you to inform Chinese Government immediately that we have received their *aide memoire* with great regret. Right from the beginning we have endeavoured to take every step after some reference to them, because we are convinced that any settlement must necessarily have their consent. We should like to assure them that we are not departing from any principle or position we have hitherto understood and held and that we are not accepting in Resolution the principle of "voluntary repatriation". On the other hand, we are insisting and fighting against great odds "to achieve an armistice in Korea on an equal and reasonable basis." We hope to send them soon a further clarification of our Resolution to which we would invite their consideration. We hope that this further consideration will lead them to appreciate our earnest desire and our bonafides to act up to the principles that we have all along expressed to them. It would be a matter of the deepest regret to us that the Chinese Government should think that we are acting contrary to those principles or in any way against their wishes. We trust, therefore, that they will await our further clarification.

3. Raghavan in his telegram to Nehru on 24 November referred to a Tass report from New York quoted by the *People's Daily* of 24 November. The message said that the Indian proposals "Bereft of verbiage its substance amounts to nothing but nonsensical principles of forcible screening and retention of prisoners" was opposed to Geneva Convention. It also stated that the proposed Repatriation Commission was "nothing more than an executive authority over a concentration camp...."

31. Germ Warfare in Korea¹

...Government has not received any kind of formal communication from any of these bodies.² We have read brief reports in the newspapers. But the real difficulty is that all these organizations are, if I may say so with all respect to

1. Statement in Parliament, 27 November 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. II, cols. 404-406. Extracts.
2. Sundarayya, a CPI member, wanted to know why the Government did not take any action on the report of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in regard to germ warfare in Korea.

the Members in them, rather one-sided and therefore it is a little difficult to settle such an intricate problem by one-sided enquiry....

No. The Ambulance Unit consists neither of lawyers nor scientists....³

I am not aware of the honourable Member's scientific training, but it is an exceedingly difficult thing for the highest scientist in the world to come to a final conclusion about this matter after a lapse of some period. They can do if they are there but after a month or two it becomes almost impossible. It is circumstantial and it is a highly intricate matter. I submit, it shows that the honourable Member had not quite realized what such an enquiry means....⁴

No, Sir. This is a foreign country and the Government of India does not function in territories outside India....⁵

No, Sir. We made no such offer.⁶ We did make a suggestion that some kind of an impartial enquiry, that is to say, an enquiry accepted by the parties concerned, would be desirable to put an end to this trouble....

As⁷ far as I can remember, each participant thought that its own enquiry was the most impartial one that could be held....

3. He asked whether Nehru could get a report on the germ warfare from the International Mission.
4. Sundarayya asked whether by examining the injuries sustained by the victims, the doctors of the Ambulance Mission would be able to tell if any germs were used in the warfare.
5. He wanted to know whether there was any proposal by the Government to ascertain facts by sending Indian scientists to investigate.
6. C.G.K. Reddy wanted to know whether the Government of India had offered to send a mission to enquire into the allegations of germ warfare.
7. Reddy asked about enquiries from the participants in the Korean war.

32. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegrams 418 and 419 dated 27th November.² We have given careful consideration to this matter and we agree with you that our Korean Resolution should be proceeded with as its withdrawal would have unfortunate consequences.

1. New Delhi, 28 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Cable addressed to V.K. Krishna Menon also.
2. Krishna Menon in these cables had, among other matters, written that the members of the Delegation, after a long meeting, unanimously decided that the Indian Resolution should not be withdrawn, but should be proceeded with, as its withdrawal would have disastrous consequences.

33. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Our Delegation to United Nations, having given careful consideration, have strongly recommended that we must proceed with our Korean Resolution, as any withdrawal of it will not only result in some extreme Resolution representing American viewpoint to be passed but would also destroy all peace initiative of Assembly. Present position is that Political Committee of UN has become peace-oriented and United States has lost ground very greatly. US attitude now is really result of pressure caused by this orientation. Our withdrawal of Resolution would make us completely ineffective and we would be condemned all round. Our Resolution, if passed, can well be made basis of further negotiations and will keep the door open for settlement. Therefore, we have decided to proceed with this Resolution.

Paragraph seventeen of revised draft reads as follows:

If at the end of a further sixty days there are any prisoners of war whose return to their homelands has not been effected under the above procedures or whose future has not been provided for by the Political Conference, the responsibility for their care and maintenance and for their subsequent disposition shall be transferred to the United Nations, which in all matters relating to them shall act strictly in accordance with international law.

We have made revisions on our own initiative and not to please any party or under pressure. Please note special reference to international law in para seventeen above. This has been resisted strongly by Americans but we have insisted on keeping it.

There is no question of screening or refusal to release any prisoners from custody of detaining power. There is thus no question of forcible detention. Nor is there any impediment or limitation on prisoners' return....

1. New Delhi, 28 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Extracts. Also available in JN Collection.

34. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Krishna Menon has sent me draft reply to Chinese *aide memoire*.² In this he meets various points raised by Chinese Government and answers them. I agree with general argument. I would have preferred some verbal changes and slight redrafting. But in order to save time in coding long message afresh, I am sending you in immediately following telegram draft *aide memoire* as sent by Krishna Menon. In preparing it for presentation to Chinese Government, you can make obvious verbal changes where they appear necessary without affecting main argument and so as to make meaning clear.

In Krishna Menon's message references are made to some earlier telegrams³ you sent me conveying Chinese Government's views. You should verify these references.

Our reply should be handed as soon as possible to Chinese Government in form of *aide memoire*.⁴

1. New Delhi, 28 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. The reply sent on 27 November refuted China's allegation that Indian proposals were a recognition of the principle of "voluntary repatriation" supported by USA, and pointed out that in terms of the Indian proposals, all prisoners of war were to be released from the custody of the detaining side and kept in neutral territory under Neutral Commission on which two nominees of China would be present; no prisoner could be held back on ground of reluctance to return; non-use of force in the Resolution was in regard to the prisoners' return to their homelands and not in regard to the whole process of repatriation; there should be no derogation from the Geneva Conventions or international law; and the Chinese side would have facilities to explain to the prisoners their rights.
3. Krishna Menon in his cable of 27 November forwarding the draft reply to the Chinese *aide memoire* had referred to the cable of 1 November 1952 from Raghavan to Nehru communicating Chou En-lai's views on the question of repatriation given in an interview to Raghavan on the same day to the effect: "The question now is removing that force and not how to use force to repatriate them. We did not ask that force be used to repatriate them...."
4. On 30 November, Raghavan handed over the *aide memoire* to Chang Han-fu, the Vice-Foreign Minister of China.

35. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Korean Resolution. I have received earnest appeal from Pearson, President, General Assembly, UN,² asking us to proceed with our Resolution and, in event of Resolution being passed by Assembly, which is likely, to help him in approaching Chinese Government. As I have told you, we intend proceeding with this Resolution and naturally, when passed, we shall try to follow it up. Pearson has pointed out extreme difficulty they have had in combating US Government's viewpoint. They succeeded because of great peace sentiment that had been roused in UN. We must take advantage of this and not be deterred by Chinese rejection. We shall continue to approach Chinese Government in friendly way. They will not formally change their opinion but fresh opportunities may arise for finding way out after our Resolution is passed.

1. New Delhi, 28 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. On 27 November.

36. To Escott M. Reid¹

New Delhi
November 28, 1952

My dear High Commissioner,²

Will you please convey to Mr. Pearson³ the following message from me?:

I am very grateful to you for your message⁴ which your High Commissioner has just handed to me. I appreciate what you have said very much and I am particularly glad that our Delegation at the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Canadian Delegation have worked in close and friendly collaboration.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Escott M. Reid was the High Commissioner for Canada in India at this time.
3. Lester B. Pearson was the President of the UN General Assembly at this time.
4. See previous item.

I entirely agree with you that, in spite of the difficulties and disappointments that we have experienced in this matter, we must proceed with our Resolution on Korea. We intend to do so. Also that if and when the Resolution is passed by the Assembly, we should follow it up and try to take full advantage of it....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹

Your telegram 155, dated November 27th Korean Resolution. I agree with your analysis. If Russia or China or USA do not want a settlement, then, of course, there will be no settlement. It is also true that present position in Korea is not to advantage of USA. But continuation of war there and aggravation of it will be to the advantage of no country.

It is true that there is powerful section in the USA which is bellicose. But it is also true that there is strong demand for peace and recent developments have indicated that, given a chance, peaceful elements can dominate situation. Tremendous pressure has been brought on US by UK Canada and many other countries allied to them. In fact, UN has definitely become peace-minded. It would indicate extraordinary narrowness of vision not to take advantage of this situation.

I have received strong appeal² from Pearson, President of General Assembly. As I have informed you, we intend proceeding with our Resolution and to continue to appeal in friendly way to China to reconsider their decision.

1. New Delhi, 28 November 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 443.

38. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹

Have just seen your telegram 157, dated November 28th.² Korean Resolution. I entirely agree with you that you should see Malik.³ It is clear that Russian or Chinese attitude will not change at this stage because of what we may say to them. Nevertheless, it is desirable for us to continue approaching them so as to make them feel that we are not lining up with other group.

It seems to me probable that Chinese attitude has been much influenced by Soviet pressure. It is unfortunate that we should be placed in somewhat embarrassing position. But there is no alternative now except for us to proceed with the Resolution in most suitable manner. We shall take every care not to say anything which might antagonize Russia or China. We sent long statement⁴ to China in reply to their *aide memoire*.

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. K.P.S. Menon had written that Resolution on Korea should not have been moved in UN without making sure of Russian and Chinese support and the impression in Moscow was that India too had joined US to isolate USSR in the UN. He sought permission to see Yakov Malik, the Acting Foreign Minister of Russia, to tell him that India was hurt by Vyshinsky's remarks on Indian Resolution and that China was never ignored by India since we had maintained constant contact with her. Menon however doubted whether this would have any real effect.
3. Yakov Alexandrovich Malik (1906-1980); Soviet Ambassador to Japan, 1942-45; Deputy Foreign Minister, 1946-53 and 1960-80; Permanent Soviet Representative in the UNO, 1948-52 and 1968-76 and Ambassador to UK, 1953-60.
4. See *ante*, p. 442.

39. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegram 411 dated December 1.²

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1952. JN Collection.
2. Raghavan informed that after Chou En-lai's recent visit to USSR overall Soviet influence in internal and external affairs of China was noticeable and China believed in Russian propaganda that Indian Resolution was the result of American move through UK to use India against China. Since China would not revise its attitude towards the Resolution and China's non-acceptance would make it ineffective, Raghavan advised its withdrawal.

Your previous telegram 409³ was communicated to our Delegation in New York.

It is not possible for us to withdraw our Resolution at this stage without serious harmful results. We are therefore proceeding with it but in as friendly a manner to China and Russia as possible. I quite realize that it cannot be acted upon without Chinese acceptance. But it is just possible that it may prepare the way for some other approach. In any event, it might stop rapid deterioration of the situation which might otherwise have taken place.

Your general attitude should continue to be to explain to the Chinese Government that it has been our earnest desire all along to help in a settlement in accordance with Chinese wishes. If there has been any misunderstanding or mistake on our part, we are sorry. But at this stage it is difficult for us and constitutionally not easy to withdraw the Resolution. We have therefore to proceed with it. But at every step we shall bear in mind the principles for which they stand and consult them whenever possible.

3. In this cable, Raghavan reported that on 30 November before he could give India's *aide memoire*, Chang Han-fu, under Chou En-lai's instructions, told him that the Indian Resolution's acceptance of the principle of voluntary repatriation was contrary to Geneva Convention, and on the question of repatriation of prisoners, views of India and China were not the same. Chang Han-fu after receiving the *aide memoire* hinted that the above attitude of China would not be changed.

40. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

I have just returned to Delhi.² I presume you are proceeding with our Korean Resolution on lines indicated by you. It is not desirable to postpone this issue as this creates further difficulties.

It is clear that whatever the reasons Chinese rejected our Resolution and have reacted rather strongly to our pressing it forward which may be due to

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. This was also addressed to V.K. Krishna Menon.
2. Nehru visited Sanchi in Bhopal State on 30 November to participate in a ceremony connected with the opening of a new *Vihara*. He returned to Delhi on 2 December after visiting Gwalior on 1 December.

Soviet pressure.³ They appear to be convinced that Resolution is result of subtle American move through Britain to use India against Chinese stand. They see hidden American hand everywhere. I understand that they have approached Indonesia directly on this subject.

It is not clear to me what should or can be done after Resolution is passed because Chinese will not act up to it.

3. On 28 November, Chou En-lai declared that the Soviet Resolution submitted in the Assembly on 18 November alongwith the amendment proposed by Soviet Union on 24 November were the only reasonable way of putting an end to the Korean war and bring about the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

41. To Girja Shankar Bajpai¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1952

My dear Girja,

...You must have been following the fate of our Korean Resolution. We have got rather entangled in this matter and it is not very easy to disentangle ourselves. We have little choice left at this stage except to go ahead with it, although it is clear that China does not accept it. We were certainly given the impression, without any commitment, that China was not opposed to it. Later, possibly due to Soviet pressure, they expressed themselves strongly against it. We have been trying to argue with them in a friendly way without much result. There is no chance of their changing their mind. But, at any rate, we wanted to show our *bonafides*. But they are so full of suspicion of America that they suspect all manner of hidden moves and intrigues....

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 8 (233)/52-PMS. Extracts.

42. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

I have just received a message² from Pearson. In this he raises the question as to how he should communicate Assembly Korean Resolution as well as an Explanatory Memorandum to Peking and North Korea. He suggests that this might be done through our Ambassador in Peking. I am sending him the following reply:

Begins: I am grateful to you for your message of 3 December which has been handed to me by the High Commissioner for Canada.³

Now that the General Assembly has passed the Resolution on Korea all of us should certainly do our best to follow it up and try to gain full advantage from it. For this the goodwill of the Chinese Government is necessary. Even if this may not be forthcoming immediately I hope that at somewhat later stage the Chinese Government will appreciate that the Resolution does not do any violence to their principles and can certainly lead to a satisfactory and honourable settlement. We shall instruct our Embassy in Peking to work to this end.

I feel however that it would probably be more desirable for Resolution and your proposed explanatory memorandum not *repeat* not to be conveyed to the Chinese Government through the Indian Embassy. We have no objection to doing so but it seems to me that the Indian Embassy will be in a better position to explain the Resolution and your memorandum to the Chinese Government if this was conveyed to the Chinese Government through other means. The Resolution might be sent *en clair* directly by you as President of the Assembly to the Government of Peking and North Korea. If you wish to send your Memorandum also *en clair* then there is no difficulty and this could also be sent direct. If however you wish to send the memorandum by code then it might be sent to Peking through the Representative of some other country. This may be Sweden. I do not see how you can send any code message to North Korea.

1. New Delhi, 4 December 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. On 3 December, the General Assembly passed the Indian Resolution on Korea. Immediately, on the same day, Lester Pearson, President of the General Assembly, cabled a message to Nehru suggesting that the Indian Ambassador in Beijing might deliver the Resolution to the Chinese Government on his behalf. He added that the Resolution would be accompanied by an explanatory memorandum and a communication from him, pointing out its importance for peace in Korea and trying to remove misunderstanding about the proposals contained in it.
3. Escott M. Reid.

We should like to have a copy of the Memorandum so that we can send it to our Ambassador in Peking who could then follow it up. You can rest assured that we shall do our utmost in this matter. But as you say the question of the method to be adopted for transmission of the proposals is very important. It seems to me that the suggestions I have made above are in the circumstances probably the best. Ends.

You might discuss this matter with Pearson. I feel that our hands would be somewhat strengthened if we were not used as intermediaries for communicating this message but to deal with it separately with the Chinese Government.

43. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

I have received a message from Pearson, President, UN Assembly, informing me of the passing of the Korean Resolution. He discusses question of method of transmission of this Resolution as well as on explanatory memorandum from him to Chinese and North Korean Governments and suggests that this might be done through our Ambassador in Peking. I have sent him following reply....²

I do not yet know what course he will adopt. You might keep in touch with Swedish Representative. I should like you, of course, to help as far as possible in gaining Chinese goodwill in this matter. This might be difficult to begin with but we should persevere tactfully.

1. New Delhi, 4 December 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See *ante*, pp. 448-49.

44. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Pearson sent *en clair* yesterday to Chou En-lai as well as to Foreign Minister of North Korean Republic text of UN General Assembly Resolution on Korea

1. New Delhi, 7 December 1952. JN Collection.

as well as accompanying message.² We are sending you separately *en clair* text of this message.

2. We would naturally like Chinese Government not to reject this outright though we are doubtful if they will adopt any other course but rejection. About January 1951 United Nations made certain proposals about Korea which were transmitted to Chinese Government. They reacted strongly against some parts of them, but in effect did not reject them and made some counter-proposals³ which were worth consideration. But meanwhile US got Aggressor Resolution through UN⁴ which completely shut the door to any compromise solution.

3. I mention this as it might be possible for Chinese Government to adopt some such course which would prevent complete deadlock. I am not clear whether it is desirable for you to seek interview with Chou En-lai on this issue at this stage. I must leave this to your discretion.

4. We have already drawn your attention to Peking Radio broadcast.⁵ In this sarcastic comment was made on India's posing as voice of Asia. This criticism was wholly unjustified as India has never claimed to speak for Asia or indeed for any other country but itself. What was said in United Nations was addressed to Western Powers who were reminded that the voice of Asia could not be ignored. This did not refer to India only but to the general habit of Western Powers not to pay due attention to Asian views and sentiments. In any event India does not claim to represent any other country.

5. I think this should be made clear to the Chinese Government at a suitable opportunity. You may at the same time refer to UN Resolution and express hope that in such a vital matter no quick or irrevocable decision might be taken and door might be left open for consideration or even variation, but I must leave this to your discretion as to how to approach this matter.

2. Pearson in this message to Chou En-lai stated that in terms of the General Assembly Resolution, originally sponsored by India, he was sending the proposals contained therein to China and North Korea as forming a just and reasonable basis for an agreement on the question of repatriation of prisoners of war so that an immediate ceasefire was achieved. Explaining that the principles which evolved out of discussions in the Assembly had been incorporated in the Resolution, Pearson invited Chou En-lai to accept the same.

3. See *Selected Works* Vol. 15, Part II, pp. 476, 478-81.

4. See *Selected Works* Vol. 15, Part II, p. 500.

5. The Peking Radio while rejecting the Indian plan for a Korean truce on 5 December commented that "Indian Delegate (Krishna Menon) said without one reason that he spoke as a representative of the people of Asia, however, no one except the US bloc has given the Indian Delegate such authority."

45. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

On return to Delhi today read your telegram 437 December 4. Korea Resolution.² I have communicated substance of your telegram to Raghavan as well as Pearson's message and suggested to him to pursue this matter as tactfully as possible.³ Naturally I have had to leave it to him how to do so.

You have done your utmost for this Resolution and there is no question of any lack of appreciation of this.⁴ Unfortunately things did not turn out as we expected, in so far as China is concerned. I have little doubt that Chinese attitude has been governed by Russian influence as well as what is considered favourable military position. We should continue to do our best on lines indicated by you,⁵ both in UN and in Peking, and await developments.

1. New Delhi, 7 December 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Cable addressed to Vijayalakshmi Pandit also.
2. Krishna Menon in his cable stated that he had told Lester Pearson that whatever other additional indirect approaches to China he or any other parties might make for communicating the Indian proposals passed by the Assembly, it was essential for him as President of the Assembly to approach the Chinese directly in the matter as China would regard "failure to do so as a slight to them."
3. See *ante*, pp. 449-50.
4. Krishna Menon had written "...since there is reason to think that I have not given satisfaction I shall be grateful if you will consider what you wish me to do and instruct accordingly."
5. Krishna Menon had mentioned that in order to remove the idea of having reached a deadlock following Chinese rejection of the Indian proposals further diplomatic activity in Beijing was necessary and mere handing over of communications and waiting for replies was inadequate. He also hoped that the Indian Delegation would continue to maintain good relations with the Soviet Delegation.

46. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
December 7, 1952

Nan dear,

....I have received today your letter of the 25th² November. That letter is rather out of date and much has happened since then. I have been sending you fairly full telegrams about Korea. I fear that we cannot do much more than we have done, but in spite of Chinese irritation, we shall maintain our calm and carry on.

Gaganvihari Mehta sent me a report of the conversation he had with General Obregon. That was a revealing conversation. There can be doubt that there are many forces in America, and powerful ones, which do not want an Armistice Chiefly because they do not know what to do afterwards. At the same time, Russia apparently does not want an armistice, either, because they seem to like the present position. As for China, it is a little difficult to say. But, on the whole, they appear to think that the military situation is in their favour.

I suppose much will depend on what Eisenhower ultimately decides. I have little doubt that our Resolution has influenced him somewhat against taking too aggressive a line in Korea. He is up against Taft now³ on the domestic issue. If he surrenders to Taft, that means a surrender on foreign affairs too. If not, things might improve slightly....

With love from
Jawahar

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, after giving information relating to developments in the UN on Indian Resolution on Korea, wrote that on 24 November she heard from India's Military Attache in Washington that G.L. Mehta was told by General Obregon, Head of the US Military Aid to countries abroad, that USA would not like to have an immediate armistice in Korea as it would require immediate discussions on Far Eastern question for which she was not ready. He also mentioned that extension of war in Korea was a possibility. Ruth Fischer, the CIA official, had also told Vijayalakshmi that the purpose behind Eisenhower's visit to Korea was to explore possibilities of enlargement of war.
3. Robert A. Taft, a senior Republican, regarded as probable leader of the new Senate, saw Eisenhower on 19 November with recommendations for a few Cabinet appointments but none of the persons recommended by him was included in the Cabinet. On 2 December, Taft criticized appointment of Martin Durkin as Secretary of Labour in Eisenhower's Cabinet.

47. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Following appraisal of situation giving background of Korean Resolution is for your guidance and where necessary and expedient to pass on to Chinese Government in course of talk. Latter's main source of information is Soviet Agency which gives one sided and coloured accounts. American Press and spokesmen on other hand now proclaim that Resolution is victory for so-called "Free World".²

As matter of fact Resolution was vigorously opposed by American Delegation³ and Acheson spoke of parting of ways with British as well as with other countries of Western Europe and South America. US practically gave ultimatum to us.⁴ When this failed they tried to make inroads into Resolution.⁵ This also failed. Feeling wholly isolated in UN Assembly, they had no course left but to accept it and then to try to make out that it was victory for their Bloc. This followed by attempt to prejudice Resolution in eyes of Russia and China by praising it and representing it as their own great victory. In fact Resolution is contrary to US policy and their repeatedly declared views but they are exploiting it now in view of Soviet and Chinese rejection which suits policy of many important groups in America.

Undoubtedly passing of Resolution has stopped bellicose trend and made UN very much peace conscious. Rally of fifty-four nations in favour of Resolution is not a move antagonistic to China. Most of them have rallied simply for ending war and are anxious to bring China into UN.³ American future policy will depend on result of Eisenhower's visit to Korea⁶ but this policy has already been influenced and warlike trend checked by our Resolution.

1. New Delhi, 7 December 1952. JN Collection.
2. On 4 December, Krishna Menon reported that the American Press and spokesmen were proclaiming all round that this was a victory for the "free world" and that while they did not like the Resolution, it had established their "principle".
3. See *ante*, p. 426.
4. Krishna Menon on 4 December reported: "In actual fact Acheson had at one time delivered me his "last word" and next day spoke of the "parting of the ways" with the British. The United States found themselves totally isolated "when not only UK but Western Europe and Turkey, one by one, over a period was persuaded.... Mexico and Peru and others supported priority for our Resolution."
5. On 27 November, Krishna Menon reported that Acheson put on unsuccessful pressure on the Indian Delegation to obtain acceptance by them of a very large number of amendments involving fundamental changes in paragraph seventeen of the Indian Resolution. See also *ante*, p. 434.
6. In keeping with his pre-election pledge given in Detroit on 24 October to visit Korea on being elected, Eisenhower visited Korea from 3 to 5 December.

Soviet Resolution⁷ in circumstances was no effective alternative and was entirely different approach from what we have been trying to follow in consultation with Chinese Government for some months past. It has all along been our attempt to give effect to substance of Chinese viewpoint. In UN we maintained contact with Russians from the beginning and our general impression was that our approach was not regarded unfavourably by them.

We have no desire to push ourselves into this picture. Our sole desire has been to work for peace honourable to parties concerned. We have not sought to impose or prescribe a solution but only to break the deadlock on a basis that we genuinely believed would be acceptable to them from what we had been previously told. Resolution contains no new principles and puts forward proposals for consideration. We have always stated that settlement requires Chinese consent and that Chinese honour and principle could not be compromised and that Geneva Convention and International Law must be observed.

It is for Chinese Government to consider whether it would not be desirable, as we think it would be, for them to consider each part of proposals on merits and suggest amendments so as to permit exploration of ways and means to reconcile their point of view.

In spite of what has happened, our Delegation continues to maintain friendly contacts with Russian Delegation to UN and we do not not propose to allow these contacts to be broken. We have refrained from using any language which might irritate or add to difficulties. Undoubtedly large number of nations, essentially friendly to China, earnestly hope for some kind of cooperative response from Chinese Government which will keep door open and not allow extremist elements in some other countries to take advantage of break.

I leave it to you to deal with this matter. I feel however that we should not on our part become too frigid because of objectionable attitude of other party. Even for future record this appears desirable. It should always be remembered that for first time in recent years, there was complete break on this issue between US on the one side supported by Australia and Greece only, and UK, Canada, Western Europe and some South American countries.⁸

7. See *ante*, p. 415.

8. See *ante*, p. 435.

48. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
December 8, 1952

My dear Kher,

...Your letter of the 28th November is interesting. I need not write to you about the development in regard to our Korean Resolution as you must have been following them. I am afraid there is no hope whatever of China agreeing to it. The most we can hope for is, that the door might not be slammed. Unfortunately, there are large sections of opinion both in the US, and in the USSR and China, who do not appear to want any kind of an armistice except on very special terms favourable to them. So far as we are concerned, we shall refuse to be drawn into a wordy argument with either side. Nor are we going to compete with them in vituperation....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

49. Germ Warfare in Korea¹

Rama Rao, Communist Member from Madras, wanted to know whether the report of the International Scientific Commission which investigated into the charges of germ warfare in Korea, had been brought to the notice of the Government of India.

Jawaharlal Nehru: A copy of the report has been recently received by the Government of India. Copies were distributed to all members of the United Nations, by the UN Secretariat, at the request of the Soviet Delegation² to whom

1. Statement in Parliament, 9 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 1280-82. Extracts.
2. On 1 October 1952, the USSR Delegation at the UN had transmitted to the UN a document entitled "Report of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of Facts concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China." This Commission was set up by the Chinese Peoples' Committee for World Peace.

a copy of the report has been sent by the Secretariat of the World Peace Council.³

Rama Rao wanted to know the conclusions of the International Scientific Commission.

JN: Broadly speaking, the conclusions of this report are that the germ warfare was used in certain areas.⁴

Rama Rao asked if the Government of India had ratified the Geneva Protocol against Warfare.

JN: For the moment I cannot speak with precision, but we have always been in favour of ratification.⁵

K.A. Nambiar, Communist Member from Madras, asked whether in view of the fact that Government had ratified the Geneva Protocol and in view of the fact that Government had accepted that germ warfare was used in Korea, would the Government of India raise the issue in the United Nations.

JN: Honourable Member's second presumption is not correct.

P.V. Raghaviah, Communist Member from Madras, wanted to know whether one of the Indian scientists invited to serve on this Commission, was unable to go and sit on the Commission, on account of the pressure brought to bear on him by the Government of India.

JN: I do not know what the Honourable Member is referring to.

Raghaviah said that S.S. Sokhey who was invited and who wanted to serve on this Commission could not work on this Commission because of some influence brought to bear upon him by the Government of India.

JN: There is no question of pressure. Anybody could have gone. I do not exactly remember whether and how Col. Sokhey referred the matter to us. He may have asked for our advice and we may have given it.

3. World Peace Council was formed at the Second World Congress of Partisans of Peace in Warsaw in November 1950 with the objectives of directing and coordinating partisans' activities in various countries to fight the threat of World War, and to promote disarmament and national independence.
4. The report stated, "The people of Korea and China have indeed been the objective of bacteriological weapons."
5. Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods was signed by India at Geneva on 17 June 1925 and subsequently ratified.

H.N. Mukerjee, Communist Member from West Bengal, wanted to know whether the Government wanted to proceed further in the matter keeping in view the gravity of the conclusions reached by the International Scientific Commissions.

JN: May I, Sir, point out that in this matter there is no certainty, in spite of the fact that certain eminent scientists may say something it is not for me to deny what they say or affirm. But there are two parties to this matter. One denies it absolutely; the other affirms it.⁶ All the enquiries that have taken place—however eminent the gentlemen concerned might be—were from that point of view one-sided, appointed by one party.⁷ I mean in such a very serious matter it is desirable to have an enquiry which is believed in or which is sponsored by both the parties or all the parties concerned. That is the difficulty. One cannot in a very grave matter of this kind proceed on balances of probabilities but on definite certainties.

Saranagadhar Das, Socialist Member from Orissa, asked whether there was any proposal from the United Nations to investigate into the matter and what happened afterwards.

JN: I believe various proposals have been made by some countries—I am not quite sure of the United Nations as such—but by members of the United Nations.⁸ Always the difficulty has been that the proposal made by one side is considered partial by the other and not accepted.

B.S. Murthy, KMP Member from Madras, wanted to know whether the

6. On 22 February 1952, the Foreign Minister of North Korea protested against use of bacteriological warfare in Korea by the UN Forces. Later, China made similar complaint to the UN. Between March and July 1952, the USSR referred in the Disarmament Commission and Security Council to the complaints by Korea and China where these charges were denied by the USA.
7. Three enquiries were made into the charges viz., by a Commission consisting of Chinese Communists, a Committee of the Communist front organization called International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and lastly by the International Scientific Commission organized by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace.
8. On 14 March 1952, the US Representative said in the Disarmament Commission that the International Committee of the Red Cross, when asked by his government to conduct an impartial investigation into the charges of bacteriological warfare by the UN forces, had agreed to do so provided both parties agreed to cooperate. The USSR at that time did not favour this idea, and on 3 July vetoed the resolution. Subsequently, on 21 October, the UN General Assembly, on US request, agreed to take up next year, that is, in 1953, the question of investigating the charges.

Government of India had any information regarding warfare from Indians who were there.

JN: Honourable Members will permit me to say from such little experience as I gathered many years ago that it is almost a practical impossibility for anybody to say definitely after a period of time. One may presume things, but to say with dead certainty after some time is very very difficult; and certainly our Ambassador and others are in no position to say this or that.

50. To G.L. Mehta¹

New Delhi

December 10, 1952

My dear Gaganvihari,

Thank you for your letter of November 26. I have read it and its enclosure with great interest. There is nothing very new in that report² of your Military Attache. But it confirms odd bits of information that have been coming to us from time to time. There is no doubt that there are important groups in the US, notably in the Pentagon, who do not like the idea of an armistice in Korea. In the same way, there are important elements in Russia who are not at all anxious for an armistice because, on the whole, the military situation in Korea is to the advantage of China.

In all these developments in regard to our Korean Resolution, we have tried to keep in touch with the various parties throughout. In the UN our Delegation kept in touch with various important Delegations, including the Soviet. As for China, we informed them of the general principles of the Resolution³ even before the Resolution was framed. We had no answer but

1. JN Collection.

2. P.C. Banerji, the Military Attache, reported to G.L. Mehta on 25 November about views entertained at the level of the senior military officers in the Pentagon, which were that: (1) It was premature from US point of view to agree to truce in Korea at that time since truce would result in reduction of US forces there, endangering military control of South Korea, whose forces were not sufficiently trained to fight their battle unaided; (2) the UN operation in Korea should be stepped up which would result in further operations in Korea becoming disadvantageous to the Communists; and (3) there was resurgence of the idea of a preventive war. The protagonists of this idea felt that the US had an edge over Russia in the field of atomic warfare and guided missiles, and this advantage needed to be exploited before Russia acquired a measure of parity in military technology.

3. See *ante*, pp. 414-18.

there appeared to be a silent approval of the steps we were taking. We told them again⁴ immediately after the Resolution was introduced. Again, there was no answer or commitment. We felt it was natural for China not to commit itself at this stage, but we hoped that there should be no definite rejection.

The Soviet representative also was by no means unfavourable during the early stages. Evidently he received instructions later on from Moscow which made him take up the strong line. Even now oddly enough, his relations with our Delegation are friendly.

American tactics in this matter were interesting. First of all, the State Department was in a tremendous hurry to reject our Resolution. Then they suddenly felt that the UK and most other countries were going to accept it. The US was isolated and felt greatly embarrassed. They tried to change their position somewhat. When they saw that the Soviet was rejecting it, they felt quite happy and became increasingly friendly to the Resolution. As a matter of fact, they tried hard to make vital alterations in the Resolution but did not succeed.

It is clear that China was much influenced by Soviet pressure in this matter. We have maintained an attitude of friendliness with China in spite of what they have said. But, with the friendliness is also a firmness. They do not appreciate weakness and we intend showing none.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *ante*, p. 424.

51. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

...I do not know if further work is possible in near future in America in regard to our Korean Resolution. That is for you and Krishna Menon to judge. If there is nothing special then Krishna can return to London at his convenience. We must of course watch developments carefully and take any step which may be considered necessary.

1. New Delhi, 12 December 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

American Embassy here conveyed message to us² from their Government expressing some apprehension at Krishna having indicated in some speeches that we were prepared to compromise further on our Korean Resolution. I am giving them appropriate reply.

2. According to the press clippings handed over alongwith the message on 12 December, Krishna Menon had, in a UN broadcast on 6 December, said that the Indian Resolution on Korea offered a basis for finding a solution and "we are not inexorably tied up with ideas and actions to which either side is tied up today." On 8 December, in a television interview, he said that the US bombing raids along Yalu river had led to the failure of the earlier Korean peace attempts and crossing of 38th Parallel by UN troops had brought China into war.

52. India's Resolution on Korea¹

The Government of India have been deeply interested in a settlement in the Far East and have viewed with great concern the continuance of hostilities in Korea. They had hoped that the negotiations at Panmunjom² would lead to a ceasefire and armistice. Although much progress was made in these negotiations, there was a deadlock on the issue of the return of the prisoners of war. The main difficulty has been that while the Chinese Government insisted on an application of the Geneva Convention and a repatriation of all prisoners, the UN Command made it clear that they could not agree to the forced repatriation of any prisoners. Between these two approaches, no meeting ground was found.

In their earnest desire to render some service in the cause of peace, the Government of India had kept in touch with the principal Powers concerned and discussed their respective viewpoints with them. It had seemed to the Government of India on several occasions that there was a possibility of the difference being bridged, but this did not occur.

1. Statement in Parliament, 15 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 1533-39. Extracts.
2. The ceasefire negotiations had commenced on 10 July 1951 at Kaesong in Korea between the UN officials comprising the US and the South Korean officers and the Communists comprising the North Korean and the Chinese officials and had broken off on 23 August 1951. They were later on resumed at Panmunjom, a small village, five miles south of Kaesong. On 26 November, agreement was reached on ceasefire line and then negotiations continued during first four months of 1952 but remained deadlocked mainly on the question of repatriation of the prisoners of war.

When the UN General Assembly met in New York recently, the question of Korea came up before it. A number of Resolutions were suggested or moved.³ It seemed to our Delegation, who kept in constant touch with us, that none of these Resolutions offered any hope of a peaceful settlement. Thereupon our Delegation tried to evolve a formula which might prove acceptable to the principal parties concerned as well as to others. Certain principles were laid down with a view to consultation and subsequent framing of Resolution, in case these principles were considered to be generally acceptable. These principles were based on the Geneva Convention which lays down the well-established principles and practice of international law on the subject. While voluntary repatriation would have been against these principles and was ruled out, it was stated that force shall not be used against the prisoners of war to prevent or effect their return to their homelands and no violence to their persons or affront to their dignity or self-respect shall be permitted in any manner or for any purpose whatsoever. Prisoners of war were to be treated humanely in accordance with specific provisions in the Geneva Convention and the general spirit of that Convention. A Repatriation Commission was to be established, consisting of representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland and all prisoners of war were to be released to the Repatriation Commission from military control and from the custody of the detaining side at agreed exchange points in agreed demilitarized zones. Various other provisions were laid down in these principles to facilitate the speedy return of the prisoners of war to their homelands. It was intended that an immediate ceasefire should take place and be given effect to in accordance with the terms of the Armistice Agreement.

Consultations took place on the basis of these principles between our Delegation and the other Delegations at the General Assembly of the UN. As the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was not represented at the UN we communicated these principles to them at Peking on the 2nd November.⁴

There was no commitment by the Chinese Government, but there was no disapproval indicated at that stage to these principles. We were given to understand that the Chinese Government appreciated our attempts to help in bringing about a peaceful settlement. They made it clear, however that they were entirely opposed to voluntary repatriation.

There was general approval of our principles among the Delegations consulted at the UN. A few Delegations were non-committal.

3. Between 24 October and 5 November 1952, four draft Resolutions moved by twenty-one nations including USA, UK, USSR, Mexico and Peru came up before the Political Committee of the General Assembly.

4. See *ante*, pp. 414-18.

At this stage our Delegation decided to frame our Resolution on the basis of the principles which we had indicated previously to the other Delegations as well as to the Chinese Government. The text of the Resolution was received by us⁵ to the Chinese Government. The Resolution was presented to the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly on November 17th. On the same day a spokesman of the US Delegation stated at a Press Conference that the US rejected the Indian proposal "in its present terms." On the 19th November, the Resolution was formally moved by our Delegation in the Political Committee. The UK Delegation supported it. Support was also received from a large number of other Delegations. There was no reply from the Chinese Government and no indication of the Soviet attitude for a number of days.

On November 23rd the Soviet Delegation put forward a proposal that the UN should recommend an immediate ceasefire in Korea and appoint an Eleven-Nation Commission to solve the prisoners of war problem. On November 24th the Soviet delegate rejected the Indian proposal.

The US Delegation, after their initial rejection of our Resolution, subsequently gave their general approval to it but pressed certain amendments.⁶ In the course of the discussion on the Resolution various amendments were considered. We were unable to accept such as were not in accordance with the basic principles along with which we had proceeded. Our Delegation made some minor changes in the Resolution to clarify some parts of it. These minor amendments were:

- (i) Provision was made for the closer association of the Umpire with Repatriation Commission,⁷ and;
- (ii) it was proved that not only the care and maintenance but also disposition of the remaining prisoners should be entrusted to the UN. It was added, however, that the disposition was to be made in accordance with international law. This reference to the international law was to the Geneva Convention.⁸

On the 25 November, we received an *aide memoire* from the Chinese Government, dated 24th November informing us that they were unable to accept our proposal.

The Soviet delegate had criticized our Resolution on the ground, *inter alia*, that it did not bring about a ceasefire. It was pointed out by our Delegation that the whole purpose of our Resolution was to bring about a ceasefire.

5. See *ante*, p. 424.

6. See *ante*, p. 453.

7. Changes in para 14 of the draft Resolution submitted on 23 November.

8. Changes in para 17 of the draft submitted on 26 November.

However, in order to make this perfectly clear a small amendment was incorporated in the preamble to the effect that an immediate ceasefire should result.

A copy of our Resolution on Korea as amended and subsequently passed by the General Assembly of the UN is laid on the Table of the House.

It will be observed that no material change was made in this Resolution after its original introduction. Some points were clarified as a result of the discussions....

53. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

We have had no news from you for some days. Have you met Chou En-lai or anyone else from Chinese Foreign Office and explained to them further our viewpoint? I realize, of course, that there is no chance at all of Chinese Government accepting it. But, there is some value in our continuing conversations. To break off would not be good.

We have seen in the press Chou En-lai's reply² to Pearson. Nearly everything in it has been said before and answered. You will remember Chou En-lai referring to Chiang Kai-shek's and Syngman Rhee's secret agents among the prisoners.³ It should be easy to separate them in the classification that is suggested. Chinese representatives will be there to see that this could done.

1. New Delhi, 16 December 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA.
2. On 14 December, Chou En-lai, in response to the Indian proposals on Korea as passed by the General Assembly and sent to him on 5 December by Lester Pearson, the UN President, wrote that "the illegal Resolution stripped of its disguise is actually nothing but a renewed version of the 21-nation proposal" submitted by Acheson on 24 October 1952. He also said that the adoption of the Resolution by the Assembly in the absence of China and North Korea was illegal and void and was therefore not acceptable to China.
3. See *ante*, p. 413.

54. To K.P.S. Menon¹

New Delhi

December 16, 1952

My dear KPS,

Your letter of December 2nd.²

About our Korean Resolution, it is easy to be wise after the event. I think we made one or two mistakes about the procedure and, possibly, about the drafting also. But I am convinced that even if we had avoided those errors, the result would have been the same because that result is based on deeper considerations.

Right from the beginning we were in touch with the Chinese Government. They had at least two weeks' clear notice. They did not say a word to us against the Resolution. It is true that they did not commit themselves to it. But they gave us definitely the impression that they were not opposed to our putting it forward. We did not expect more from them because, in the circumstances, they could hardly commit themselves previously.

About our vote on the Soviet amendment calling for an immediate ceasefire in Korea, I do not see how we could have voted for it when we had an alternative ourselves which we had put forward and which if accepted, would result in an immediate ceasefire.³ It would not have been logical for us to vote for it. That would have meant that we really did not believe in our own Resolution. An immediate ceasefire sounds well, but obviously, in the circumstances, it had little meaning. The difficulty in having a ceasefire has been the absence of agreement on various issues. Therefore, we have to tackle those issues and then call for a ceasefire.

I am glad to know that your relations with the Russians are good. I do not propose to say or do anything which might worsen our relations with the Soviet or with China. But I do not propose either to appear as if we are afraid of them. Our attitude must always be one of friendliness with firmness in so far as important matters are concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Menon regretted the Chinese attitude towards the Indian Resolution, and wrote that India should have made sure of China's support before moving the Resolution and should also have anticipated Russian attitude towards it.

3. Menon wrote that by voting against the Soviet amendment calling for immediate ceasefire in Korea, India allowed Russian propaganda to denounce India's efforts for peace and described her voting against the amendment as mere hypocrisy.

55. To K.M. Panikkar¹

New Delhi
December 17, 1952

My dear Panikkar,²

...We lead a fevered existence here and there is no peace.

You must have followed the fate of our Korean Resolution. Probably we committed some minor errors, but the circumstances were not propitious now and I do not think any agreement could have gone through....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. He was India's Ambassador in Egypt at this time.

56. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Raghavan informs me² that his attempts to have interview with Chou En-lai or Chang have not succeeded. Evidently they are avoiding interview. In these circumstances, we cannot, at this stage, go on pressing for interview. We can only wait for more favourable opportunity....

1. New Delhi, 18 December 1952. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Extracts. This cable was addressed to V.K. Krishna Menon also.
2. On 17 December 1952.

I. BILATERAL RELATIONS

(i) SRI LANKA

1. Cable to Indian High Commissioner in Colombo¹

Our telegram 5730 dated October 25th.

Prime Minister agrees that you should seek interview with Ceylon Prime Minister and put before him arguments mentioned in your telegram 75-D dated October 23rd.² We would further draw your attention to our *aide memoire* dated 24th April 1948 to Prime Minister of Ceylon paragraph 3³ and to letter dated 17th July 1948⁴ from our Prime Minister to Prime Minister of Ceylon in which it was said "that where during the qualifying period of residence required by this Act, the applicant was a married person, his wife and such minor children as were dependent upon him were ordinarily resident in Ceylon." This was agreed to by Prime Minister, Ceylon, in his letter dated 17th August 1948.

In course of Privy Council judgment it was said "It would, in their Lordships' view, be an extraordinary provision, that the husband should have to prove for the purpose of his own registration, that his wife had been ordinarily resident in Ceylon for a longer period than it was necessary to prove in applying for his wife's registration."

1. Drafted by Nehru on 25 October and sent to Colombo on 26 October 1952. JN Collection. Also available in File No. C/52/6434/5, MEA. Extracts.
2. R.T. Chari, the High Commissioner of India in Sri Lanka reported that the Government of Sri Lanka had prepared a memorandum on the Privy Council's liberal decision of 9 October on "ordinary residence" of a family of Sri Lanka Indian applying for citizenship. The memorandum stated that according to published correspondence between India and Sri Lanka in 1947-48, "ordinary residence" of family referred to the entire qualifying period of the applicant and not merely the date of application and that Privy Council's contrary decision was due to bad drafting of the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act 1949, which should be amended to restore the intended meaning and to override the liberal interpretation of the Privy Council. Chari therefore proposed that Government of India should urge Sri Lankan Government not to amend the Act mainly on the ground that Nehru did not understand that the "ordinary residence" of family to refer to any particular period with which the late Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake had concurred.
3. It stated that if the applicant was married and not separated from his wife, his wife and minor unmarried children should ordinarily have resided with him.
4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, pp. 634-42.

You should lay special stress on argument contained in sub-paragraph 2⁵ of your telegram emphasizing desirability of improving Indo-Ceylonese relations and taking advantage of present favourable opportunity to bring about satisfactory settlement. Any action taken now which would nullify progress made would be most unfortunate.

Please convey personally following message from Prime Minister to Prime Minister, Ceylon:

As you know, I have been most anxious to help in bringing about close and friendly relations between India and Ceylon and I have regretted greatly the deterioration in these relations. I am convinced that it is essential for both our countries to work in close cooperation both in the present and in the future. Unfortunately certain developments took place which have had the effect of estranging our countries and their peoples.⁶ Nevertheless, I have continued to hope that a way out will be found honourable to all the parties concerned. I have noted with satisfaction certain recent trends for the better including the amendments to the regulation made by the Ceylon Government. The decisions of your Supreme Court confirmed by the Privy Council⁷ have also created a favourable atmosphere for both our countries to strive to bring about a satisfactory settlement. I earnestly hope that full advantage will be taken of this new atmosphere to achieve a result which I have no doubt that you desire as much as I do.

I have seen some reports that it is the intention of the Ceylon Government to amend Act 3 of 1949 so as to override the interpretation put upon it by the Privy Council judgment. I earnestly trust that it is not your intention because any such action will undoubtedly put an end to the favourable trend in Indo-Ceylonese relations and make a settlement much more difficult.

5. Chari pointed out that the proposed amendment, in practice, would require proof of residence not only from the applicant but also from all his dependents. According to Chari, this condition was deliberately put to deprive the citizenship rights to the children of the settled estate labour as it would be extremely difficult for them to provide such proof.
6. The Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act of 1949 enacted by Parliament of Sri Lanka removed names of voters of Indian origin from the electoral registers but laid down that those Indians who would apply for Sri Lankan citizenship before August 1951 would be eligible for voting. However, only a small number of total applications submitted by Indian settlers could be dealt with before May-June 1952 elections. The Act of 1949 laid down that an applicant as proof of his intention to make Sri Lanka his home should have his wife and dependents "ordinarily resident" with him—a requirement which was interpreted by the Commissioner of Registration in such a manner that a few Indian settlers could become eligible for citizenship.
7. The Supreme Court of Sri Lanka and the Privy Council on 6 and 9 October 1952 rejected the interpretation of "ordinarily resident" by the Commissioner of Registration giving 40,000 Indian settlers right of Sri Lankan citizenship.

I have asked our representative in Ceylon to seek an interview with you to explain fully our position in this matter. This position was taken up by us in my conversations and correspondence with the Prime Minister of Ceylon in 1948. Since then much has happened and the world has been afflicted by many problems which have led to national and racial conflicts. This makes it all the more necessary and desirable that those of us who have the responsibility for guiding the destinies of Ceylon and India, should view our own problems in this larger perspective and set an example of wise statesmanship and national cooperation. It is on this larger basis, more than on technical grounds that I would appeal to you to consider this matter and to find a way which leads to a final and satisfactory settlement of the disputes that have unfortunately arisen between Ceylon and India. In this endeavour you will have our full cooperation....

2. The Problem of Indians in Sri Lanka¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... What about Ceylon? Certainly there have been certain indications recently—good indications—which might help towards, if not a solution, at any rate, some step towards a solution of the problem of the people of Indian descent there. I hope that this will continue and that some positive results will be obtained.

Question: It is reported that a letter has been sent to you by the Prime Minister of Ceylon recently.

JN: I cannot answer that question with any certainty except that I have not seen the letter. I have not seen my today's mail. Unless it is there in that large pile of letters and papers, I have not received any communication myself yet.

Q: It is true that there is going to be a change in Ceylon law in order to annul the decision of the Privy Council.² How is the problem going to be solved?

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 2 November 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 74-76, 172-174, 319-322, 376-377, 410-413, 491-494, 523-526.
2. The Privy Council in its judgment on 9 October held that a married man permanently settled in Sri Lanka could be registered as a citizen under the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act 1949, although his wife ordinarily resident in Sri Lanka, had not been so resident on the date of application for seven years before January 1946.

JN: I was referring to indications apart from this suggestion which has been vaguely made about doing something to bypass the Privy Council decision. As a matter of fact, I saw in today's paper, I think, something to the effect that although that Act is going to be amended, it is not intended by the Ceylon Government to come in the way of the Privy Council's decision. It is a newspaper story, I do not know how far it is true....

3. Persons of Indian Descent¹

The House will remember, Sir, that on the first day of this session, i.e., the 5th of November, a question was put to me by Professor Agarwal² in regard to the rights of Ceylon citizens of Indian descent. My colleague, the Deputy Minister,³ answered that question. In the course of his answer, he expressed the hope that steps would be taken by the Ceylon Government to administer the Act governing citizenship in such a manner as to improve the conditions of such persons in Ceylon and facilitate their achievement of the franchise.

I regret to say that developments since then have belied this hope and the outlook at present is a depressing one. Recently an amending Bill to that Act has been introduced in the Ceylon Parliament.⁴ If this is enacted, the effect on the persons of Indian descent in Ceylon will be far-reaching. Out of a total of about seven lakhs and odd of Ceylon citizens of Indian descent, the vast majority would be excluded from the franchise. In addition, being denied citizenship rights, they would be subjected, as they are subjected now, to numerous disqualifications and difficulties such as being deprived of the social security and insurance schemes. There is some difficulty for them even to draw their rations. This is thus an important and urgent matter and I earnestly hope that the Ceylon Government will take a broad view in a matter affecting hundreds of thousands of their citizens.

1. Statement in Parliament, 12 November 1952, *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 293-296.
2. Shriman Narayan Agarwal, a Congress Member, wanted to know whether any agreement had been reached between the Sri Lanka Indian Congress and the Government of Sri Lanka regarding the rights of franchise.
3. Anil K. Chanda, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs.
4. On 5 November 1952, the Sri Lankan Government introduced an amending Bill in the Parliament which sought to establish the Commissioner's interpretation as authoritative and to confer citizenship only on those members of the family of the applicants who had been residents since 1939. The Bill was finally passed on 13 November 1952.

Some days ago, I addressed a personal appeal to the Prime Minister of Ceylon⁵ expressing this hope. I regret that the appeal bore no fruit.

These persons of Indian descent in Ceylon are not Indian nationals. Most of them were born in Ceylon and they have lived there nearly all or a great portion of their lives. If Ceylon citizenship is denied to them, they become Stateless. To produce such an extraordinary state of affairs cannot surely be the object of any Government.

The amending Bill before the Ceylon Parliament has apparently been occasioned by a judgement of the Privy Council which upheld the decision of the Supreme Court of Ceylon. The question at issue is the interpretation to be put on the term "ordinarily resident" which occurs in the Ceylon, Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act of 1949. The Prime Minister of Ceylon has expressed his intention to give effect to the spirit and letter of his father, the late Prime Minister of Ceylon's undertaking in this matter.⁶ I am, to some extent, personally concerned, as I had the advantage of long discussions with the late Prime Minister of Ceylon in 1948. I can claim, therefore, to say what I understood the late Prime Minister had said and meant about this matter. Indeed, the original proposal was that of the late Prime Minister of Ceylon and I agreed to it. This was to the effect that as a proof of an applicant's real intention to make Ceylon his permanent home he should have his wife and minor children "ordinarily resident" with him. I should have thought that the meaning was clear. But the Ceylon Commissioner for Registration decided otherwise and stated:

- (1) that the applicant's wife from the date of her marriage or the 1st January 1939, whichever is later; and
- (2) that each minor dependent child should be resident with him from the 1st January 1939 or the date of birth, whichever is later.

This made even the husband's permanent settlement in Ceylon dependent not on his own qualifications, but, in addition, to his wife's and children's residence. The Supreme Court of Ceylon rejected the Commissioner's interpretation. This matter was then taken up to the Privy Council by the Government of Ceylon. The Privy Council upheld the decision of the Supreme Court and remarked, *inter alia*:

5. See *ante*, pp. 470-71.

6. Dudley Senanayake, the Sri Lankan Prime Minister, in a letter to the Ceylon Indian Congress on 1 November stated that the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act of 1949 had not given effect to what the late Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake clearly expressed in his correspondence with Nehru to which the latter had agreed at that time. Hence, the amendment had now been brought to remove the lacunae in the drafting of that Act.

There is no express provision in the Act that the husband's permanent settlement in Ceylon must have been achieved in company with his wife and children, or that the minimum period of uninterrupted residence required for the husband has any application to his wife or children.

The Privy Council further remarked that:

It would be an extraordinary provision that the husband should have to prove for the purpose of his own registration that his wife had been "ordinarily resident" in Ceylon for a longer period than it was necessary to prove in applying for his wife's registration.

The judgement of the Privy Council, which, if I may say with all respect, was the obvious interpretation to be put on the Act as well as on the discussions which had preceded the Act, was generally welcomed in Ceylon and India. We hoped that this would be a beginning of settling this long-standing and vexing controversy which has come in the way of developing that friendly and co-operative relationship between our countries which all of us so desire and which geography, culture and history indicate. I regret greatly that the Ceylon Government have taken a contrary view and are now attempting by means of an amending Bill, to override the decision of their own Supreme Court and the Privy Council. This proposed amendment is not, in my opinion, in conformity with the views of the late Prime Minister of Ceylon as they were expressed to me in the course of long discussions. A record of those discussions was subsequently published.⁷ I am unable to understand how those views can be reconciled with the proposed amendment to the Ceylon Act. Indeed, this amendment appears to me contrary to the agreement arrived at between the late Prime Minister of Ceylon and me. I have no doubts about this matter. If the Prime Minister of Ceylon has any such doubts, the matter can be considered. I am prepared to agree to a fuller consideration of this matter in all its aspects and even to a reference to an independent authority agreed to by both parties.

I earnestly hope that no hurried decision will be taken in a matter of this great consequence. As I have said at the beginning of this answer, the Prime Minister of Ceylon has recently taken some steps which gave us some hope that the position of Ceylon citizens of Indian descent would be eased somewhat. It is in that direction that a solution lies and not in doing something which makes that position an exceedingly difficult one.

7. Correspondence between India and Sri Lanka in 1947-48 was published by Sri Lankan Government.

4. Sri Lanka Citizenship Act¹

I do not think it is necessary to say anything at present. We have made our position perfectly clear.² The Ceylon Government's behaviour in this matter is so wrong that it will undoubtedly recoil on them—It is better for Government to maintain a dignified silence.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 14 November 1952. File No. C/52/6434/5, MEA.
2. On 6 November 1952, in its *aide memoire* to the Sri Lankan Government, the Government of India expressed its disappointment at the former's attempt to further amend the Citizenship Act as the "intention of the Ceylon Government seems to be to proceed to upset both the verdicts of its own Supreme Court and the Privy Council."

5. Sri Lankan Press on Citizenship¹

I have read these articles.² I am surprised at their virulence and their obvious attempt to intimidate. I think you should send for the Ceylon High Commissioner³ here and draw his attention to these articles and point out that if this is the kind of approach to this problem, then we must give up all hope of ever settling this problem of people of Indian descent in Ceylon. The language of the articles exhibits a pathological state of mind. I am not for the moment concerned with the merits of the objection to certain Ceylonese nationals coming to India.⁴ Even if that objection is justified, to talk about

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 26 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. R.T. Chari, the High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka, sent on 22 November three press clippings containing two leading articles from the *Ceylon Daily News* and the *UNP Journal* of 21 November and an article by Stanley Morrison in the *UNP Journal* of the same date branding the Ceylon Indian Congress Delegation which visited Delhi on 9 November as traitors to Sri Lanka.
3. C. Coomaraswamy.
4. Members of the Ceylon Indian Congress, A. Aziz, S. Thondaman and K. Rajalingam arrived in New Delhi on 9 November 1952 to discuss with Nehru the proposed amendment before the Sri Lankan Parliament to further restrict the claims of persons of Indian origin to Sri Lankan citizenship.

spies, traitors and people deserving the gallows for treachery⁵ is, to say the least of it, very extraordinary. Since two well-known newspapers have been taking the same line, we are entitled to ask if this is the official line of the Ceylon Government in this matter.

2. It has always been our endeavour not to interfere with domestic affairs in Ceylon. In the matter of people of Indian descent there, it is well-known that there is a long history behind it and for more than a generation there have been innumerable conferences, partial agreements and the like between the two Governments. We cannot wipe off this history or the consequences of it. Hence our attempts to help in arriving at a proper settlement.

3. We did not encourage the three leaders of the Ceylon Indian Congress to come to India. They came, as they stated, because a certain interpretation given by them was challenged by the Ceylon Government. As I was a party to the talks with the late Ceylon Prime Minister, it was presumed that I might be in a position to give my impression of what took place. In order to find this out, they came here. I think it would have been better if they had not come. But to call such people spies and traitors and worthy of being sent to the gallows exhibits a state of mind which is deplorable and which can only mean to encourage bitterness all round and trouble. Is it denied that those who are admittedly Ceylonese nationals and are also of Indian descent should not feel interested in the fate of other people of Indian descent to whom nationality rights in Ceylon are being denied? Obviously they must be interested in them. Being interested, they have approached the Ceylon Government repeatedly on this question and have not met with a favourable response. Because of this, there has been bitterness and they have taken steps in protest.

4. We can neither deny nor forget past history. It is a fact that vast numbers of people in India are interested in this matter, not only for humane reasons but also because, to some extent, our honour and self-respect are involved. The Government of India have consistently tried to deal with this question in a friendly way and appealed to our public and Press not to use any language which may come in the way of a friendly settlement. I am afraid that they have not been helped in this by the attitude of either the Ceylon Government or the Ceylon Press. The Government of India will continue to pursue the

5. Referring to the deputation's visit to India, *UNP Journal*, the Sri Lankan newspaper, wrote that a law should be passed by Sri Lanka "which would deal with those who imperil the independence of Ceylon" and "those who openly seek to force foreign governments to intervene in Ceylon should be made punishable under such an Act of Parliament" for "there is no other method of dealing with either spies or traitors." S. Morrison's article in the said newspaper termed the visit as "an dastardly attempt" to poison Indo-Ceylonese relations which in earlier times would have led the visitors "to gallows for treachery."

same policy, because it is their basic conviction that there should be friendly relations between the Governments and peoples of India and Ceylon. Apart from this being necessary in the present, it is inevitable for historical, cultural and geographical reasons that this should be so. They deeply regret that the response on the side of the Ceylon Government and Press is such that it makes it more and more difficult for any kind of a friendly approach to be made.

5. There are a very large number of Indians in Burma, very much larger than the number in Ceylon. The Burmese Government have passed various laws in regard to land etc., which have caused considerable loss to these Indians or people of Indian descent in Burma. Nevertheless, the questions there have been tackled in a spirit of friendliness between the two Governments and the two peoples. When Burma became independent, the question of nationality came to the front. Those Indians who chose Burmese nationality were welcomed by the Burmese Government. Those who decided to continue as Indian nationals, remained so. There was nothing in the nature of a conflict.

6. The contrast with Ceylon is marked and significant.

7. Whatever arguments might be used by the Government or Press of Ceylon in regard to people of Indian descent there, it is clear that the objective aimed at is not to grant citizenship to the great majority of people of Indian descent in Ceylon. That has nothing to do with any logical argument. It is the right of the Government of Ceylon to pass their own nationality law. But in doing so they can hardly override history and present conditions. If by their law or policy they make a very large number of people of Indian descent Stateless, then a serious problem is created which will continue to trouble the Government of Ceylon and create tension between that Government and our Government. It is obvious that the Government of India is not prepared to encourage or accept these large numbers of people of Indian descent in Ceylon as citizens of India. Under our Constitution they have not got the requisite residential or other qualifications. Thus, we shall continue to have this problem of a considerable number of persons who have no nationality in law.

8. I am greatly disturbed by these articles in some of the newspapers of Ceylon. If that is the approach to this problem, all I can say is that there is no purpose at all in my discussing it with any representative of Ceylon.

9. Please read out this note to the High Commissioner of Ceylon when he comes to see you. You should send a copy of this note to our High Commission in Colombo, for their information. They need take no other steps in regard to it.

6. Press Campaign against Sri Lankan Congress Leaders¹

The letter² from Chari attached does not indicate if he has conveyed our message³ to the Ceylon Government. I wanted that done immediately. It is immaterial what the Prime Minister of Ceylon said or did not say. He has to convey our message and ask for a reply.⁴ This has nothing to do with his collecting information.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 9 December 1952. File No. C/52/5561/5, MEA.
2. Chari wrote on 4 December that he was present in the Sri Lankan Parliament when the Prime Minister during the debate on the amending Bill on 13 November used the word "traitors" in connection with the Ceylon Indian Congress Delegation to India.
3. See *ante*, pp.470-71.
4. B.F.H.B. Tyabji, the Commonwealth Secretary, explained to Nehru that when his note of 26 November on Ceylonese campaign in the Press against the Ceylon Indian Congress leaders was read out to Ceylon's High Commissioner by him, the High Commissioner denied that the press comments represented the views of his Government.

(ii) NEPAL

1. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹

Your telegram 145 dated November 3rd. *Pravda* report about Nepal completely without foundation.² Government of India far from agreeing to America or any foreign country interfering in Nepal, have strongest objection to it and have made this clear to other countries. Government of India have undertaken themselves to build road from India to Kathmandu³ and to renovate and extend

1. New Delhi, 4 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. *Pravda* had reported that the Karachi-based newspaper *Imroz* wrote about the approval of the Government of India to the use of American aid to rearm Nepalese Army, construct strategic roads and airfields, and also to set up military bases at Charang, Pokro and Valpo.
3. The first motorable road, known as the Tribhuvan Rajpath, connecting Kathmandu with Raxaul on the Indian frontier, was built under the supervision of Indian Army engineers, and was opened on 11 December 1953.

air-field at Kathmandu.⁴ We are doing both these through our military personnel. In addition, our Military Mission⁵ is training Nepalese Army.

Americans have started library⁶ in Kathmandu and there are some FAO personnel. We do not wholly like their activities there and have pointed this out to Nepal Government.

4. The Gauchar Airport in Kathmandu.
5. An Indian Military Mission headed by Major General Y.S. Paranjpe was sent to Kathmandu in February 1952 to assist in the reorganization and training of the Nepalese Army.
6. The library was opened on 30 May 1952.

2. Cable to B.K. Gokhale¹

I had interview with Subarna Shamsher and Soorya Prasad Upadhyaya yesterday.² They told me that conditions in Nepal were deteriorating rapidly and there was hardly any contact of districts with headquarters. The reactionary Ranas were coming to the front. King's counsellors do not function and do not even go to office for long periods.³ Apparently Nepalese Congress is thinking of adopting some more aggressive tactics.

They further said that Americans were playing an increasing and aggressive role, more particularly the USIS Librarian⁴ who engages many Nepalese on payment to supply intelligence about village conditions. FAO men also touring

1. New Delhi, 5 November 1952. JN Collection. B.K. Gokhale was the Indian Ambassador in Nepal.
2. Subarna Shamsher and Soorya Prasad Upadhyaya, leaders of Nepali Congress, met Nehru on 4 November 1952 to discuss the situation in Nepal, where the progressive parties favoured the formation of a non-party popular government, as the existing advisory regime was alleged to have failed to fulfil democratic aspirations.
3. M.P. Koirala had resigned on 10 August 1952 and King Tribhuvan took full control of the administration, with councillors to assist him, under special Emergency Powers Act promulgated by him on 9 September 1952. But the advisers' regime (14 August 1952 to 15 June 1953) could not check the rot in the administration as the economic conditions continued to deteriorate and corruption and nepotism went on unabated. The discontent among the landless peasants was mounting in the Terai region and rumours about plots to overthrow the Government filled the air. Those who had welcomed the royal take-over now turned its critics.
4. Robert Rosseau.

all over⁵ and generally helping reactionary forces and carrying on anti-India propaganda.

They complained also of anti-Indian activity of British Embassy.

These reports are naturally coloured and cannot be accepted as they are. But I have received other reports from our own sources about increasing objectionable activities of Americans and to some extent, of British Embassy. Moscow newspapers are publishing exaggerated accounts of Americans spreading out in Nepal and establishing bases.⁶

I should like you to send a full report about all these matters and an appraisal of present situation. You might, if you think necessary, discuss with the King about these foreign activities which are likely to lead to trouble.

5. Nepal was admitted as member of FAO in 1951.

6. See *ante*, p. 478.

3. To B.K. Gokhale¹

New Delhi

November 7, 1952

My dear Gokhale,

I sent you a telegram some days ago asking for an appraisal of the situation in Nepal.² I have had no reply yet.

I am enclosing two letters for the King,³ which please deliver to him. One of these letters is an answer to his and contains my advice about Gurkha recruitment. I am showing a copy of this letter to the Nepalese Ambassador here.⁴ I am not showing him the copy of the other letter, although I have mentioned to him my apprehensions about the Americans.

I should like you to pay particular attention to this attempt of some Americans there to spread themselves and to encourage reactionary elements.

You will notice that I have suggested that the Princes might be sent to India for training, either civil or military.⁵ If the King is agreeable, we shall make arrangements for this.

1. JN Collection.

2. See previous item.

3. See *post*, pp. 481-85

4. Major-General Bijaya Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana.

5. See *post*, p. 483

Although things appear to be quiet in Nepal, I do not like the look of the country at present. I think it is important that the Government of Nepal should follow an active and dynamic policy and not remain content with a passive attitude.

I have referred in my second letter to the King to parties and feasting, etc.⁶ There is far too much of these in Nepal and certainly the King should not patronize it. The Head of the State goes out very rarely and on only special occasions. In particular, it is very unbecoming for him to go to the parties given by these American officials.

I understand that Mahavir Shamsheer⁷ lives mostly in Calcutta and does no work. In fact he is hardly capable of work. He is much more of a liability than of help. I think that this might be pointed out to the King at a suitable opportunity.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. See *post*, p. 482.

7. He was the Minister for Development and Public Works in M.P. Koirala's Ministry which resigned on 10 August 1952. He was considered close to King Tribhuvan.

4. To the King of Nepal¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1952

My dear friend,

I have written to Your Majesty² separately in answer to your letter of November 3rd.³

There is one matter, however, which has somewhat troubled me. I have received reports from many sources of the way some of the Americans in Nepal now are behaving. I think that this should not be encouraged at all. In fact, that the clearest indication should be given to them that their behaviour is not approved. I do not know what the technical experts and others have done there thus far.⁴ Apparently the results of their work are not obvious and

1. JN Collection. Indian Ambassador in Kathmandu personally delivered the letter to the King.
2. Tribhuvana Bir Bikram Shah Deva.
3. See next item.
4. The United States of America entered into Point-Four Agreement with Nepal on 23 January 1951 granting the latter technical assistance.

one is led to think that the real purpose is different. The library opened there appears to have become a centre of quite a different type from what a library should be.

I understand that a considerable number of Nepalese are engaged on payment to bring information from the interior.

I am also told that there is entertainment on a fairly lavish scale. I think Your Majesty should make it clear to the Americans there that you do not approve of this. So far as their entertainments are concerned, Your Majesty should not go there in any event. The Head of the State is not supposed to attend such functions. Indeed the Head of the State seldom goes to any private functions. Even others should be discouraged from going to those functions.

The present position in Nepal is not a final one. It is a temporary period before general elections come in and the sooner those elections come, the better. Thus far, there is, I believe, some appreciation of the position, but I have little doubt that criticisms will grow later on unless definite progress is indicated. This progress has to be in building up of a more efficient administration and full contacts of the Centre with the districts.

In the shape of reforms, two things appear to be urgently required. One is land reforms.⁵ These need not be very intricate, but they should not be delayed. Secondly, it is important that incomes should be taxed, whether these are from land or other property. To begin with, there might be an exemption for a minimum income of Rs. 51,000/- per annum.

If these two reforms are given effect to, they will result in considerable new revenue which will enable much progress to be made. Those reforms will be popular reforms which will strengthen the Government. They are inevitable in any progressive society.

I am told that the Americans and, to some extent, even the British in Nepal are encouraging reactionary elements. I hope that this will be checked and that Your Majesty will make it quite clear that you do not approve of this.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The only measure of any significance taken by the Royal Councillors' regime was the appointment of a Land Reform Commission on 27 August 1952 to investigate the land tenure system in Nepal and recommend appropriate measures for improvement of the agricultural system. The report of the Commission formed the basis for subsequent land legislation.

5. To the King of Nepal¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1952

My dear friend,

I received Your Majesty's letter of November 3 two days ago and I am grateful for it.

2. I doubt if it will be at all advantageous for your son, the Third Prince,² to be sent to America for military training. Military training in America is of a special type which is hardly suited to conditions in India and Nepal, where we have not got the specialized weapons which Americans use. Apart from this, the whole background in America is different. Personally, I am becoming more and more doubtful about sending our young men or young women to America even for civil training. They come back with an entirely different background and find it difficult to fit in India. This would apply even more to military training there. I would, therefore, not recommend your son going to America for this purpose.

3. At the same time, I entirely agree that it would be advantageous for the Prince to have military training. We could make arrangements for that in India. This would be much more suitable. Should Your Majesty so desire it, we could make good arrangements for administrative or military training in India for your sons.³ I am sure that they will profit by this and can later use their experience in the service of Nepal.

4. The question of the recruitment of Nepali nationals in Nepal by the UK Government is full of difficulty. On the one hand, it is not usual for any country to permit its nationals being officially recruited on its own soil by another country. This is bound to lead to criticism and be objected to. On the other hand, any sudden break in the arrangements arrived at with the UK Government would have serious consequences both for the UK and for Nepal. That would be a grave matter for the United Kingdom. For Nepal, the question would largely be economic as well as, possibly of law and order. A large number of trained soldiers coming back to Nepal and not finding adequate employment, would be a grave embarrassment. There is also the question of a long standing practice between Nepal and the UK. To put an end to this long association suddenly would not be becoming as between friendly countries. I would, therefore, suggest for your consideration that the reply Your Majesty might give to the UK Government might be somewhat on the following lines:

1. JN Collection.

2. Basundhara Bir Bikram.

3. Mahendra Bir Bikram, Himalaya Bir Bikram and Basundhara Bir Bikram.

The Government of Nepal is sensible of the long standing friendship between the two countries and of the old association of Gurkhas with the British Army.⁴ That Government would not like to take any steps which might affect that close feeling of friendship and association, which has lasted for a hundred years. At the same time, the growth of nationalist feeling in Nepal makes it increasingly difficult to continue the particular form of military association which has continued during this past long period. The recruitment of Nepalese nationals for a foreign army has been objected to in Nepal and these objections are likely to gather force in the future. That is the natural nationalist reaction.

When the Government of Nepal entered into an agreement with the UK Government on the subject of Gurkhas serving in the UK Army, as a result of the tripartite conference between Nepal, India and the UK,⁵ the Government and Constitution of Nepal were based on autocracy. Early in 1951, however, there was a change in Nepal and a foundation was laid for a democratic system of Government.⁶

This change, which itself was the result of the growth of nationalism and the urge to freedom, accentuated these urges. This has resulted in objections being raised to the continued recruitment of Nepali men for the UK Army.

The Government of Nepal has to pay due heed to the feelings of the people. Even at the time of the last agreement, the Government of Nepal was not agreeable to recruiting depots being opened in the territory of Nepal. These depots were, therefore, continued on the Indian side of the Indo-Nepalese

4. The British Brigade of Gurkhas, that served in the Indian Army since 1817, consisted of four regiments of two battalions each, or about 10,500 officers and men. It was serving in Malaya at this time where it formed a large proportion of the British military forces.
5. On 9 November 1947, an agreement was signed between the Governments of Nepal, Great Britain and India regarding the arrangements to be made for continuing with the employment of Gurkha troops in the British and Indian Armies. The Government of India had agreed to make available all necessary facilities for the conveyance of personnel and stores between Nepal and an Indian port.
6. The unpopularity of the Rana rule had led to a liberation campaign by the Nepali Congress in September 1950. Tripartite talks were held between the King, the Ranas, and the Nepali Congress in New Delhi in the first week of February 1951 to find a solution. Meanwhile, K.I. Singh, with his 300 armed men, embarked on a course of violence in Western Terai which forced King Tribhuvan to issue a royal proclamation on 18 February 1951 putting an end to the long family rule of the Ranas and appointing the Rana-Congress Coalition Ministry with Mohan Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana as the Premier.

border.⁷ In view, however, of the decision of the Government of India not to continue these depots in India, the previous arrangement cannot continue.⁸

The Government of Nepal has given the most earnest consideration to the request of the UK Government for opening their recruiting depots in Nepal. They have balanced the considerations to which reference is made above. They cannot, in the circumstances, commit themselves to any permanent or long-term policy, as this might come into conflict with the wishes of the people in the future. But they are anxious to meet the wishes of the UK Government in so far as it is possible for them and not to take any step which might gravely inconvenience the UK Government.

The Government of Nepal is, therefore, agreeable to the opening of recruiting depots in Nepal by the UK Government. These depots should be situated near the Indian border and recruitment should only take place there and not in the interior of Nepal. This arrangement, may last for five years, subject to a reconsideration at the end of that period or at any time within that period at twelve months' notice at the instance of either Government.

The Government of Nepal trust that this proposal will meet the wishes of the UK Government.

5. This is a very rough draft of what might be said, if Your Majesty agrees to this approach. I have indicated above that the recruiting depots should be near the Indian border and not in the interior. I would not like any UK officers to visit the interior of Nepal for the purposes of recruitment.

6. As the period indicated is five years at the most, and it may be much less, it would obviously not be desirable for the UK Government to put up large and expensive buildings for this purpose.

7. We have informally indicated to the UK Government that we will be prepared to give transit facilities to Gurkhas recruited by them in Nepal. We have done so because we had an agreement to that effect and we did not wish to go back upon it. But we have pointed out to the UK Government that this cannot be considered a permanent arrangement.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. They were located at Gorakhpur, Lehra, Jalapahar and Ghum.

8. On 25 August 1952, the Government of India informed the British and the Nepalese Governments of its intention to discontinue the existing arrangements whereby Gurkhas from Nepal were recruited for the British Army at special depots on Indian territory near the Nepalese border.

6. Indian Military Mission in Nepal¹

In the course of my talk² with the King of Nepal, he mentioned to me some difficulties they had had with our Military Mission³ there. I had heard of some instances previously and I believe General Paranjpe had been informed and had taken action in regard to them.

2. The King gave me a note, which was apparently given to him by his Commander-in-Chief. I enclose this note in original. This matter might be referred to the Defence Ministry.

3. Our Military Mission there has often to deal with difficult situations and the Nepali officers and men are not used to any discipline and often resent being made to work or to observe discipline. Nevertheless, we have to be careful and not create ill feelings against us or our Army in Nepal.

4. The King mentioned to me something which appeared to me very remarkable. He said that on one occasion some Muslims in Kathmandu, as well as Muslim soldiers of ours who have gone there with our Mission, put up a Pakistan Flag on a mosque in Kathmandu. This was later taken down by the Nepali authorities. I can hardly believe that any of our men could have helped in this. As, however, it has been mentioned to me, an enquiry should be made. Are there any Muslims among our soldiers or other persons attached to our Military Mission there? Please refer this to the Defence Ministry also.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 9 December 1952. JN Collection.

2. The King visited New Delhi from 4 to 7 September 1952 and discussed the situation in Nepal with Nehru.

3. See *ante*, p. 479.

7. To the King of Nepal¹

New Delhi
December 18, 1952

My dear friend,

...As I had the advantage of discussing many matters with Your Majesty during your visit to Delhi,² I need not repeat what I said then. I am very anxious to be of some help to Your Majesty and to Nepal and to see Nepal go ahead in every way. We are aiming, as you know, at a democratic structure of

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See the previous item.

Government and the present arrangements are, in a sense, temporary. The sooner we have the elections, the better. That would produce a feeling of satisfaction and stability in the country.

Meanwhile, however, there is much to be done. I have discussed this matter with our Ambassador also and he will, no doubt, place certain suggestions before Your Majesty.

I feel that it would be advantageous for Your Majesty to add to your present Counsellors and the addition should be of popular men who are respected and are more or less representative. Your present Counsellors³ represent, except for one of them, Shri Khadga Man Singh,⁴ rather one limited side of life in Nepal. The criticism is often made that, in spite of changes in Nepal, the old Rana rule continues. That is not true of course, but there is some substance in this criticism. Even from Your Majesty's point of view, it would be desirable to have different viewpoints represented and to keep in closer touch with the people's feelings. I think that probably it would be desirable to add three more popular Counsellors.

It might be advisable also to constitute a new Advisory Assembly which should be as far as possible elected by the *Panchayats*. This will give a more popular basis to the present Government and be a stepping stone to the next big step.

I have laid stress on the urgency of land reform, taxation reform and administrative reform. All these three are very important and I hope Your Majesty and your Counsellors will expedite these. The reorganization of the Judiciary is also important.

So far as the army is concerned, it is being trained and I hope that the police force will also be reorganized and trained.

In regard to development, the most important schemes must relate to communications and roads. Unless roads are built, it is difficult to develop the country, or even to have a proper administration.

These are some ideas I have put forward for Your Majesty's consideration. Our Ambassador will develop them if you so desire, as well as mention some other matters which might be attended to.

With all my good wishes for the season and for the New Year.

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. General Kaiser Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana, Major-General Mahabir Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana, Lieutenant-General Surendra Bahadur Basanajat, Kazi Manick Lal and K. Singh were the members of the Advisory Council.
4. (b. 1907); founder-member, Prachanda Gorkha, 1925; suffered imprisonment for opposing monarchy, 1928-50; appointed Member, Advisory Council, 1951; Minister for Parliamentary Management, 1951; Member, Planning Commission, 1955; Member, Standing Committee, Raj Sabha, 1964-72; Ambassador to Pakistan, 1974.

(iii) CHINA AND TIBET

1. Trade with China¹

...I think it would be desirable for you to draw the attention of our Ministry of Commerce and Industry to this matter² from another point of view. That Ministry, and perhaps one or two others are a little afraid of dealings with China in case this might incur the displeasure of the US Government. I believe that we put a ban even on the sale of old rubber tyres to Hong Kong lest they might be exported to China. Here is the Ceylon Government selling good rubber directly and the Ceylon Government has not even recognized China. I think that we should act at least as freely in the matter of our trade with China and not live in a state of apprehension lest somebody is displeased.

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 27 October 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Apprehensions were expressed in some Sri Lankan papers that the Government of India viewed with disfavour their transactions with the Chinese Government.

2. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

I have sent you full appraisal of situation regarding Korean Resolution and suggestions as to how to explain situation to Chinese Government.² I want to make it clear that while we intend maintaining our friendly approach there should be no element of apology on our part as to what we had done. Our attitude towards Chinese Government should always be a combination of friendliness and firmness. If we show weakness, advantage will be taken of this immediately.

This applies to any development that might take place or in reference to our frontier problems between Tibet and Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh and rest of India. In regard to this entire frontier we have to maintain an attitude of firmness. Indeed there is nothing to discuss there and we have made that

1. New Delhi, 10 December 1952. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 453-54.

previously clear to the Chinese Government. Bhutan is independent in a way but is protected by us and its foreign affairs are our responsibility.³ Hence even in regard to Bhutan we do not propose to tolerate any interference.

The old McMahon Line is considered to be our frontier and we shall adhere to it.

This is only for your information and guidance. Nothing need be done about it at present.

3. Article 2 of Indo-Bhutan Treaty 1949 stated that the Government of India will not interfere in the internal administration of Bhutan and "Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in its external relations."

(iv) EAST AFRICA

1. Need for Indo-African Cooperation¹

I do not like the way things are developing in East Africa. The action taken by the colonial authorities² is just the kind of thing which leads to a worsening of the situation, whatever apparent improvement there might be for the time being. A government has to deal with a campaign of murder or lawlessness, but if in doing so it tries to crush the whole people, then the results are far-reaching and it might become very difficult indeed to find a remedy. In another sphere, in Iran, the British Government are suffering because of the wrong policy followed in the past.³

But what we are concerned with specially is the attitude of the Indian community in East Africa. It is at a moment of crisis like this that they will have to show where they stand. Naturally, they will not associate themselves with murder and the like, but they must clearly say that they also dissociate themselves with the widespread coercive measures taken by the colonial authorities. They must make the Africans generally feel that they stand with them in their hour of trouble. What they can do, I cannot say. But it would have some effect even if they express themselves clearly and courageously on the issues involved....

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 29 October 1952. File No. AII/52/1641/3101, MEA. Also available in JN Collection. Extracts.
2. See *ante*, p. 18.
3. Iran broke off diplomatic relations with the UK on 16 October after the refusal by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to pay forty-nine million pounds before negotiations could start for settlement of oil dispute as proposed by Truman and Churchill in their joint note of 30 August.

2. Attitude of Indian Community in East Africa¹

Recent developments in East Africa are very disturbing. What we are specially concerned with is the attitude of the Indian community. You know that our policy has been to encourage in every way Indo-African cooperation. Our Commissioner² there has helped in this greatly and we have made some progress. Unfortunately our Commissioner is at present with our delegation in New York.

It appears that some secret African organizations have encouraged the assassination of some persons.³ This is, of course, bad and it is right that Indians in East Africa should dissociate themselves with any policy of violence. At the same time the British colonial authorities in East Africa have imposed large number of new laws⁴ and there is apparently a broadside against all African Organizations and leading individuals.⁵ This has created a very deep impression on the whole African population and is likely to lead to very grave complications in future. The Africans for the moment are helpless and frustrated and very angry. It is at this moment that Indians should sympathize with them and make it clear that they would not leave them in the lurch.

It appears, however, that the leaders of the Indian community there are rather frightened themselves by the British colonial action and dare not say or do anything which might perhaps get them into trouble. Some of the Indian lawyers were even afraid of appearing in cases where African leaders were implicated. This is bad.

Again, the East African Indian Congress is also rather in a bad way, and is controlled by people who wish to sit on the fence and do nothing. Another development there has been that in the recent election of the office-bearers of the East African Indian Congress no Sikh has been included and the Sikh community therefore is very much annoyed. I suggest that you write to the

1. Note to General Secretary, AICC, New Delhi, 30 October 1952. JN Collection.
2. Apa B. Pant.
3. In October 1952, the Mau Mau terrorists in Kenya apart from killing several Europeans and Africans brutally murdered two senior Kikuyu chiefs on 7 October and 22 October since they denounced the Mau Mau activities.
4. Curfew, earlier imposed on four areas of Kikuyu reserve, was extended on 8 October to the whole reserve and the Governor of Kenya issued emergency regulations assuming power to declare any part of Kenya a prohibited area into which any person's entry could be banned. On 21 October, the Kenya Legislative Assembly passed an Act enforcing registration of all societies.
5. On 21 October, Jomo Kenyatta, President of Kenya African Union, Richard Achieng, Secretary of KAU, Fred Kubai, a prominent African trade union leader and twenty-five other KAU leaders were taken into custody.

President of the East African Indian Congress⁶ a confidential letter on these subjects telling him that we are anxious that Indo-African cooperation should continue. Of course, they should dissociate themselves from acts of violence. But it is all the more necessary that they should help the Africans in every way in their hour of trouble, whether this is in the law courts or otherwise. They cannot and should not remain quiet when the Africans are facing these grave difficulties. Secondly, remind them quite clearly that Indians must always place the interests of the Africans first in Africa and we will be no parties to Indians taking up any other position. Thirdly, say that you regret that there are internal difficulties in the Congress there and a feeling that the Sikhs have been excluded. Generally, point out to them what our policy has been in regard to Africa and send them our last Resolution.⁷ Make it clear to them that we shall adhere to that policy whatever happens in Africa.

5. D.D. Puri.
6. The Resolution adopted by the AICC at its meeting in Indore on 14 September 1952 said "it reaffirms the policy of the Congress that Indians abroad should demand no special privileges at the expense of the inhabitants of the country in which they live. In Africa, the interests of the Africans must be paramount and it is the duty of Indians there to cooperate with them and help them to the best of their ability."

3. East African Question¹

...Jawaharlal Nehru: Shall we go on to Africa? East Africa?² It is rather difficult for me to say much except well, make a broad approach to the East African question. Obviously none of us can approve of violence being resorted to. But what I am rather worried about is the consequences of what is now happening in East Africa. It has been our deliberate policy to develop Indo-African cooperation; and we have declared, often enough, that we do not want any Indians in Africa to claim any privileges at the cost of the Africans. We have given scholarships to numerous African students who are in India at present—Government of India's scholarships, we propose to increase the number of scholarships, because they lack education very much and they have a passion

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 2 November 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the conference *see* pp. 74-76, 172-174, 319-322, 376-377, 410-413, 471-472, 523-526.
2. The British East Africa included Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

for it. Now, because of this close association with the Africans, we are naturally greatly distressed at events happening there. I do not know the details of charges, etc., that might be made against individuals or groups, but the fact that almost all prominent African leaders have been arrested has, I believe, created a very great sensation among Africans generally there. A man like Koinange,³ who is an outstanding leader there for the last forty years has been arrested. What I am worried about is the future. I hope that the persons arrested will have a fair trial and every opportunity for defence, and I hope that Indian lawyers there will help them in this defence because they may not have other competent helpers. One cannot solve these problems except by sympathy and cooperation. What happens in Africa is likely to be of the greatest importance to other countries and continents. It is a tremendous problem. You see, what is happening in South Africa, in a different way, but in a very pointed way, raises this racial issue. Now it just does not matter how long these conflicts last. But they can only be settled in one way, that is, putting an end to all kinds of racial domination. And the longer the attempt to preserve racial domination is pursued, the more disastrous will be the consequences.

Question: What is your reaction to the British and American viewpoints in regard to the raising of this issue in the United Nations—which have been made clear in the last two days?

JN: That is, you mean to say, Britain opposed it? Well, we supported it.⁴ That is my opinion. Why should I go about discussing other people's actions?

Q: What are your views on the attitude of Indians in Kenya about this movement? Because before the war, Indians sympathized with them when the Kenya Highlands were reserved for Europeans and Indians and Africans were denied all access. Now, what is the attitude of the Indian population

3. Koinange one of the most respected leaders of the Kikuyu tribe founded alongwith Warihiu Kikuyu a group called the Loyal Patriots in 1931. A moderate, who broke away from the Kenya Central Association after the radicalization of its programme, concentrated mainly on land question. He fought for Kikuyu's rights to land against progressive dispossessions by the colonial authorities in Kenya and condemned Mau Mau violence. When Warihiu was killed by Mau Mau terrorists on 7 October 1952, the Koinange family were implicated and Koinange was arrested though he could not be convicted for want of evidence against him.
4. Thirteen Asian and Arab nations including India requested the Secretary General of UN on 12 September 1952 that the General Assembly should place the South African Government's policy of apartheid on its agenda for discussion. The plenary session of the General Assembly on 17 October by 46 votes to 6 with 8 abstentions decided to place the apartheid Resolution on its agenda. The majority included USA and India while Great Britain voted against.

with regard to this East African agitation? We have not heard anything about it.

JN: I cannot say much about that because there is outwardly silence there, whatever might be happening inwardly. And that is the worst consequence—a general depression—when there is apparent silence. You mentioned the old question of Highlands. In those days Indians protested on their own behalf against their exclusion from the Highlands,⁵ but now we have always advised them not to ask anything on their own behalf as against the Africans.

Q: Will you say that Britain will shortly have to choose one day between having India in the Commonwealth or South Africa?

JN: So far as the Commonwealth is concerned, that is an assembly of independent nations—completely independent. Naturally, even so, much happenings affect independent nations. What attitude Britain may take up and when, it is not for me to say.

Q: Speaking about East Africa, you must have recently heard about the help and contribution made by Indians in preserving law and order in East Africa. I, for one do not object anyone helping the maintenance of law and order, but I hope it is possible for your views to reach them so that it may not so happen as in Malaya where Indians have joined the Army to repress the local population.

JN: It is rather difficult for a person representing one country to discuss the internal happenings in another country in any detail. I mentioned this because I attach a great deal of importance to what is happening in East Africa and I am very anxious that the development of East as well as the rest of Africa should be cooperative. In East Africa they talk a great deal about what they call the development of a multi-racial society meaning of course the Africans, the Europeans, the Indians, the Arabs, and other elements there. And I think that is the only way for a peaceful development. Therefore, anything that happens that comes in its way is bad from a long-term point of view. So far as Indians are concerned, I am quite clear that they should remain friendly

5. 4,000 European farmers enjoyed monopoly of 16,700 square miles of most fertile land in the Kenya Highlands. In 1939 one of the two Orders-in-Council declared Africans' exclusive right to the native reserves debarring them from any claim to the Highlands. By another order, the special claim of the Europeans to the Highlands was recognized. As the orders were silent on the question of land possessed by Indians, the East Africa Indian National Congress launched an unsuccessful struggle claiming "complete and full equality of treatment in the eyes of law."

and cooperative with the Indian-Africans; certainly advise them if their advice is sought against any wrong action, but it would be most unfortunate if the very good relations that have existed between Indians and the Africans deteriorate....

4. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

November 2, 1952

Nan dear,

I write to you on the eve of the American Presidential elections.² I suppose people in the US are in a high fever of excitement. There is a good deal of interest here also. Indu has quite worked herself up about it....

I am greatly worried over developments in East Africa. There appears to be little doubt that some Africans have organized themselves into some kind of a secret society³ which is indulging in murders. But the reaction of the British colonial administration has been on a big scale and practically all the noted African leaders have been rounded up. Terrorism has been met by terrorism. This has resulted to some extent in the Africans feeling cowed down. But I am quite certain that the British are inviting trouble for themselves.

This has put the Indian community there in a difficult and embarrassing position. Most of them are no heroes and they are frankly frightened. Indeed the Indian lawyers there have practically refused even to appear in court on the part of important African leaders who have been arrested. This is bad. We have been privately trying to induce the Indian community to help the Africans in various legitimate ways. Of course they dissociate themselves from acts of terrorism,⁴ but at the same time they must show their sympathy to the Africans when they are in trouble. More particularly we wanted them to defend the Chief Koinange. I am not quite sure if any Indian lawyer has yet agreed to do so. Yesterday at a press conference, I spoke about this matter.⁵

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See *ante*, p. 427.

3. Mau Mau organization.

4. The East African Indian National Congress passed a Resolution on 20 October warning Africans "of the disastrous results of violence as an instrument of agitation."

5. See previous item.

This is just the time when I should have liked Apa Pant to be there. Rahman⁶ is there and I believe he is doing well, but some more senior person was necessary. For a moment I even thought of asking Apa Pant to return to East Africa, but I decided not to at this stage.

I should like you to take Apa's advice. Does he think that his return is desirable now or a little later. Rameshwar Rao is in India. He knows something about East Africa, as he was there with Apa.⁷ We intend sending him as Consul to the Gold Coast. The idea of Rameshwar Rao going to Nairobi has also struck me, that is that he might go there for a little while before proceeding to Gold Coast. But I am, by no means, sure if he would make much difference. Will you ask Apa about it.

Isobel Cripps⁸ is coming here on the 21st November. About the same time Frida Laski⁹ is also coming to India.

With love from,
Jawahar

6. Mohammad Aatur Rahman (b. 1922); joined Indian Foreign Service, 1947; after serving in many places was appointed Chairman, International Commission for Supervision and Control, Vietnam, 1964-67; High Commissioner, Malaysia, 1967-69; Ambassador to Iran, 1969-71; to France, 1975-78; and to Federal Republic of Germany, 1978-81.
7. J. Rameshwar Rao was First Secretary, Indian Commission at Nairobi, 1950-52 and Apa B. Pant was the Commissioner in British East Africa.
8. Wife of Stafford Cripps.
9. Frida Laski (b. 1884); trained as physiotherapist in Sweden, 1904-1906; married Harold J. Laski, the distinguished scholar and Labour Party leader in 1911; involved in birth control movement in 1920s; was one of the founders of the Abortion Law Reform Association in 1936, an active member of Fabian Women's Group during inter-war years.

5. Indian Defence for the African Accused¹

I think that we should give these figures² informally to the Press. We should

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 28 November 1952. File No. AII/52/1641/3101, MEA.
2. The PIB on 28 November 1952 sent out the figures of the persons shot, arrested and screened in Kenya as collected from various press reports since declaration of emergency in October. It stated that there had been twenty-one incidents of police shooting in which twenty-two persons were killed and fifty-nine seriously injured. 3405 persons were arrested in Kenya excluding Upper Rift Valley where alone 11,000 Africans were screened of whom 2,230 had been detained.

also give them to Dewan Chaman Lall.³ You might also send a telegram to our Commissioner in Nairobi giving him some analysis of these figures and asking him to confirm them or correct them, according to his own information.

I think we should send a telegram to our Commissioner also stating that public opinion in India is distressed and irritated at the way Indian lawyers in Nairobi have behaved in refusing to defend the African accused. Both from the professional and the public points of view this is considered dishonourable. From the point of view of our policy it is entirely opposed to it. You might suggest to him that this might be conveyed to responsible Indians there privately.

3. The Kenya African Union invited Dewan Chaman Lall, Member of Parliament and a distinguished lawyer to defend Jomo Kenyatta and others arrested by the Kenyan authorities. The trial took place in December 1952.

6. Situation in East Africa¹

I think that the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom² should be sent for and spoken to in regard to the East African situation and, more particularly, the treatment accorded to Dewan Chaman Lall and his two colleagues.³ He should be told that, according to information received by us, Dewan Chaman Lall was treated with great discourtesy by the passport officer at Nairobi. As for his two colleagues, Sethi and Kumar, they were kept under detention and ordered to return immediately to India by the next plane. Subsequently this order was modified and they have been allowed apparently to remain there for a fortnight provided they do not participate in any way in the trial.

What Dewan Chaman Lall and his colleagues do in the circumstances, it is for them to decide⁴ and we are not intervening in this in any way. But we are concerned both from the Indian and the larger point of view with the

1. Note to the Secretary-General, 7 December 1952. File No. AII/52/1641/3101, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Alexander Clutterbuck.
3. Dewan Chaman Lall arrived in Nairobi on 5 December accompanied by Tarlok Nath Sethi, an advocate of the Supreme Court of India and Krishan Kumar, his private secretary.
4. Since the Government by orders forbade T.N. Sethi and Krishan Kumar, the colleagues of Dewan Chaman Lall, from travelling within Kenya except at Kapenguria where trial of Kenyatta and others was being held. Following this Dewan Chaman Lall also decided to stay with them at Kitale, a nearby town.

treatment accorded to our nationals and to the feeling inevitably aroused in India about the way the African trial is being conducted. This treatment has naturally been resented by public opinion here and it is believed that all kinds of difficulties are being placed in the way of defence.

Apart from this question of treatment of Indian nationals, we would not normally interfere in any way with domestic politics in East Africa. But the matter is so important and might have such far-reaching results that we feel compelled to point out that to some extent the whole future of inter-racial relations in Africa will be affected by it. Possibly the situation may well drift towards disaster.

In South Africa, the recent judgement given by Justice Rumpff on 2nd December, sentencing a number of African and Indian leaders under the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act is a remarkable interpretation of the law or rather of the intentions of the South African Government.⁵ The Judge states in his judgement that the whole movement was completely peaceful. Further that "the charges had nothing to do with communism as is commonly known." He found them, however, guilty of what was called "statutory communism." Apparently this "statutory communism" applies to anyone who believes that all human beings are equal and aims at the abolition of any law differentiating between Europeans and non-Europeans and the extension of full franchise rights to non-Europeans. Communism thus gets a new interpretation and it is not surprising that the United Nations are accused by Dr Malan⁶ and his Ministers of being dominated by communism. Indeed, according to this, the Charter of the United Nations is inspired by communism. This is a serious development, though perhaps it was implicit in the attitude taken up by the South African Government.

In East Africa the law of evidence has been altered by Ordinance making it possible even for the statement of unnamed witnesses to the police to be brought on record as valid evidence. It appears to be clear that people not only in East Africa but even in West Africa have been powerfully affected by these developments in East Africa and a dangerous situation is arising. Constitutional issues of importance arise, but what is more important is the political effect of these developments. Newspapers in India have contained reports from East Africa which have disturbed public opinion greatly.

5. The trial of twenty African and Indian leaders began in Johannesburg on 26 November 1952 for participating in the civil disobedience movement against unjust laws and orders of the South African Government and for contravening the Suppression of Communism Act by being parties to a plan aimed at bringing about full equality between Europeans and non-Europeans, including franchise for all. On 2 December, all were found guilty and sentenced to nine months' hard labour.
6. D.F. Malan, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Union of South Africa.

We wish to draw the attention of the UK Government to these developments and the consequences of what has been happening in East Africa, because we fear that this will have a powerful effect on inter-racial relations everywhere.⁷

7. The Secretary General in the Ministry of External Affairs called Alexander Clutterbuck, the High Commissioner for UK, and read out to him relevant portion of this note and gave him a copy on his request. When the High Commissioner objected to Government of India making a formal protest in the matter, he was told that no such thing was being done but views of the Government of India on the situation were only being expressed. The Secretary General also told the High Commissioner that treatment accorded to Dewan Chaman Lall and his associates was inexplicable and the way trial of the African leaders was being conducted was not in the best traditions of British justice.

7. Cable to B.G. Kher¹

You must be aware that at the invitation of some African organization Dewan Chaman Lall accompanied by Sethi and Kumar, junior lawyer and assistant, went to Nairobi to participate in African trials there. On arrival they were treated by passport officer with great discourtesy. Ultimately Chaman Lall allowed entry but Sethi and Kumar kept under detention and ordered to return to India by next plane. On Chaman Lall meeting Governor and others latter order varied and Sethi and Kumar allowed to stay on for a fortnight but not allowed to assist in trial or even go to the place of trial.

This appears to me very unusual and regrettable action on part of Kenya authorities. It has created bad impression in India and I would like you to draw attention of Colonial Office to this matter.

Apart from this, reports from East Africa of rapidly deteriorating situation are producing powerful impression in India. No one here wishes to encourage in any way violent activities of any section of Africans. But wholesale and intensive repression, promulgation of Ordinances, making evidence of unnamed persons taken down by police as admissible has created impression very adverse to British administration there. Feeling is growing that methods adopted are leading to very grave situation and widespread racial conflict.

We have no desire to interfere in administrative or other matters in East Africa, but we should like to convey our sense of apprehension at development of events there.

Suggest you might bring this to notice of Colonial authorities....

1. New Delhi, 9 December 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.

8. To N.C. Kasliwal¹

New Delhi

December 11, 1952

Dear Kasliwal,²

Your letter of today's date.³

...We are fully conscious of the necessity of taking such steps as may be possible for the protection of Indians in Kenya. That protection ultimately must depend upon the goodwill of the people living there, i.e. the Africans. No amount of armed protection can provide sufficient security. That is why our policy has been all along to create goodwill between Indians and Africans.

It may be desirable for individuals living in isolated places to have firearms and we shall enquire as to what can be done in this respect. But it seems clear to me that the basic protection must be related to the relations of the Indians to the Africans....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. AII/52/1641/3101, MEA. Extracts.
2. Nemi Chandra Kasliwal (1909-1978); advocate; Deputy Leader, Congress Party in Jaipur Legislative Council, 1946-49; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-61, and Rajya Sabha, 1962-64.
3. N.C. Kasliwal had expressed concern about the protection of Indians and their property in Kenya and the increasing attacks on Indians presumably by adherents of Mau Mau organization. He asked Nehru for a proper discussion on this matter in the Parliament and requested him to ask the Government of Kenya to pursue a more liberal policy on the issue of licences to Indians for keeping firearms.

9. Trial of Jomo Kenyatta¹

I enclose a savingram and a letter from Dewan Chaman Lall.² Also a letter

1. Note to the Secretary General, 21 December 1952. File No. AII/52/1641/3101. MEA.
2. In his letter of 17 December, Chaman Lall wrote that he met Jomo Kenyatta in his cell who told him that the Africans and Indians should get together. Finding the Indians' response good Chaman Lall wrote that he had also organized meetings at some places. It was also decided to set up a joint committee consisting of two Africans, two Indians, and two Europeans to discuss immediate as well as long-term problems and suggest ways and means to solve them.

from Jomo Kenyatta,³ which is very moving.⁴

There is nothing to be done about this at present. Chaman Lall suggests that I should issue a statement. I shall wait for the evidence, he says is being sent and we can then consider what we can do.

You might show these letters to FS & CS.

I think you might send a brief telegram to Comind, Nairobi, for Chaman Lall, something to the following effect:

Prime Minister has received your savingram dated 15th December and your letter dated 17th December, together with its enclosure. He appreciates very much the work that is being done and hopes it will continue. He will await further particulars that you have promised to send.

3. (1891-1978); Kenyan nationalist leader and statesman; President, Kenya African Union, 1947-52 and 1961-78; imprisoned and detained, 1952-61; Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning, 1962-63; Prime Minister, also Minister for Internal Security and Defence and Foreign Affairs, 1963-64; President of Kenya, 1964-78; his books include: *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), *Kenya: The Land of Conflict* (1945).
4. Jomo Kenyatta, in his letter of 17 December, thanked Nehru for sending Dewan Chaman Lall and said "Although our bodies are here in Kapenguria Prison yet our hearts are with you and our people in this common struggle and we believe that God will not forsake us in seeing that justice is done."

(v) UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. Indians in South Africa¹

(a)² and (b).³ There are a number of questions in regard to the treatment of people of Indian descent in the Union of South Africa. A brief statement giving a summary of developments during the past year is being laid on the

1. Reply to a question, 5 November 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 33-4.
2. N. Sreekantan Nair, of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, wanted to know whether the Government was aware of the PTI report of 9 September 1952, to the effect that the Secretary General of the United Nations met the representatives of India and Pakistan in connection with the implementation of the General Assembly Resolution of 12 January 1952.
3. He asked about the correctness of the report.

Table of the House.⁴ It will be observed that the Government of India have done everything in their power to give effect to the Resolution of the UN General Assembly passed on the 12th January 1952, but that the Government of the Union of South Africa has not cooperated in this respect. Thus no progress whatever has been made during this year towards the solution of this old problem and it is now being discussed by the UN General Assembly.

This question, however, has been overshadowed by a much larger issue of race conflict which has led to a passive resistance movement against apartheid. This movement which is peaceful and non-violent and a joint front of Africans, Indians and coloured people, who represent 80 per cent of South Africa's population, has been formed for this purpose. This movement is continuing and spreading in spite of severe sentences and harsh treatment of the passive resisters. Thus far more than 7,000 volunteers have courted arrest for peacefully defying unjust laws.⁵

4. The summary of developments stated that the General Assembly Resolution of 12 January 1952 called upon (a) the South African Government to suspend the implementation of Group Areas Act pending conclusion of negotiations with India; and (b) all the three Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa to nominate representatives on a Commission which would help them to carry through appropriate negotiations. On 23 February, South Africa rejected the Resolution and thereafter India and Pakistan declared that nomination of their joint representatives for the Commission would serve no purpose. India requested the Secretary General of the UN in April, and again in September, that since the Commission could not be constituted, he, in terms of para 3 of the Resolution, should appoint somebody for the purpose. However, on 14 October, the Secretary General informed the Assembly that he did not consider it "opportune" to appoint any individual.
5. The African, Indian and coloured peoples appointed a Joint Planning Council which staged a mass civil disobedience campaign against the apartheid legislation on 26 June. From July to October 1952, 8,000 volunteers were arrested and many leaders convicted for alleged offences under the Suppression of Communism Act. The South African Government assumed further repressive powers by passing the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act directed against the civil disobedience campaign. The campaign attracted international condemnation of apartheid policy.

2. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi
7 November 1952

My dear Balvantray,

We have received information from South Africa that while the movement

1. File No. F-66/1954-55, AICC Papers, NMML.

there is spreading, they are terribly short of money and this is causing them grave anxiety. They are in urgent need of any sum that we can send. You spoke to me the other day of sending some sum. I believe it was Rs. 50,000/- or so. Whatever you can send, I suggest that you might send very soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Africans and Developments in the World¹

In view of the speed of developments in Africa I think it is desirable that we should remain in greater touch with various parts of that continent. I agree, therefore, with this proposal.² It is important, however, that careful selection should be made of the people who are sent there and I should like to know, when the time comes, as to who they are.

I was under the impression that the Standing Finance Committee had ceased to exist and its functions were now performed by the Finance Ministry.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 8 November 1952. File No. 53-XPA/53, MEA.
2. Badruddin Tyabji, the Commonwealth Secretary, after consulting Apa B. Pant, the Indian High Commissioner in Nairobi, submitted to Nehru a proposal to set up a small office at Salisbury (S. Rhodesia) to keep the Africans informed of major developments in the world and make them conscious of their future. The proposal was to be submitted to the Standing Finance Committee after Nehru's approval.

4. Development Loan to South Africa¹

When the question of a development loan to South Africa by the International Bank was raised² our representative³ in the Bank took some objection to it.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 26 November 1952. File No. A.I/53/4051/28, MEA.
2. The Union of South Africa received total loan of \$60 million on 28 August 1953 from IBRD for import of equipment to increase transport and power generation facilities.
3. B.K. Nehru.

This military assistance given by the USA to South Africa⁴ is obviously much worse and it is meant for maintaining internal security.

2. A note on the subject might be sent to our Ambassador in Washington⁵ and to Mr. Pandit⁶ and they might be asked, should a suitable opportunity occur, to express our concern and, more especially, to point out that there can be little doubt that this can be used to bolster up the racial policy of the South African Government. Mention should be made of this to the American Embassy here also.

3. The note should be sent to our High Commissioner in London⁷ also.

4. The USA under their Mutual Defence Assistance Act of 1940 was giving about £40 million worth of arms to South Africa "to further the policies and purposes of the Act which are to foster international peace and security within the framework of the UN."
5. G.L. Mehta.
6. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was the leader of India's Delegation to the UN General Assembly at this time.
7. B.G. Kher.

(vi) JAPAN

1. Clemency to Japanese Prisoners of War¹

Although we are not associated with the San Francisco Treaty,² we were associated with the Tribunal which sentenced these prisoners.³ It would be an odd interpretation of our functions if, because of our non-association with the San Francisco Treaty, we could not help in the release of these prisoners. In effect, what the San Francisco Treaty says is that the Government represented in the Tribunal should decide by a majority. Quite apart from that Treaty, it

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, MEA, 12 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in File No. J/52/2072/14, MEA.
2. The treaty was signed by the fifty-two member nations of the UN on 8 September 1951 to end the state of war with Japan. India did not sign the treaty on the ground that it failed to give Japan a position of honour and equality among nations and signed a separate bilateral treaty with Japan on 9 June 1952.
3. The International Military Tribunal for the Far East constituted after the end of World War II and consisting of eleven members including India sentenced twelve Japanese to imprisonment for life. On 7 November, Japan informed India that in terms of Article 11 of the San Francisco Treaty, she was recommending to members of the Tribunal grant of clemency to these prisoners who were imprisoned in Japan.

would be right that those Governments so decide and that we should participate in that decision.

2. Therefore, a reference having been made to us by the Japanese Government, we should definitely say that our Government is in favour of the release of these prisoners. We need not say anything about the Treaty in it. If it is necessary for us to inform the other countries concerned of our view in this matter, we should be prepared to inform them also. The Japanese Ambassador here should of course be informed.

2. To M.A. Rauf¹

New Delhi

November 25, 1952

My dear Rauf,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th November which I have read with interest.²

We have an eminent Japanese economist³ here at the Delhi School of Economics. His picture of Japanese economy is a disturbing one. It is practically a war economy, depending upon the Korean war and, of course, American help. This is no sound basis. In fact, it is developing on completely wrong lines and is likely to lead to trouble in many ways.

It appears there is going to be no settlement in Korea. The result of this is likely to be an intensification and possibly an extension of the fighting. That again will lead to even graver consequences. The statesmen of the world apparently are bent on getting this poor world commit suicide. In any event, we are going to have a continuation of tension and trouble....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts. Copy of this letter was sent to the Foreign Secretary.
2. Rauf, India's Ambassador in Japan, reported that Japan being entirely reliant on US support, had after Eisenhower's winning the Presidential election, started realizing that aid from USA might stop or be reduced and hence she should be economically self-reliant by creating markets for Japanese goods in the South East Asia and the Far East. Japan was prepared to discuss the question of reparations with the Philippines, Indonesia and Burma and was eager to sign a treaty with Burma. This was due to USA's desire to bring Japan and South Asian countries together to create a front against communism, particularly against China.
3. Tsuru Shigeto (b. 1912); Vice-Minister, Economic Stabilisation Board, Japan Government, 1947-48; Professor of Economics, 1948-72 and President, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, 1972-75; Editorial Adviser, *Asahi Shimbun*, 1975; among several books on Japanese economy written by him are: *Has Capitalism Changed* (1959) and *Essays on Economic Development* (1968).

(vii) UNITED KINGDOM**1. To B.G. Kher¹**

New Delhi
November 2, 1952

My dear Kher,

I returned today from a visit to Nagpur, Wardha and Sewagram. I had gone to Sewagram after three years and I must say that the visit moved me greatly.

On my return I have received your letter of the 23rd October.

You refer to the arrangements being made for the Coronation.² I confess I do not like this business of your being made to carry a Standard. I think that it would be far better if, at this stage, you had a private talk with the people concerned, probably including the Queen's Secretary and explain to them that while we hope to participate in the Coronation, all this business of carrying Standards and the like does not fit in with our viewpoint or customs. As you know, we are not sending any troops for the occasion. I am likely to be there chiefly because of the Prime Ministers' Conference.³ But I should like to be spared of this participation in pageantry. There is some criticism here already at the idea of my going to the Coronation. I do not mind that because I am really going on business for the PMs' Conference. But if you or I take part in the way intended, there will be much more criticism and that will not be good even from the British point of view.

Meanwhile the South African question is also creating difficulties. You wrote about a joint dinner which the South African proposed to boss. I do not see why he should be considered boss because he happens to be the seniormost. It should be made perfectly clear to the people there that we find it embarrassing to associate ourselves with the South African High Commissioner in these ways.

In the course of one of the Prime Ministers' Conferences, some group photographs were taken in which I was present as also Dr. Malan.⁴ I am told that objection was taken in South Africa to the association of Dr. Malan with me and the photograph was suppressed. That did us no harm. But I object, on my part, to be closely associated with people who look down upon me or my countrymen.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Queen Elizabeth II was crowned with traditional ceremony in Westminster Abbey on 2 June 1953. Nehru was present at the ceremony.

3. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which took place in London from 3 to 9 June 1953 was attended by Nehru.

4. D.F. Malan, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

You have written about the student problem.⁵ I agree with you entirely. But I am not at all clear as to what we can do about it. I shall speak to Maulana and Deshmukh....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Kher, referring to his meeting with the Indian students on 16 October 1952 at a YMCA reception in London, wrote that "it is for your consideration whether anything could be done to prevent the sudden traffic towards England being indiscriminate as it is now", and "perhaps the Reserve Bank of India could also exercise greater amount of caution and control especially in regard to many of the 'synthetic' students who merely avail themselves of the tourist allowance."

2. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
November 3, 1952

My dear Kher,

Your letter of the 31st October about recent political trends in the UK. I have been following these trends with interest and some understanding, as I know most of the parties concerned in these inner political conflicts. It is obvious that Bevan² or Bevanism have not been disposed of.³ These trends represent an evergrowing opinion in the Labour Party, both positively and negatively, in that they disapprove of some of the policies pursued by the more conservative Labour leaders.

The Russians have never liked the Labour Party in England. They think a person like Bevan rather blurs the issues and prevents a clear-cut demarcation appearing between the Right Wing of the Labour Party and the Communists.

There can be little doubt that if an election was held in England now, the Labour Party would win.

1. JN Collection.
2. Aneurin Bevan; Leader of the British Labour Party and Member of Parliament.
3. Though on 29 October 1952, Bevan's left-wingers had decided to disband their group within the Labour Party as directed by their Party, in early November, they embarked upon fresh activities outside the Parliament. The Labour Journal *Tribune* even carried an announcement about a mass meeting to be addressed by Bevan on 23 November in a big London theatre.

I am writing this to you on the eve of the American Presidential election. Much depends on what happens there. The election campaign has not added to Eisenhower's credit; it has made Stevenson appear to be a man of quality and also a man who is not bound down to the Party bosses.

As I have informed you already, it is our intention to send Deshmukh, the Finance Minister, to the Prime Ministers' Conference at the end of November. We have been waiting for Pillai's⁴ return before we make a final decision. But it is almost certain that he will go. We would of course like you also to attend the Conference on our behalf together with Deshmukh. You may informally inform the UK Government that Deshmukh is likely to come.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. N.R. Pillai was the Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs at this time.

3. Recruitment of Gurkhas¹

In August 1952, the Governments of the United Kingdom and Nepal were informed that the Government of India wished to terminate as early as possible, the facilities given as a temporary measure to the Government of the United Kingdom for the recruitment of Gurkha troops in India. The UK Government have informed us of their willingness to meet our wishes on this subject. The matter is now under discussion with the Governments concerned.²

1. Statement in Parliament, 5 November 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, col. 38.
2. H.N. Mukerjee wanted to know about the steps taken for the termination of all facilities to the Government of Great Britain for the recruitment of Gurkha soldiers on Indian territory for the British Army.

4. Cable to B.G. Kher¹

Your telegram 359 dated November 15th.

We shall be very glad if Attlee comes to Delhi² and spends two or three days with us as our guest. Indeed he can stay longer if it is convenient to him. But the dates should be such as fit in with ours. Owing to the Congress session in Hyderabad many of us will be away from Delhi from the 13th to the 21st January. I would therefore like him to come here before the 13th. In view of his being in Rangoon from the 6th to 12th January this means that he should come here before going to Rangoon, that is any date after 2nd January. Alternatively, it should be 22nd or after. We would be happy if he is here on the Republic Day, 26th January.

If he would care to visit other places in India, apart from Delhi, we would be happy to arrange this.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. C.R. Attlee, Leader of Opposition in the British Parliament, visited Delhi on 5 January 1953.

5. Commonwealth Economic Conference¹

Some months ago the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom informed me that it was proposed to hold a Conference of Prime Ministers of Commonwealth countries to discuss economic matters of common concern.² It was proposed to hold this Conference some time in November of this year and the Prime Minister of the UK pointed out the importance of the subjects to be discussed and was anxious that India should be represented at this Conference by her Prime Minister. I recognized the importance of this Conference, but it was

1. Statement in Parliament, 19 November 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 849-51.
2. The conference in London from 27 November to 9 December 1952 aimed at taking concerted measures to increase the economic strength of the Commonwealth countries, including the colonial territories, and fostering such conditions as would enable people to play their part in securing prosperity and contentment for themselves in the Commonwealth and in the rest of the world.

very difficult for me to leave India at a time when Parliament was meeting and there were other important matters which required my presence here. In the course of my reply,³ therefore, I expressed my inability to attend the Conference in London. I added, however, that I hoped that India would be represented at this Conference. It has now been decided that our Minister of Finance, Shri Chintaman Deshmukh should represent us at the Conference together with our High Commissioner in London, Shri B.G. Kher. They will be assisted by the Governor of the Reserve Bank⁴ and senior officials.

The House will recall that the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth countries met in a Conference⁵ early this year to discuss emergent measures that were necessary to avoid a serious threat to the trade and payments of the Sterling Area caused by a rapid decline in its central gold and dollar reserves since July 1951. As a result of the measures taken by the Governments of the Sterling Area countries on the recommendation of this Conference, the drain on the central gold and dollar reserves of the Sterling Area has been halted since March 1952.

Apart from recommending short-term and emergent action to overcome this threat, the Finance Ministers' Conference had also given consideration to the long-term policies which the Sterling Area countries could adopt⁶ in order to avoid a recurrence of a similar crisis. It was considered that the productive power of the Sterling Area countries should be rapidly developed and that measures should be devised to avoid violent fluctuations in commodity prices. Further, it had come to the conclusions that the objectives of the economic policies of the Sterling Area countries should be to achieve convertibility of sterling and to work towards that goal by progressive steps for creating conditions in which sterling could be made convertible and its convertibility could be maintained. Sterling being an international medium of payments for a substantial part of the world trade, its convertibility was an essential step towards achieving a high level of international trade on the basis of multilateral payments.

The purpose of the Commonwealth Economic Conference now to be held is to have further consultations on these long-term problems and to examine whether it is possible for the Sterling Area countries to take any steps in these directions.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 18, p. 584.

4. The Conference was attended by Chintaman Deshmukh, B.G. Kher and B. Rama Rau.

5. At London from 15 to 21 January 1952.

6. The Conference agreed to concentrate on such development projects which improve the balance of payments of the Sterling Area with the rest of the world, with additional capital to finance them being provided by Britain to cooperate among the Commonwealth countries to ensure stability of prices of primary products and to seek cooperation from the United States and European countries to increase trade by removal of trade barriers and the gradual restoration of the convertibility of sterling under suitable conditions.

The agenda of this Conference, which will open in London on the 27th November, is as follows:

- (1) Review of economic development in recent years and future prospects.
- (2) Objectives in external economic policy.
- (3) Aspects of these objectives and of the means for achieving them:
 - (a) financial policy;
 - (b) economic development;
 - (c) trade policy;
 - (d) commodity policy;
 - (e) international institutions
- (4) Cooperation with other countries.
- (5) Short-term balance of payments prospects of the Sterling Area and policy for 1953.

The Finance Minister proposes to leave for the United Kingdom on the 23rd November, 1952...⁷

I submit, Sir, it is rather an extraordinary suggestion to make. So long as we are dealing with sterling we are intimately connected with the developments there and it would be unwise not to attend these conferences and for things to happen which might affect us. It is a different matter if basically and fundamentally we become dissociated with it or associated with something else. But so long as that does not happen, I do submit, Sir, the question does not arise.

7. B. Das suggested that the House might be allowed to discuss whether India should at all participate in the Commonwealth Conference.

(viii) UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. To G.L. Mehta¹

New Delhi

October 27, 1952

My dear Gaganvihari,²

Thank you for your letter of October 12th, which I have read with interest.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. When he was India's Ambassador to the United States of America, Mehta was also accredited to Mexico.

I am getting a little tired of the large number of students, officers and others who are continually going to the United States of America. I am not against our students going there for special or technical studies. But I feel that American conditions are so different from India that a person who comes back does not easily fit in. I should imagine that we can learn more sometimes from a country like Mexico. For the present our tendency is to limit people to go abroad. If you have any specific proposal about an exchange of students or others regarding Mexico, you might write about it and we shall consider it....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Control Over Funds for Community Projects¹

With reference to the attached telegram, please send following further reply:

Continuation our previous telegram.... It is completely untrue that US Ambassador has presented us with any request that American officials or non-official experts should control funds. No such request has ever been made. We made it clear right from the beginning that complete control will lie with Central Committee which consists of Planning Commission members with Prime Minister as Chairman. The Fund for Community Centres consists partly of American assistance and partly of funds supplied by us. This joint fund has been under our control completely.

As suggested in Moscow telegram,² the *Imroz* correspondent should be contacted.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, MEA, 7 November 1952. File No 12/4/XP(P)/52, Pt. I, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In its telegram of 5 November 1952, the Indian Embassy in Moscow referred to the report in the Karachi based paper *Imroz* stating that the US was trying to dominate Indian economy by recommending that the funds provided to India under technical assistance programme and also the funds provided under the previous loan be placed at the complete disposal of American officials and non-official experts who would examine the schemes of the Planning Commission and determine the amount of investment for them.

3. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 388 dated November 14th.²

2. You should certainly meet Eisenhower informally if he so desires. Tell him that personally we welcome his election to this high and responsible office and we earnestly hope that his great influence will be cast in the scales of peace and settlement. We have been a little apprehensive of statements made by some prominent members of Republican Party which are likely to lead to continuation and even extension of conflict.³ We are therefore sure that Eisenhower will strive for peaceful settlement in Far East which is so necessary as preliminary step to tone down world tensions elsewhere also. Any other policy would lead to long drawn-out and continuing conflicts which cannot help democratic ideals which we wish to advance.

3. We have stood for recognition of Chinese People's Government as it was not only recognition of obvious fact but also something that will have to be done sooner or later. There can be no peace in the Far East if we ignore Chinese Government and consequently Soviet also. It seems to us clear that Chinese Government is anxious for peace, though naturally we cannot guarantee anything.

4. For our part we have no desire to interfere in international affairs and only wish to help where such help is likely to produce results. We feel that our friendly relations with Chinese Government are a helpful factor in international situation and can yield results at suitable opportunity. We have no fear of Chinese aggression on India. This is practically exceedingly difficult and for other reasons also very unlikely. As great military leader, Eisenhower will appreciate the folly of Chinese Government indulging in any such adventure which can yield them no results and can only entangle them. I feel also that Chinese Government genuinely desires friendly relations with India and even with Burma. Of course, we shall remain vigilant at the same time as friendly.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1952. JN Collection.

2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian Delegation to UN wrote on 14 November that John Foster Dulles during lunch hosted by him wished to know India's reaction to the results of the American elections and explore possible areas of agreement with India. The talk between them also touched upon subjects like Korea, settlement of the Far Eastern issue and Indo-US understanding. Since during the talk, Dulles hinted that a meeting between her and Eisenhower might be profitable, Vijayalakshmi wished to know what line to take in case such a meeting was arranged.

3. For example, Senator Robert A. Taft, a senior Republican leader, in several of his speeches in January 1951, urged that the USA must "release Chiang Kai-shek for war against Communist China" and said that the State Department's acceptance of the UN ceasefire proposals constituted "the most complete appeasement since Munich...."

5. In regard to Indo-American relations we are anxious not only to maintain them but to add to them. You might mention that Chester Bowles both in his personal capacity and as Ambassador has done very good work and has gained friendship and confidence of many people here by his approach.

6. Our friendly relations with America will depend necessarily on a feeling of non-interference with each other's policy. Sometimes there is a feeling in India that there is an attempt to interfere with our internal policies in India; also in Nepal. This is not due to Chester Bowles at all, but rather to a large number of other officials here.

7. You might also mention Kashmir casually and say we greatly regret that USA have sponsored Resolution in Security Council together with UK.⁴ This Resolution adopts Pakistan's position completely and we cannot possibly agree to it. We are prepared for the fullest consideration of this problem. We have declared repeatedly that on no account will we resume military operations in Kashmir, unless we are attacked.

8. You might also mention that we have been greatly disturbed by news that US Government is going to help Pakistan to build up its army and to have air bases in Pakistan.⁵ We do not know the truth of this, but even this report has created much apprehension. We think that even in Pakistan this will have a bad effect on the people and probably weaken the present Government there. It will give a handle to extremist elements in Pakistan. It was chiefly on some such reports two years ago that there was a military conspiracy in Pakistan which led to arrest of high-ranking officers.

9. Please keep our Ambassador in Washington informed.

4. See *ante*, p. 378.

5. See *ante*, pp. 348-49.

4. Publicity Arrangements in the USA¹

I have read this note.² It contains a number of proposals,³ each of which

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, MEA, 21 November 1952. File No. 32(6)-XPA/53, MEA.
2. The note prepared by the External Publicity Division, MEA contained a proposal for making publicity arrangements in USA and the Western Hemisphere.
3. It suggested upgrading and strengthening of the Information Services in Washington and New York and the appointment of a press attache to India's representative in the UN. It also suggested setting up of Morse reception system in the American Continent and opening of Information Offices in some South American capitals and in Trinidad and Ottawa.

requires fairly careful consideration. I am somewhat surprised to read that we should not attach much importance to the views of the temporary Head of our Mission in Washington and that presumably the basic conditions prevailing in a country are better known at headquarters.⁴ That argument can be carried much further and might even apply to the political sphere. It might indeed have some justification in regard to basic political policies which can only be determined at headquarters. But the application of that policy to publicity is far less. One presumes that the Ambassador is good and knows his work. It is for him to advise us on it. If Ambassadors change frequently, so may officers at headquarters here. That does not mean that the Ambassador has the last word.

2. Publicity has little to do with the administrative structure at headquarters. Certainly it has something to do with the Indian background and it has a great deal to do with the background of the other country.

3. The experience we had of Mr. Bernays⁵ has convinced me that we should not employ these high-powered foreign experts. We must rely upon our own people, though occasionally they may consult or take advice from others.

4. My first reaction to the suggestion that there should be a counsellor-minister in charge of publicity in Washington is not in favour of it. Also, I doubt if it is advisable to connect South America or the Latin countries with the publicity set-up in Washington. Problems are entirely different and the approach should be different.

5. Far from being an admitted fact, I think it is very doubtful if American opinion influences to a great extent public thinking in the Western Hemisphere.⁶ The US certainly controls the votes in the UN. But thinking is something different from official votes and the thinking of the Latin countries proceeds on a different basis.

6. My own views about publicity organization are perhaps a little heterodox. Certainly we should have publicity and we should make it as efficient as possible. But I am not at all impressed by what might be called the American way of doing things in publicity. We can neither afford it nor do I think it

4. The note pointed out that "...one of the mistakes we have made in the States, and perhaps elsewhere, is that we have attached too much importance to the views of the temporary head of a mission..."

5. Edward L. Bernays (1891-1995); public relations counsel and publicity manager to government, industry and trade organizations in USA since 1919; his publications include: *Propaganda* (1923) and *Public Relations* (1952). Bernays was appointed as publicity adviser by the Embassy of India when Vijayalakshmi Pandit became Ambassador to USA, but he subsequently resigned when he found that his work failed to satisfy the Government of India.

6. The note stated "...it is an admitted fact that American opinion influences and to a great extent controls public thinking throughout the Western Hemisphere."

suitable. Ultimately, a nation makes an impression by what it does and not what it says. We should have properly manned Information Services. But we need not think in terms of spreading out too much or of any lavish display.

7. When this matter is more ripe for discussion, it should be placed before me.

5. United States Information Service¹

I do not at all like the proposed clause about gathering and transmitting information for dissemination to the public abroad.² Why should this be a part of the treaty? Is it customary for such clauses to appear?

We have already had some trouble with the USIS here,³ who have been trying to gather far too much information through devious methods and we have had to come in their way. If we have a treaty with this clause, then they will claim a right to do the very thing which we have asked them not to do. They will issue all kinds of questionnaires and spread out a network of information offices, services, etc. I think there is far too much of this already and we cannot encourage it any more.

The proviso to this clause to the effect that either Government should have the right to take necessary measures for the promotion of good international relations with friendly countries,⁴ should normally have been presumed. No country can permit another country to carry on without let or hindrance a propaganda which comes in the way of its own policy. If this proviso had not been suggested, we would have normally taken it for granted. Having suggested it and then withdrawing it means our deliberately accepting their right to carry on such propaganda and we cannot object to this later.

Personally I do not like the clause even with the proviso. The international situation is a difficult one and likely to grow worse and we should be rather careful as to what we agree to now.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, MEA, 25 November 1952. JN Collection.
2. A draft of a Treaty of Friendship with the USA presented to Nehru for his views provided for freedom "to gather and to transmit information for dissemination to public abroad; and to communicate with other persons inside and outside such territories by main telegraphs and other means open to general public use."
3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 7, pp. 489-90.
4. During discussions between the Indian and the American officials on the draft the former suggested the proviso but the US officials were not hopeful about its acceptance by the US Government.

It is perfectly clear that if we give this right to the Americans, we cannot withhold it from others. We will thus become a seat of propagandist activities of various countries directed against each other. If, however, we do not agree to this, we can take up a strong line with any other country.

In view of the elections in America and the fresh developments that are taking place as well as the possible consequences of the failure of the Korean peace talks, I would much prefer not taking any hurried step in this matter of a treaty with the USA.⁵

5. As the US Government was not likely to agree to the proviso, the Finance Minister suggested that it be dropped and the Foreign Secretary agreed to the suggestion.

6. Asia Challenges America through India¹

...I don't think this is so.² I would like to say—not particularly with reference to this matter, but generally speaking—quite a number of things appear from time to time which are on the verge of interference and which we don't approve of and whenever such a thing occurs, we take action in the sense that we draw attention to the matter that such a thing has appeared. I am not referring to this matter particularly and I am not referring to this particular Embassy but to a number of Embassies which are on the verge of interfering at the time.

1. Statement in Parliament, 8 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. II, col. 1017. Extracts.
2. M. Valiulla, a Congress member from Mysore asked if it was a fact that Chester Bowles, the US Ambassador in India had described the purpose of the US aid as "the only means by which communism can be defeated among Asia's millions" in an article 'Asia Challenges America through India' in *The New York Times*. Following him R.B. Gour, People's Democratic Member from Hyderabad, asked whether the Government realized that such an article was not an interference in India's internal affairs by a foreign power.

(ix) UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS**1. Stalin's Speech at the Communist Party Congress¹**

Jawaharlal Nehru: Any statement which purports to be an interference with our internal politics is naturally objected to by the Government here. But, where there are vague statements made, not with any special reference to India, or generally, it is not a question of our liking them or disliking them, but they are general statements and we do not take any action in regard to general statements like that....

That depends on the statement.² If the honourable Member will read the whole statement in its proper context, there is hardly any reference to India,³ if I may say so; of course one may say it refers to it. That is a question of judgment whether India was really meant or not or any particular attention has been drawn to India. There was no stress made, no mention of India, in the whole speech. One may say that it refers to general support of what are called Communist Parties. But so far as we are concerned, we object to any foreign country interfering with our internal politics and whenever any such thing occurs, we clearly and precisely take objection....⁴

We need not go for Marshal Stalin's speech for that.

I do not think that the honourable Member quite appreciated that reply. The speech was considered to be an interference⁵ but then when the speech was considered fully, there was hardly any reference to India in it....⁶

1. Statement in Parliament, 18 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. II, cols. 2283-85. Extracts.
2. C.G.K. Reddy, a Socialist member, referring to a report in *The Statesman* of 16 October 1952 of Stalin's appeal at the Communist Party Congress in Moscow on 14 October to all Communist Parties abroad, including the Communist Party of India, to extend their support to Soviet Russia and his assurance of Russia's assistance to them in return, asked whether the Government of India considered the statement objectionable.
3. In his speech, Stalin said: "Our party and our country have always needed and will go on needing the confidence, sympathy and support of the fraternal peoples abroad," and "... it is plain that our Party cannot remain in arrears to the fraternal parties and must itself, in its turn, extend support to them and also to their peoples in their struggle for liberation in their struggle for maintenance of peace."
4. T.S. Pattabhiraman of the Congress Party asked if Stalin's speech indicated that the CPI had extra-territorial loyalties and could count upon Soviet support.
5. H.N. Kunzru, Independent Member, said that the reply of the Government suggested that it considered the speech as an interference in India's internal affairs and wanted to know what action had been taken with regard to it.
6. N.G. Ranga, Krishakar Lok Party Member, asked whether the speech referred to the liberation of fraternal people.

I must say that the phrase Mr Ranga used is not fair. He said that our Ambassador did not have the courage to make a representation. I do not think that our Ambassador or the Government of India lack courage in these matters....⁷

Maybe. But as a matter of fact, on numerous occasions we had clearly expressed our opinion when there was anything in the nature of what we considered to be interference in our internal affairs. In this particular matter, when it came to our knowledge, we referred it to our Ambassador in Moscow, who is a very experienced diplomat.⁸ He sent us full reports running into hundreds of pages and he gave a certain advice in the matter and we only followed that advice.

There is no question of lacking courage. We pursue our policy, I hope, consistently, regardless of whether it pleases or displeases anybody. Naturally we wish to please everybody. We want to have friendly relations with other countries, but in any matter of principle, we have not been known to surrender.

7. Ranga remarked whether it was not a matter of opinion.

8. K.P.S. Menon.

(x) IRAN

1. India's Mediation on the Iranian Oil Problem¹

Reference the attached telegram from Dr Tara Chand.²

2. It seems to me that Dr Tara Chand is not looking at things in true perspective. After all that has happened and the total break between Iran³ and the UK, it will serve very little purpose indeed for Mrs Pandit or any of our people to go about trying to persuade the UK and the USA to solve the oil problem. Far from helping, this will merely irritate people against us and we would probably get a curt answer. The UK Government have no doubt after

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, MEA, 19 November 1952. JN Collection.

2. (1888-1973); a historian and India's Ambassador to Iran, 1951-56. Reporting about his meeting on 18 November with Mohammad Mossaddeq, the Iranian Prime Minister, he wrote that Mossaddeq would instruct N. Entezam, leader of Iran's Delegation to the UNO to hold talks with Vijayalakshmi Pandit so that she might try to persuade UK and USA to solve the oil dispute. Tara Chand urged that India might use her good offices in the matter.

3. See *ante*, p. 489.

full thought taken a step and accepted the consequences of that step. That step was to reject the Iranian proposals. For us to ask them to go back on that because of danger of chaos and war is to treat them as little children.

3. Of course, we will gladly help where our help is likely to yield results. But we have to behave with some dignity and restraint in international affairs. We are now coming up against the UK and the USA on the Korean issue, on the racial issue, Kashmir and some other issues. There is not the least chance for our Delegation to convince the UK or the USA on the Iranian question. Facts may convince them. The obvious course is for the Iranians themselves to approach these people directly and put any proposals that they might have. Evidently they have no proposal except to repeat what they said before and which was rejected. With all my sympathy for Iran, I do not want to take a step which puts us in a wrong position without yielding results.

4. You might point this out briefly to Tara Chand. His answer to Dr Mossaddeq should be that we are always willing and anxious to help and Entezam can certainly have a talk with Mrs Pandit. But Mrs Pandit is at present not in a suitable position to exercise any kind of persuasion on the UK and USA because we are up against both of them on other issues.

5. You might inform Mrs Pandit that in the event of Entezam approaching her she should certainly talk to him in a friendly way and say that it is our earnest desire to help. But for India to interfere at this stage with the UK and the USA will only be misunderstood without doing any good.

II. UNITED NATIONS

1. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram No. 380 November 11 about Trygve Lie's successor.²

If there is general desire for an Indian to be Secretary-General we can have no objection.³ There are not many suitable persons in India for this post. I can think only of Bajpai.⁴ He has necessary background knowledge and

1. New Delhi, 12 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. Trygve Lie resigned as UN Secretary-General on 10 November 1952.

3. Vijayalakshmi said that Lie's resignation had started speculations about a suitable successor. The names of N. Entezam, L.P. Nervo and C.P. Romulo, the UN representatives of Iran, Mexico and Philippines respectively had been suggested but they were willing only if the election was unanimous. They wanted India to contest.

4. Vijayalakshmi had also expressed her view in favour of Girja Shankar Bajpai, who was Governor of Bombay Province at this time.

experience. I spoke to him on telephone today and he had no objection provided of course that there was a good chance of his election. You should only move in this matter if you find response is favourable.

2. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
November 12, 1952

Nan dear,

Your letter of the 4th November has just come.

I can well understand your difficulties with a variety of problems coming up at the same time and Krishna, who himself is often a problem.²

I had your telegram about the successor to Trygve Lie. I have sent a reply.³ Before doing so I telephoned to Bajpai and he was willing, though he laid stress on his being proposed only if there was adequate support. That of course is right. I do not myself see for the moment any other suitable person. Krishna, for all his excellence, would hardly fit in because he would fall out with people. Apart from that, I am sure his name would not be accepted by some at least of the Big Powers. I am not sure that Bajpai's name will be accepted by everybody. But he has a chance of getting through. He has done well in Bombay, but he is not happy there. Partly he has not got enough work and partly he was too used to the Delhi Secretariat, meeting Ambassadors and the like. His health is none too good, but partly this is his own over-sensitivity.

About Korea, we have had no further news from Peking and I can only repeat what I have said in my telegram.⁴ No news from there is, on the whole, good news. If the Soviet Delegation more or less agrees to any resolution that we might put forward, then one might presume Chinese agreement. For the rest, you and Krishna should be the judge of what to do and when to do it. It is essential of course that Krishna should keep in touch with you over this issue or, for the matter of that, any other.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. In her letter, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the leader of the Indian Delegation to the UN, while referring to the hectic work required to be done in the UN, wrote that Krishna Menon, as a member of the Delegation, kept to himself the sole charge of the Korean question because he would not take anyone into his confidence and also because "he has a persecution mania."

3. See the previous item.

4. See *ante*, p. 422.

As for his complaint⁵ about our forwarding Raghavan's message⁶ to London, I am responsible for that. I did not mention Krishna's message to me⁷ to London or to anyone else. That was a different matter. But the Chinese message to us was obviously meant to be conveyed, in part at least, to the UK. The UK people ask us about it and we cannot remain wholly silent. I am clear, however, that absolute secrecy must be observed about the steps we take about any resolution that we might put forward in the UN....

After great difficulties, we are on our way in Kashmir to put away Hari Singh and make Karan Singh the elected Head of the State under the title, "Sadar-i-Riyasat".⁸ This matter has given us many headaches.

With love from,
Jawahar

5. Krishna Menon was annoyed because N. Raghavan's report of his meeting with Chou En-lai on 31 October which was sent to him was also sent to Indian High Commission, London.
6. See *ante*, p. 413.
7. See *ante*, pp. 414-18.
8. On 17 November, Yuvaraj Karan Singh was installed as Sadar-i-Riyasat of Kashmir.

3. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Some Press messages from New York mention B.N. Rau's name as possible successor to Trygve Lie. There can be no doubt that from many points of view his name is a good one. I was not quite clear whether he should resign his Judgeship of the Court.² I have just had a talk with him. He said that he will leave the matter to my decision and if I considered that he should go to United Nations he will resign from the Judgeship. But he said that he was sure that his name would be vetoed by Doctor Tsiang,³ Chinese Nationalist Representative.

1. New Delhi, 13 November 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. B.N. Rau became a Judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague in 1952 but had to take leave soon after as he fell ill and died on 29 November 1953.
3. Tingfu F. Tsiang was Permanent Representative of the Nationalist China to the United Nations from 1947-62.

Rau told me that two years ago Tsiang informed him privately that if Rau's name was proposed it would embarrass him greatly and he would have to veto it under instructions from his Government. This of course had nothing to do with any disapproval of Rau personally, but opposition to any Indian Representative because we had recognized People's Government in China. This reply thus will apply to any Indian.

From some points of view, Rau's name would be particularly suitable and might be more acceptable in United Nations circles than any other Indian name. I shall therefore like you to keep his name in mind. But before we put forward any name, we should know of support that is likely to come and possibilities of veto by any so-called Great Power.

Personally I do not approve of Ramaswami Mudaliar's⁴ name.

There is speculation, which you no doubt must have heard, that Trygve Lie has resigned expecting that there will be no agreement on choice of his successor and therefore he will be asked to continue.

4. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar was Member, Rajya Sabha, at this time.

4. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi

November 25, 1952

My dear Radhakrishnan,

You will have seen the enclosed telegram.²

It is, of course, out of question for you to rush back to Paris and to hold the UNESCO together. I am afraid both the UNESCO and even more so the United Nations, are just going to pieces. Manoeuvring at the top can only hold them together for a while. The disease appears to be rather deep-seated, at any rate so far as the United Nations are concerned.

About the second paragraph of the telegram,³ I do not quite know what we can do, nor do I understand about Mudaliar appointing a substitute.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 42(20)/48-PMS.
2. H.S. Malik, India's Ambassador in France had urged the presence in Paris of S. Radhakrishnan, the then President of the UNESCO, to deal with the critical situation in the organization following the resignation of J.T. Bodet, the Director General, in protest against inadequate budgetary allocation to UNESCO which had also created apprehensions in the minds of many delegates about the future of the Organization.
3. Malik reported that since several UNESCO delegates were keen that an Indian should succeed Bodet, the meetings of the Executive Board had assumed new importance. He felt that in view of this, the Indian Delegation wanted to include him as A.L. Mudaliar's substitute in the UNESCO's Executive Board.

5. Location of the UN Headquarters¹

The article in *Le Monde*² is interesting, although what it says is obvious enough and has been so for some time past. It is a mistake to have headquarters of the UN in the USA, more particularly in New York. It would be a mistake, though a lesser one, to have it at the headquarters of any Great Power. The only possible place that might have been chosen is Geneva.

2. This question is entirely academical now and has no practical importance. I do not see what our Delegation in New York can do about it or how they are going to examine this matter carefully. The position is quite clear and no further enquiry is needed. Nothing can be done at present or indeed in the foreseeable future, till some major change takes place in the international situation.

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 9 December 1952. File No. 6(29) UN II/52, MEA.
2. Maurice Duverger wrote in an article in *Le Monde* of Paris on 22 November 1952 about the difficulty of operating an international organization with its headquarters on the territory of not only a major power but also the one which was one of the two principal participants in the cold war.

III. FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

1. Attitude to Foreign Settlements in India¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ...Now the French and other settlements. I said something about these some two or three weeks ago in Madras.² That represents our attitude. That was not said, if I may say so on the spur of the moment, but represents definitely and precisely the attitude of the Government of India in this matter. It so happened that when in Madras, a large number of cases were brought before me, about the lawlessness prevailing in parts of the French

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 2 November 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of conference see pp. 74-76, 172-174, 319-322, 376-377, 410-413, 471-472, 491-494.
2. On 9 October 1952, at a public meeting in Madras, Nehru, referring to the attack by some rowdies in Pondicherry on Sellane Naicker, a pro-merger leader, said that no discussions with anybody on the question of French settlements in India were possible because "an atmosphere has been created in Pondicherry, where, if a person talks of merger with India, some of the goondas will crush his head."

Indian territories and attacks on Indian nationals and the like. And it became perfectly clear—it had become perfectly clear before—that it was quite impossible to have any kind of a fair plebiscite there. Of course, the basic position of India is this, that it is in the nature of things unthinkable for us to allow foreign pockets to remain in India. They are bound to create difficulties and troubles if they do; constant smuggling, constant escape of convicts and others, constant irritation all round. If the British power retired from India, it seems very incongruous that little bits of foreign territories should continue—tiny bits.

I might inform you while there was an *aide memoire*—I think published in the press—that, of course had been sent much earlier;³ subsequently, another *aide memoire* was sent to the French Government making this policy quite clear.⁴ I should also like to say in this connection that it has always been our policy in regard to these foreign pockets not to interfere, later on, when they come to us, with their customs, law, languages etc., and to proceed with their agreement in regard to these matters. That is, they have got certain cultural aspects apart from political, and we do not wish to interfere with their cultural growth. For instance, we very much welcome Pondicherry to remain a French language cultural centre. It will add to the richness of India to have a good French cultural centre, French language, etc., but politically, it must be India. So also about Goa.

Question: Is it intended to go back on the 1948 Agreement whereby the fate of the French settlements was to be settled by a referendum?

JN: I thought I made it quite clear that this Agreement⁵ had been denounced by a succession of acts in the French Indian territories. In spite of repeated protests by us those acts continue and the situation has become worse. In fact, since I spoke in Madras, I have got another list of other acts of goondalism perpetrated there. So, the whole idea of a plebiscite is just dead and gone, it can't be done.

Q: Do you agree with Mr Rajagopalachari's view⁶ that France is unable to decide this matter because she has no single party Government?

3. The Government of India's note of 11 October condemned firing and the use of coercive methods against Indian nationals in the French settlements and said that no fair referendum could be held under such conditions.
4. The Government of India's communique of 26 October while giving details of acts of violence committed against Indians in the French settlements claimed that these acts had often taken place with the complicity of the French police.
5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 6, p. 484.
6. On 23 October, speaking at a press conference in Madras, C. Rajagopalachari, as Chief Minister of Madras, said that the "French Government is not a strong one-party Government with which we could negotiate."

JN: That is a view about internal conditions about which I am not competent to judge.

Q: Has India received any reply to the second *aide memoire*?

JN: No.

Q: When was that sent?

JN: I cannot give you the date. I suppose, about a fortnight ago.

Q: Sir, I do not understand how you propose to recommend to the French Government that they get round the French Constitution according to which there must be a reference to the people before they change?

JN: I am not against reference to the people. I am quite sure the people would decide as they did in Chandernagore.⁷ What I am against is a reference to people when conditions are created that make such a reference impossible. We have been always telling "create the right conditions there." There will be no difficulty. Difficulties about legal matters do not come in the way when Governments or countries decide to take a step.

Q: Is not the position of Goa slightly different as, so far as the Portuguese Government is concerned, they have refused to entertain any proposal by the Government of India regarding Goa?

JN: Yes, it is somewhat different in that sense, but basically, it is the same so far as we are concerned.

Q: Talking about foreign pockets in India, Mr. Shiva Rao is reported to have said⁸ that India might be getting tired of lodging verbal protests. Does it mean that the Government of India have in view any other means except lodging protests?

JN: The Government of India have always said that they want to settle this question by peaceful and cooperative methods. We propose to adhere to that. What may be included in peaceful methods from time to time has to be considered.

Q: Police action?

7. In a referendum on 19 June 1949, the people had overwhelmingly voted in favour of integration with India.

8. In November 1952, speaking at the UN Trusteeship Council, B. Shiva Rao, India's Representative, referred to India's patience and forbearance in her negotiations in the last five years in the hope that France and Portugal would accept the inevitability of change and make necessary adjustments before it was too late, but all to no purpose.

JN: No police action is considered peaceful.

Q: Are we to keep quiet at Cuddalore⁹ and other places when Indian citizens are harassed?

JN: We shall remain quiet for a very very long time. I do not allow myself or the Government of India to get excited about serious matters. We are a mature people and a mature Government, not children at play.

Q: Sir, smuggling flourishes through Goa and Pondicherry... smuggling of foods into India. Would it not be in the fitness of things to blockade these places, as the Chiang Kai-shek Government did before the war so far as Hong Kong was concerned?

JN: You mean, stop smuggling by efficient barriers being erected?

Q: Yes.

JN: Certainly, we have barriers. They might be improved.

Q: Do you think these verbal protests have made any impression on the French Government?

JN: I am quite sure, if I may say so, that not protests merely, but conditions make an impression on the French people, who are highly intelligent. How Governments function, it is more difficult to say.

Q: Do we support the nationalist movements inside these enclaves?

JN: What do you mean by nationalist movements. You mean pro-merger movements. We are entirely in sympathy with them, because they are in sympathy with us. Obviously. We lend our moral support, and sometimes material support, to other people. Not Governments, Government does not do that. Moral support—yes....

9. On 10 October 1952, at Uchimedu village in Cuddalore, which lay within the limits of the Indian Union, a party of French police consisting of a sub-inspector and two sepoy fired on a group of French Indian refugees.

2. Customs Union with French Settlements¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) to (c).² Such a proposal was made and the attention of the honourable Member is drawn to the answer given by me on the 28th May, 1952, to question No. 20 in the Council of States.³ The proposal was to revive the Customs Union Agreement of 1941 with such modifications as may be considered necessary.

Some correspondence has taken place with the French Government on this subject. The situation in the French settlements in India has, however, greatly deteriorated and the Government of India have now suggested to the French Government that the only approach to the question of these settlements is to discuss the question on the basis of their union with India....⁴

A number of years; I could not say exactly. Four or five years. I am not quite clear about the period.... As far as I remember, certain changes were suggested to the original arrangement and they were not agreed to by the parties concerned. So it lapsed.

I know that there is a great deal of smuggling going on.⁵ Does the honourable Member refer to some special parcels being sent?....⁶

By whom?...⁷

It is perfectly true that there is a great deal of smuggling. I have no doubt that, as the honourable Member says, family parcels are sent. In what quantity, I cannot say. So long as the present arrangement lasts, that is, so long as these

1. Statement in Parliament, 5 November 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 14-15. Extracts.
2. A.M. Thomas, a Congress Member, wanted to know the nature of proposal considered by the Government of India and the French Government for the reestablishment of the Customs Union between India and the French settlements in India.
3. In reply to a question from M. Govinda Reddy, a Congress Member, Nehru stated that on expiry of the Customs Union Agreement of 1941, on 31 March 1949, the Government of India informed the French Government that in the absence of any Customs Agreement between the two in regard to French Indian territories, India would be compelled to enforce anti-smuggling measures. It also suggested continuance of the old Agreement, with some modifications, as enactment of a new act would take time. France rejected the offer.
4. Thomas asked how long the previous Customs Union Agreement of 1941 lasted.
5. K.Kelappan, KMP Member, enquired whether Government was aware that large quantities of contraband articles were being sent to the French possessions from other countries as gift parcels or family parcels and then they were smuggled out from there into the Indian Union.
6. Kelappan affirmed it.
7. Kelappan answered that they were sent from Malaya and Hong Kong.

settlements do not become parts of the Union of India, the only way to stop that is to have as efficient customs barriers as possible....⁸

I am prepared to answer, Sir. This question arises because some people have got economic sanctions in their heads without relation to facts or reality.

8. When Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, an Independent Member, asked whether the Government contemplated imposing rigid sanctions as regards the French possessions in India, the Speaker doubted the relevance of the question.

3. French Settlements in India¹

3...² further, you might say that in regard to the conditions prevailing in the French Establishments in India, we do not rely on the statement of the Neutral Observers, but on the information at our disposal which was confirmed to some extent by those Observers.³ It does not serve any useful purpose to make charges and counter-charges. We have mentioned certain specific cases and we are convinced that the French Authorities here are encouraging goonda elements. If the French Government want to have any enquiry into it, that is entirely for them to decide. We have come to the conclusion that the continuance of any foreign authority on Indian soil is incompatible with the present-day conditions and, therefore, the only solution that can be acceptable to us is on the basis of the removal of all foreign control from India. The principles that governed our demand for independence in India against the British control applies in a far larger measure to these small pockets of foreign territory.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 20 November 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. H.S. Malik, India's Ambassador in Paris, in his cable of 19 November, reported that France, in reply to India's note of 11 October, had suggested an enquiry by the Neutral Observers Corps to study the situation in her settlements in South India and to enquire into India's allegation that the prevailing conditions there were not conducive to holding a free and fair referendum. Earlier, in 1951 also, such an Observers' Corps, had been sent by France.
3. Three Neutral Observers sent by France to her settlements in South India in April 1951 to give opinion as to whether a referendum could be held there had reported that it was essential to resume commercial and economic relations between the settlements and India to make the referendum "sincere and honest" and that the prevailing conditions in the settlements "would prevent the elector from responding in a calm and calculated manner to the question referendum would put to him."

4. Political Prisoners in Goa¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Seven prisoners were taken by ship from Goa and reached Lisbon on the 18th June 1952. These prisoners were confined in the Aguada Fort in Goa. They were understood to have been removed from there at short notice and were taken from Lisbon to Angola in West Africa on the 19th July 1952. It is understood that they are confined in "Caunze Norte" jail in Angola. We have no further information.

H.N. Mukerjee (CPI) wanted to know whether the attention of the Government had been drawn to reports that these prisoners were suffering from 'fibiliosa', a deadly fever which was prevailing in Angola and that there were no medical facilities being provided in this particular jail which was meant for criminals of a very special description.

JN: We have no means of finding out directly. This is a matter entirely in Portuguese territory there. Informally we tried to find from the Portuguese Legation here and according to them, these reports are not correct and they are in the best of surroundings.

H.N. Mukerjee demanded that in view of the fact that the seven political prisoners were non-violent satyagrahis and had been sentenced to savage terms of imprisonment the Government should move very urgently in the matter of repatriation of the prisoners, if possible?

JN: We are in a difficulty in this matter because they are Portuguese subjects or nationals, and normally a Government does not move in regard to the nationals of another country. I am sure all people in this House will agree that the treatment accorded to these prisoners by the Goan authorities has been exceedingly regrettable and deplorable. But what more steps we can take in this matter to get them repatriated is not clear to me.

H.N. Mukerjee asked the Prime Minister to give an assurance that in regard to Goa something very specific and very strong was going to be done in the near future.

JN: The statement² I made in regard to the French settlements applies equally to the Portuguese settlements. But that does not mean—and I do not wish the House to imagine—that something very sudden and abrupt and big is going to happen.

1. Statement in Parliament, 2 December 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, cols. 979-80.
2. See *ante*, pp. 527-28.

5. On Exemptions to Aurobindo Ashram¹

I have considered this matter carefully and am of opinion that the concession² asked for by the authorities of Sri Aurobindo's Ashram in Pondicherry should not be granted. We should advise accordingly the Ministries concerned here, presumably, the Ministries of Finance and Commerce and Industry.

2. In view of our difficult relations with the French Establishments in India, any such concession is undesirable, more especially because this means Indian currency going into Pondicherry.

3. The attitude of the Ashram has hardly ever been favourable to India and sometimes it has been definitely hostile. Sri Aurobindo was undoubtedly a great man and we should welcome any proper memorial to him, more especially a new educational centre. But Shri Aurobindo is no more and it is not quite clear how the Ashram is going to run in future. Such accounts as we had are not favourable and we have even heard that there are internal conflicts there. Most of the property there stands personally in the name of Madame Alphonse,³ otherwise known as the 'Mother'. So does the jewellery. It would be extraordinary for us to give this concession to a private individual.

4. So far as the University centre is concerned, a number of prominent men in India have commended it, but I have failed to find out under whose auspices it will run and who will be responsible for it. To take some steps to support a University of this type, about which we know nothing, except that it is a memorial to Sri Aurobindo, is obviously not desirable.

5. I am rather surprised to know that monies donated to this University centre have been exempted from payment of Indian income-tax. This might be enquired into and the Finance Ministry might be informed that we see no reason for this exemption. It will merely encourage people in India to transfer their funds to Pondicherry.

6. I am clear, therefore, that this concession or exemption should not be granted. The Ministries of Finance and Commerce and Industry should be informed of this.

1. Note to the Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, MEA, 13 December 1952. File No. 2(587)/51-PMS.
2. On 13 December 1952, K.M. Munshi, the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, wrote to the Prime Minister and the Commerce Minister, regarding a request by the Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry for permission to sell by public auction in India the jewellery of the Mother of the Ashram in the last week of December 1952.
3. Madame Mirra Richard (The Mother) was known as Mirra Alphonse in her younger days.

6. State of Affairs at the Aurobindo Ashram¹

I had a visit from Shri Dilip Kumar Roy² of Sri Aurobindo Ashram at Pondicherry. He was much concerned at the state of the Ashram, which according to him consists of 800 persons now. He complained about the "Mother". He said that while the Ashramites were almost all in favour of merger of Pondicherry with India, the Mother was very French in her outlook.

2. He also complained of the way the Mother controlled everything autocratically and dealt with all the moneys of the Ashram as if they were her private property. She gave no account of these public funds. She takes nobody in her confidence. There is no trust or committee to deal with the moneys or other matters of the Ashram.

3. Then he referred to the University. He said that there is no University, but it has been declared that this has been started and money is being collected. Why is this money collected? He expressed his gratification at the fact that we refused to allow a concession to the Mother to sell her jewellery without payment of customs dues.

4. Shri Dilip Kumar Roy wanted us to bring some pressure on the Mother or on the French Government in regard to the Ashram and in regard to the so-called University. In particular, he said that we should try to stop Indian currency from going to Pondicherry.

5. I am putting down this note for record to indicate the state of affairs at Pondicherry and how some important members of the Ashram think about it. It is obvious that most of these members are so much under the influence of the Mother that they dare not do or say anything against her wishes. I told Shri Dilip Kumar Roy that we cannot interfere with the Ashram or the University, but we had no desire to encourage either.

6. Some time ago I had heard that our Finance Ministry had exempted from income-tax moneys given to this so-called University at Pondicherry. Could you please find out if this is a fact? If so, it might be pointed out to the Finance Ministry that it is not desirable to encourage something that does not exist.

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 22 December 1952. File No. 2(587)/51-PMS.
2. (1897-1980); a renowned poet, vocalist and writer; specialized in Hindustani classical music and devotional songs; inmate of the Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1928-1950; elected Fellow, Sangeet Natak Akademi, 1965; author of *Among the Great* (1940), *Eyes of Light* (1945).

IV. GENERAL

1. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram No. 331 dated October 20.² I entirely agree that Ambassador Malik's presence in New York for Tunisia and Morocco is wholly unnecessary. Indeed to send him specially for these would be in some way harmful. Our Ambassador in Paris should not become an advocate in United Nations on a subject concerning France.

1. New Delhi, 26 October 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit had informed Nehru that though Ambassador H.S. Malik was anxious to be associated with the Indian Delegation as special adviser on Tunisia and Morocco, she felt that his presence was not necessary as the Delegation was fully informed.

2. Spheres of Cooperation Must Expand¹

Question: Do you have any information on the attitude of the Peking Government towards the Indian truce plan for Korea now being discussed at the United Nations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is nothing definite from China. Nothing definite means something good. It is obvious that we had hoped our proposal² would be accepted, otherwise we would not have made it. Clearly the Chinese are waiting to see what other people's reactions are. At least they have not reacted against it.

India could not send even a token force to Korea because such a move would conflict with her determination not to line up with either of the world's power blocs. Furthermore we are opposed to sending our soldiers anywhere outside India.

1. Interview with C.L. Sulzberger, correspondent, *The New York Times* on 23 November in New Delhi. From *The Times of India*, 26 November 1952.
2. See *ante*, p. 424.

I do hope that India and Pakistan will cooperate in a very large measure; they should not lose their common tradition; they cannot reverse history; they must increase the area of mutual cooperation.

In the modern world there must inevitably be larger spheres of cooperation, regional cooperation and ultimately world cooperation. India, Pakistan and Burma ultimately should cooperate in that way. Perhaps they might form some kind of a super federation, but always keeping their identities. However these things must develop automatically, not artificially.

Q: Do you think that such a trend towards federation should not start at an economic level (such as the Schuman plan³ for pooling coal and steel resources in Europe)?

JN: I have no audacious plan in mind for the Indian subcontinent. Pakistan and India should have most of their trade with each other. In many ways the two countries complement each other.

Q: What basic aim India pursued?

JN: We feel that peace in the Far East can only follow gradual settlements between countries of the Far East, China and Japan above all. Anything coming in the way of that leaves the conflict going on.

Q: Can India with her huge potential resources not complement industrial Japan?

JN: The difficulty is of getting the raw materials to ports. Conversations are now going on in the US among American, Indian and Japanese representatives about the possibility of developing India's rail network to facilitate such commerce with Japan.

We based our Five Year Plan upon what I might call the present advantage. The choice is between the present advantage and future development. The Russians in their Five Year Plans have chosen the latter. But to do this requires an authoritarian Government. India wish to satisfy popular requirements of the moment and keep the people happy in a democratic State.

3. Outlined on 9 May 1950 by M. Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, the plan aimed at pooling of the coal and steel resources of Western Europe under a supra-national authority. Foreign Ministers of France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, as members, met in Paris and signed a treaty to this effect on 18 April 1952.

3. To K.M. Panikkar¹

New Delhi
November 25, 1952

My dear Panikkar,²

I agree with you that it would be desirable for you to visit Damascus, Beirut and Amman from time to time. How often this may be necessary, it is difficult to say. It seems to me that your going there once in two months might be a bit too frequent. Cairo will inevitably remain the most important place to be in. Too frequent absences might perhaps not be good. Damascus is certainly important. But surely Amman is not terribly so....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts. Copy of this letter was sent to the Secretary General and the Foreign Secretary, MEA.
2. He was at this time Ambassador to Egypt and concurrently accredited to Jordan, Lebanon, Libya and Syria.

4. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi
November 25, 1952

My dear Maulana,²

As you are no doubt aware, the situation in the Middle Eastern countries, more specially the Arab countries, is becoming more and more difficult and tense. Separately I am having sent to you copies of letters from our Ambassador in Cairo.³ He says that it is important that we should give some heart and encouragement to the Arab people. He particularly emphasized that your visit to some of these places would be a very great advantage and would do much good. I entirely agree with him. As a matter of fact, you have already indicated

1. JN Collection.
2. He was Minister for Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research at this time.
3. K.M. Panikkar.

during your last tour⁴ abroad that you would visit some of these places. I would suggest, therefore for your consideration that you might agree to going to Cairo, Lebanon, Beirut and Jerusalem early in the spring. If you decide upon this, we can inform them. The exact programme can be fixed up later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. In 1908-9, Azad visited Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Turkey and France.

5. Policy towards Middle East Countries¹

This is obviously an important matter and we should keep in as close touch with it as possible. There is hardly any question of a policy directive, because our policy is quite clear. We do not propose to join any such military set up and we do not like the idea of Pakistan joining it. Our general policy, therefore, in the Middle Eastern countries should be privately to discourage these countries joining this set up. We cannot do much more. I am sure that it would be to the disadvantage of these countries to be dragged in in this way and it will make certain that the Middle East will become one of the major theatres of war. From their own point of view, it would be far better for them to keep out of this entanglement and, as far as possible, to maintain a more or less independent attitude. From one point of view, this should even be to the advantage of the Western Powers, as otherwise they would have to spread their resources much more. This may be a debatable point.

2. It is clear that all these Middle Eastern nations, with the exception of Turkey, will not add to the military strength of the combination. That will only draw upon it and thus, to some extent, weaken other sectors. It is hardly possible for the Middle East to be defended with sufficient strength in the case of a Northern attack. Geography is against Western Powers, as it is in Indo-China, etc. To get entangled there would mean diverting tremendous resources there without possible adequate result. On the other hand, one cannot rule out the possibility of some of these countries in the Middle East falling an easy prey to Northern invasion. Then again, there is the internal situation

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 25 November 1952. JN Collection.

in these countries which is obviously becoming anti-American and anti-British. Any formal adherence to the Western military set up there will probably increase the internal tensions and this will be even more to the disadvantage of the Western Powers. As far as I can see, the position of the USA and the UK has tremendously deteriorated there from the political point of view. The result is that they rely more and more on the military aspect. That is a bad foundation to build upon in distant countries.

3. So far as Pakistan is concerned, any deliberate attempt to have bases there and to build its military strength will obviously create a new situation for us. The Western Powers must be aware of this and must realize that they will thus make Indian opinion more hostile to them. India counts for them and they will not easily adopt such a policy. But if military opinion is dominant, they might very well override political considerations.

4. Anyhow, all we can do is to remain vigilant and to get as much information as we can. At the same time, informally we might inform the representatives of the Western Powers concerned that we view this development with apprehension and that this will create a great deal of feeling in our country.

5. The substance of this note or a copy of it might be sent to our representatives in Karachi, Cairo, Ankara, Teheran, Baghdad, Paris, London, Washington, Moscow, Jakarta, Rangoon, Peking, Canada and Germany. Any other important head of mission concerned might be added to this list.

6. Oil Refineries in India¹

The vigilance of some honourable Members sometimes takes the form of seeing King Charles's head everywhere.² We have to get our petrol from outside. We have to get it from certain companies, and those companies are three or four big companies. We have to depend upon them. Now, having these refineries³ will reduce our dependence gradually though to some extent that dependence will remain. Apart from saving foreign exchange, in fact we become a little more independent in our policy by having these than otherwise.

1. Statement in Parliament, 8 December 1952. *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States) Official Report*, 1952, Vol. 11, cols. 1039-40. Extracts.
2. R.B. Gour, drawing Government's attention to a statement in *The New York Times* that the three oil refineries to be built in India by US oil companies would be of strategic importance to USA, wanted to know whether the Government would take steps to see that the refineries were not used by a foreign power for strategic purposes.
3. The three refineries proposed to be built were Standard Vacuum Refinery and Burmah Shell Refinery at Trombay Island, Bombay and Caltex Refinery at Vishakhapatnam.

7. Diplomatic Relations with Mexico¹

I enclose bunch of letters from our Ambassador in Washington. I would like to draw your special attention to what he has said about our opening an office in Mexico.² I entirely agree with him. We have not treated Mexico properly and Mexico is important and in some ways rather near us, much more so than the South American countries. We should try to open an office there on a small scale to begin with. Our Ambassador in Washington should of course continue to be our Ambassador to Mexico too.

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 21 December 1952. File No. S/53/1191/72, MEA.
2. G.L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to USA and concurrently accredited to Mexico, had written in his letter of 11 December that Mexican Government were not happy about India not having a separate Mission there while there were Indian missions in Argentina and Brazil. Hence Mehta recommended establishing a separate office in Mexico with a small staff.

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

1¹

New Delhi
30 October, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I have recently visited the North-Eastern Frontier Areas. I have written a note about this visit, a copy of which I enclose.² You will observe from what I have written how deeply I have been impressed by this visit and how important I consider this area from many points of view. I should like to go there again before long, more especially as I have been unable to visit the Lushai Hills District.

2. On my way to the frontier areas, I spent a day in Calcutta³ because a new situation had arisen there on account of the influx of refugees from East Pakistan. There was a great deal of excitement and all kinds of demands were being made for what was called "strong" action against Pakistan. The problem of looking after the newly arrived refugees was also a serious one. That crisis is passed now and the new passport system is working more or less satisfactorily. The arrivals and departures now are limited. Provisional arrangements have been made for the new refugees. These arrangements included sending these refugees to other States. Unfortunately, some people have tried to come in the way of these refugees being sent to Bihar or Orissa and special trains containing them have actually been stopped by people lying in front of the engine. This is indeed an extraordinary behaviour and is an attempt to exploit the situation for political purposes and just to create trouble.

3. Immediately after the introduction of the passport system on the 15th October, some batches of refugees were held up for a while on the border or within Eastern Pakistan. Within a few days, these people either came through to India or returned to their homes. Our Minorities Minister⁴ went to Dacca⁵ and, together with the Minorities Minister of Pakistan,⁶ has been travelling in the affected areas of East Bengal.⁷ This visit and touring has clarified the atmosphere very much and helped to ease the situation. While the situation is undoubtedly much better and more normal, some political parties continue to

1. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 3, pp. 138-96 and 203-13.
2. See *ante*, pp. 160-72.
3. On 18 October 1952.
4. C.C. Biswas.
5. On 24 October 1952.
6. Azizuddin Ahmed.
7. See *ante*, pp. 319-20.

agitate about it⁸ and try to come in the way of normality as well as of the rehabilitation of refugees. There is of course no normality, as such, in Eastern Pakistan in regard to the minorities. They have to face particular difficulties and pressures. But apart from this continuing difficulty, a large measure of normality has returned. While the old problem remains, the new problem has been largely tackled.

4. Why did this influx take place? As I indicated in my last⁹ letter, the immediate cause of it was undoubtedly the fear of the introduction of the passport system. People thought that they would not be allowed to come later and were anxious to take advantage of the period before passports came in. As soon as the new system was introduced, there was no urgency and people found that there was no real difficulty in coming through if they chose to do so. So now the migrants or other passengers are more limited and travel to and fro as previously before the recent influx. The numbers are indeed somewhat less than before owing to the checks which prevent the many smugglers and others from indulging in their activities.

5. I have often given you some indication of the figures of migrations between Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal. It is well to remember these figures in order to have a current picture. That picture indicates that, by and large, for the last two years, there has been an excess of Hindus going back to Eastern Pakistan from West Bengal. The excess has been considerable. Leaving out the month of September and part of October this year, it can be said that a very large number of Hindus have returned to Eastern Pakistan from West Bengal. This may be capable of explanation in various ways, but the fact is important. This does not mean that Hindus in Eastern Pakistan are at all happy or can lead a normal life. In the circumstances, they cannot lead that normal life and there are various pressures upon them. Nevertheless, in the balance, they did decide to go back.

6. We are accused of a policy of appeasement of Pakistan and of not taking the strong action demanded. What this strong action is supposed to be is seldom indicated. Lately, stress has been laid on economic sanctions.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, there is very little trade between India and Pakistan and our economic sanctions will not make much difference. If they cause some

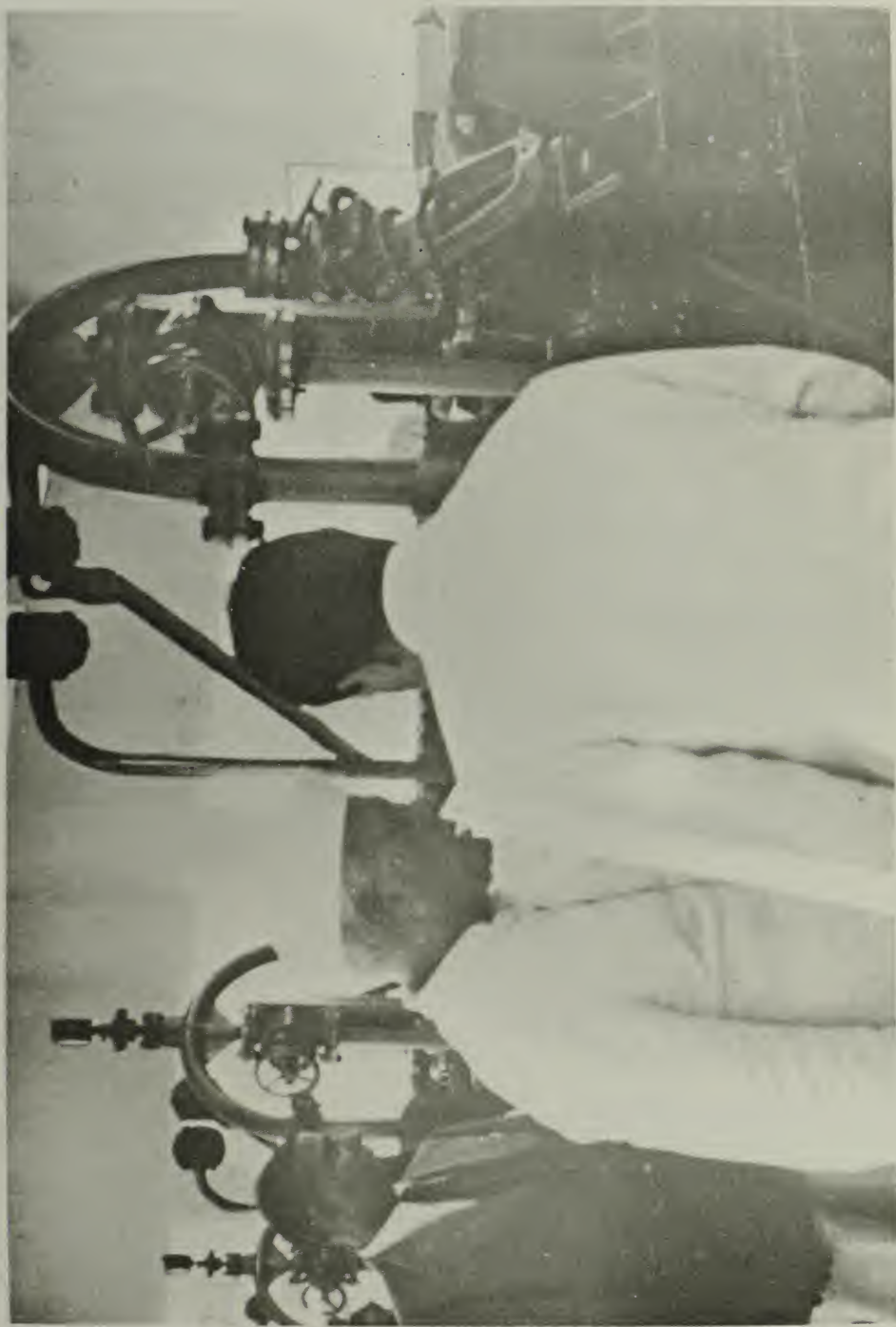
8. At a public meeting in Delhi on 23 October, while J.B. Kripalani called for "effective governmental action" against Pakistan, Asoka Mehta demanded economic boycott and V.G. Deshpande suggested the use of force against Pakistan to complete the exchange of population between the two countries. Strong action, including economic blockade, was demanded at a rally of eleven opposition parties at Calcutta on 27 October to compel Pakistan to look after her minorities properly.

9. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, pp. 725-27.

10. See *ante*, p. 317.



WITH U NU AND S.P. MOOKERJEE, NEW DELHI, 30 NOVEMBER 1952



AT THE RARE EARTHS FACTORY, ALWAYE, 24 DECEMBER 1952

additional inconvenience to Pakistan, the result on us will be equally disconcerting. But, apart from this, what do we aim at? If we aim at a final conflict, then each step should be conditioned by that. If not, then we should not talk loosely and act in a way to obstruct our objective. I am quite clear that to think or act in terms of a major conflict is bad from every point of view and harmful to all concerned. It surprises me how people talk lightly of such serious and dangerous matters. We who happen to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of guiding India's policy cannot allow ourselves to be swept away by this occasional agitation of some people who have no vision and allow themselves to be carried away by the passion of the moment.

7. If we are not aiming at this conflict, then the only other aim is to try to lessen the tensions that exist, while safeguarding our interests all the time. We have endeavoured to follow that policy. To say that we have not succeeded in solving these problems is to ignore the state of the world and of India and Pakistan. There are many unsolved problems in the world and they carry on, even though there is widespread desire for their solution. I cannot prophesy what will happen in the future in India or elsewhere. All we can endeavour to do is to act rightly in the present keeping the future objective in view.

8. I am quite certain that vast numbers of people in India and, I would say, in Pakistan also, desire peace between our countries and a satisfactory settlement of our problems. But in each country there are vociferous groups, full of hatred for the other country and people and lacking vision completely. Unfortunately it is these people who catch the public eye and are reported in the public press. Pakistan is much worse in this respect, but it would be wrong and untrue if we thought that none were to blame in India. Some of our newspapers continually create this atmosphere of bitterness and hostility; many of them, I am glad to say, observe a proper balance. In Pakistan, most of the newspapers are totally unbalanced and some vitriolic.¹¹ Each such step on one side affects the other and thus the temperature rises. It would be far better if we thought more of the large mass of friendly people on either side who want peace and a settlement, and a little less of the aggressive and vociferous groups. It is rather extraordinary how we are blamed for whatever happens. When refugees were coming from East Pakistan. It was said that Pakistan was pushing them out and we were permitting this to be done. Later, when the passport system was introduced and there was some check on migrants and others, we were blamed for permitting Pakistan to obstruct these migrants from coming over. Whether they came or not we were supposed to be blameworthy. I do not understand this type of argument or the mind that lies behind it.

11. For example, *Dawn* of 23 October carried a report that Muslims in India would soon be exterminated by fanatic Hindu elements.

9. I have written to you separately about the food position and the recent talk about decontrol.¹² Where we can relax controls without risk, we should certainly do so. But in this matter there can be no taking of risk. Further we cannot imperil our national plans which will soon emerge from the labours of the Planning Commission. Planning must necessarily involve various controls of the economic structure. Without them there can be no planning. In what measure those controls should be kept in regard to a particular commodity is a matter to be judged in each individual case. But the basic policy of economic control has to be kept in view all the time.

10. There has been debate also about the protection to be given to the handloom industry. It is clear that this industry is of high importance in India. That would be so merely because a very large number of people are engaged in it. But there are other reasons also and any person with a Congress background must necessarily favour the fullest help being given to this industry. I think there is general agreement about this, though there are differences of opinion as to the measure and the method of protection to be given. We have appointed a special All India Handloom Board¹³ to consider the handloom position. We shall be in a better position to come to final decisions when this Board reports to us after reviewing the situation as a whole. Meanwhile, a number of substantial steps have been taken to help the handloom weavers.

11. The General Assembly of the United Nations is meeting at present and is considering matters of high importance. We are particularly interested not only in Kashmir but in the South African racial issue and, of course, in Korea. Some of these questions are being discussed there. But, as a matter of fact, everything in America is at present subordinated to the Presidential election. Nothing really important is going to be done by the UN till that election is over early next month.

12. While South Africa is on the agenda of the UN, a new and rather dangerous situation has arisen in East Africa.¹⁴ On the one hand, it is reported that a secret society of Africans has been carrying out a terrorist campaign and there have been a number of murders; on the other hand, the measures taken by the British colonial authorities are of the severest kind. It is clear that terrorism and assassination have to be met and put down. But it is equally clear to me that the colonial policy being adopted there will lead to grave consequences. It is not possible to crush the whole people, more especially when they have become politically wide awake. A large number of African leaders have been arrested and the African organizations have been practically

12. See *ante*, p. 69.

13. See *ante*, p. 93.

14. See *ante*, p. 18.

broken up.¹⁵ The result of this policy can only be to embitter the Africans and to make a friendly settlement much more difficult.

13. Our definite policy in Africa, as you know, has been to encourage to the greatest extent Indo-African co-operation. We have made some considerable progress in this. Now there is danger of our past work suffering or being even wiped away. Indians, of course, have nothing to do with the terroristic activities, nor are they responsible for the repression by the British colonial authorities. But a difficult question arises for them as to how they should act in these circumstances. Africans look up to them in their dire hour of peril. It seems to me quite clear that, while dissociating ourselves completely from acts of violence, Indians should not stand aloof from the Africans when they are in such great trouble.

14. In Iran, diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom have been severed.¹⁶ Whoever might be to blame for this unfortunate result, it must be said that past British policy in Iran must shoulder, to a large extent, the responsibility for subsequent happenings.

15. In Egypt, report comes that a settlement has been arrived at between the Government of Egypt and the representatives of Sudanese nationalism.¹⁷ If this report is correct and there has been a full settlement, then the UK Government will be put in some difficulty. They will have to adapt themselves to this settlement.¹⁸ This settlement is undoubtedly a gain for Egypt and the prestige of the present administration there will go up. But from other accounts it appears that there is great instability in Egypt and normality is very far off.

16. The Government of India has addressed a formal *aide memoire*¹⁹ to the French Government on the subject of the French Settlements in India. We have made it clear that in view of what has happened there during the last two

15. See *ante*, p. 490.

16. See *ante*, p. 489.

17. On 30 October, General Neguib and Aly Maher, representing the Egyptian Government, and Abdullah el-Fadel el Mahdi, the representative of the Sudanese Egyptian Front, agreed on the establishment of self-government in Sudan by the end of 1952, with the provision that the Sudanese people would be allowed the exercise of the right of self-determination within three years. The Egyptian Government also suggested: (1) appointment of a commission to guide the Governor-General in the exercise of his functions till power was handed over to the Sudanese people; (2) indigenization of the administration including the police; and (3) holding of elections under the supervision of an international commission.

18. The draft statute conferring the status of a self-governing Dominion on Sudan, submitted by Sudan to Britain and Egypt on 8 May 1952, was approved by the British Government on 22 October. On 24 October, a Sudanese communique clarified that the Governor-General would remain responsible for the new Dominion on behalf of both Britain and Egypt. The Anglo-Egyptian talks were held from 24 November 1952 to resolve the differences between the two sides on the interpretation of the statute.

19. On 11 and 26 October 1952.

or three years, there is no question now of our waiting for a plebiscite. It must be admitted that these foreign footholds have to be merged in India. We can discuss the details, but not this basic principle. We have given assurance to the people of Pondicherry, etc., and Goa, that we have no desire to interfere with their present laws, language or culture. Indeed they will have some autonomy and any changes that are made will be with their consent. Although we have sent this *aide memoire* to the French Government, it is clear that in the existing international situation, no immediate consequences are likely to flow.

17. Shri C.P.N. Singh, who had such a distinguished record as our Ambassador in Nepal, has now been appointed as our High Commissioner in Ceylon. His experience will, I hope, help us in our attempt to solve the problems of the people of Indian descent in Ceylon. There have been some indications that the atmosphere for a solution is better. On the other hand, it was announced recently that the Ceylon Government would introduce fresh legislation to get over the difficulty caused by the recent judgments of their Supreme Court and the Privy Council.²⁰ If they do this, it will be most unfortunate for it will put an end to all the favourable trends. I have addressed a personal appeal to the Prime Minister of Ceylon²¹ on this subject.

18. I am going out of Delhi again today on a short tour. I shall visit Sagar²² in Madhya Pradesh, Wardha and Sewagram.²³ The real objective is Sewagram, the others will be taken on the way to it. To go to Sewagram is always a pilgrimage.

19. Parliament will begin early next month on the 5th November. We have plenty of work to do during the six weeks or so of the session.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. By successive judgements on 6 and 9 October, the Supreme Court and the Privy Council had given 40,000 Indian settlers in Sri Lanka a right to citizenship under the Indian and Pakistani Residents Act, 1949. Through an amending Bill on 5 November 1952, the Sri Lankan Government sought to circumvent these judgements by enabling conferment of citizenship only on those members of the families of the applicants who had been residents of Sri Lanka since 1939.

21. Dudley Senanayake (1911-1973); son of D.S. Senanayake, first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka; Minister of Agriculture and Lands, 1947; Prime Minister, 1952-53, March-July 1960, and 1965-70.

22. On 30 October 1952.

23. From 30 October to 2 November 1952. Nehru inaugurated the Sewagram Rural University on 1 November 1952.

II

New Delhi

November 20, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, I have visited some places in Madhya Pradesh and, more particularly, Sewagram.¹ The Parliamentary session has begun² and several important debates have taken place there.³ The Planning Commission has taken some further steps about the Five Year Plan and consulted the National Development Council⁴ about it. In the international field, a number of developments have taken place which may have far-reaching consequences.

2. The fact that the United States of America now held a dominating position in international affairs was reflected in the great interest taken in the Presidential election⁵ there. Indeed, for some time previous to the election, there seemed to be lull in international affairs because no effective decisions could be taken till the Presidential election was over. Some time earlier in the year, it was even suggested that the meetings of the United Nations should be postponed till after these elections, but objection was taken to this by many nations. The General Assembly of the UN therefore met as previously⁶ announced but in effect it could not take up any important work because some important members were not present.

3. Mr Eisenhower's victory in the election was a greater triumph than anyone had imagined possible in the circumstances. What exactly it represented, it is still a little difficult to say. Probably, many factors went into this—his personal popularity, a desire for a change after twenty years of Democratic rule, and, strangely enough, the desire of large numbers of people in the US, especially the women there, for peace in Korea. I say strangely enough because, in the balance, the Republican Party of the US is supposed to contain those elements which are not inclined towards peace. But Eisenhower did apparently create an impression that he would put an end to the present stalemate. His dramatic and rather extraordinary pronouncement⁷ that he would go to Korea himself produced a marked effect. And yet his election, in the eyes of many people in other countries, rather weighted the scales against peace. This was largely due to the previous announcements of many leaders of the Republican Party.

1. See *ante*, p. 546.

2. The session began on 5 November 1952.

3. There were fifty Government sponsored Bills introduced during the session.

4. See *ante*, pp. 43-47.

5. See *ante*, p. 427.

6. The seventh session of the General Assembly met on 14 October in New York.

7. It was made in his speech at Detroit on 24 October 1952.

4. The election is over, but even now there is a feeling of uncertainty about future American policy and people are waiting expectantly to know what Eisenhower's choice of his principal secretaries and high officials is going to be. The most important appointment will be that of the Secretary of State,⁸ who deals with foreign affairs. Much will depend on this choice which will indicate the future trend of American policy. There is a general impression that opinion in America, more especially in the dominant Republican groups, is hardening against peace in Korea. That is a dangerous signal because Korea is not only important in itself, but has become a symbol and a portent.

5. Two days ago our Delegation at the UN released the Resolution they are putting forward on the Korean⁹ question. This Resolution has been very carefully drafted after innumerable talks and interviews with the representatives of other countries at the UN. We have naturally been kept fully informed of these developments and it was with our agreement that this Resolution was framed. The principal powers concerned were kept informed. The People's Government of China is, of course, not present at the UN, but we took care to inform them of our line of approach and subsequently of the terms of the Resolution. There is no doubt that the Resolution has met with a favourable response from many countries. But we are still completely unsure as to its fate, which will depend on the final decisions taken by some of the Great Powers, notably the USA and the UK on the one side and Russia and China on the other. Russia and China have expressed no opinion about it. At the most we can say that they are not hostile to it and that is something. We have gathered the impression that the Chinese Government would not reject this Resolution. But there is no commitment. Indeed, it is perhaps a little difficult for them to give a specific answer and commit themselves before they know what others do. That probably applies to the Soviet also. I imagine that the UK would not come in the way of the Resolution, left to themselves. The attitude of the USA thus is of crucial importance. Unfortunately, immediately after the publication of this Resolution, a spokesman of the USA indicated that it would not be acceptable.¹⁰ That need not be taken as a final rejection, but it does mean that difficulties are ahead. In any event, we have tried our utmost in all good faith to bring about a settlement in Korea and we have taken into consideration and tried to adjust the various conflicting viewpoints. I have no doubt whatever that given the will to a settlement, there would be little difficulty in finding a solution. If that will is absent, then obviously it does not matter much what formulae or form of words are used.

8. John Foster Dulles was nominated Secretary of State on 20 November 1952.

9. See *ante*, p. 424.

10. See *ante*, p. 426.

6. There are three possibilities in Korea: (1) a continuation of the present stalemate and petty fighting, (2) an agreement about the armistice as a first step towards a solution, and (3) an extension of the conflict. It is highly unlikely that the present position will or can continue for long. I have said that there is petty fighting going on now. This is true and yet this should not mislead us, because the casualties are fairly heavy on both sides. Fighting has reverted to the kind we had in the First World War in Europe, that is, trench warfare. Each party has entrenched itself strongly and tries to dislodge the other from this position. The result is that casualties are heavy and fighting, though on a small scale, is fairly intense. An odd hill changes hands repeatedly, making little difference to the general position but meaning heavy loss in human beings. What the effect of this type of fighting has in China, I do not know, though I hardly think they can welcome its continuation. It is clear in America this present stalemate and continuing loss is intensely disliked and the tendency is to get out of it anyhow either by peace or by war on a larger scale.

7. We might thus rule out the first of these possible courses and we are left with the other two, namely, a possible settlement or war on a larger scale. Perhaps the next few weeks will decide this vital question. No one can prophesy at this stage what that decision will be. On the one side there is a widespread and overwhelming desire for peace everywhere. On the other, there are certain forces at work which appear to drive inexorably towards war. That war, once it is let loose over a larger field, will grow of its own momentum. The immediate future therefore, is anything but satisfactory. This does not mean, of course, that widespread war will suddenly descend upon us. At the worst, what might happen is that some other step is taken which leads one nearer to that war which the world dreads.

8. The major question, therefore, before the UN today is that question of Korea, and India is playing a fairly important part in trying to bring together these hostile groups which dislike and distrust each other intensely. There are, other important questions also before the UN—the racial issue which has been raised in South Africa¹¹ is one of these. This in effect includes the question of people of Indian descent in South Africa. The Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa has recently decided¹² against Dr Malan's¹³ contentions and his attempt to set up Parliament as an overriding judicial authority.¹⁴ That has brought matters to a head. And yet, on the whole, it has had a calming effect on the situation. But the passive resistance movement continues and maintains

11. On 3 November 1952, the UN began a debate on Indians in South Africa alleging social, economic and political discrimination.

12. On 13 November 1952.

13. D.F. Malan.

14. On 3 June 1952, a Bill was passed in the South African Parliament to set aside any judgment of the Supreme Court on any Act of Parliament.

its discipline and peaceful character. There have been one or two instances of violent conflict, notably at Port Elizabeth.¹⁵ But they do not, I think, affect the peaceful character of the struggle launched by Africans and Indians alike in South Africa. In East Africa a strange and dangerous situation has developed.¹⁶ It is said on the British side that some secret terrorist organizations, pledged to drive out Europeans,¹⁷ have been carrying on a campaign of assassination, and therefore the Government there must take all necessary measures to suppress them. Whatever the truth in this charge might be, two facts stand out. Why are Africans there so utterly dissatisfied as to have to indulge in such deplorable activities? The second is that this widespread repression can only worsen the situation in the long run.

9. This reference to Africa reminds me of two distinguished African visitors to India. These are two Ministers of the Nigerian Government in West Africa,¹⁸ who are on a visit to India at present. Nigeria and the Gold Coast¹⁹ have got a measure of self-government and to some extent these two places look upon themselves as the leaders of the Africans, because they are now exercising some authority in their own countries. On their success or failure will depend much in Africa. The two Ministers who are here are anxious for our help and cooperation in building their countries up. We shall certainly give them such help as we can.

10. The racial issue has been discussed at the UN and India has been taking a lead in this.²⁰ We have received a very large measure of support, though I regret to say that the UK has in this matter, as in some others, sided with reactionary elements. So also the USA. Both these great countries do not appear to realize how they are endangering their world position in the eyes of innumerable people by the attitude they adopt in regard to certain colonial and like problems.

11. The UK and the USA have proposed a Resolution on Kashmir in the Security Council.²¹ This Resolution, though it appears to be worded in an

15. Eleven persons were killed and twenty-three injured and property valued at £ 100,000 destroyed during riots on 18 October in New Brighton, a model "native" township at Port Elizabeth.

16. Kenya was at this time witnessing terrorist activities by the native Mau Mau secret society, which were directed against the whites and the non-cooperating Africans.

17. The society had two-fold objective: (i) to fight the raw imperialism of the white or European settlers of the colony; and (ii) give a better life to the natives by remedying the wrongs done to them.

18. See *ante*, p. 18.

19. Elections were held in the Gold Coast (Ghana) from 5 to 10 February under the auspices of the new Gold Coast Commission announced by the British Colonial Office on 30 December 1950.

20. See *ante*, p. 17.

21. See *ante*, p. 376.

impartial way and might take in the unwary, is really very partial and biased towards the contention of Pakistan, and it ignores what has been said on behalf of India and indeed goes back on certain decisions taken by agreement by the UN Commission on Kashmir. We cannot possibly accept this Resolution. We have not said so formally yet because the matter has not come up again before the Security Council. But the fact that we will not accept this Resolution is now fairly well-known. Meanwhile, developments have taken place in the Jammu and Kashmir State and the Constitution there has been changed and this change given effect to. Yuvaraj Karan Singh was elected as the new Head of the State by the J & K Constituent Assembly, which thereupon recommended his name to our President. The President approved of this recommendation and on the 17th November the Yuvaraj was installed in Srinagar with much pomp and circumstance as the Sadar-i-Riyasat,²² the new name given to the Head of the State in Kashmir. This change-over appears to have been widely welcomed in Kashmir. But in Jammu some dissatisfaction has been expressed by some Jammu Hindus who function in the Praja Parishad.²³

12. Kashmir thus starts a new chapter in its history and is the first State to have an elected Head, although formally the Sadar-i-Riyasat is approved and recognized by our President. This is a significant change which finally breaks with a past tradition. At the same time there is a kind of a continuation because the Yuvaraj was chosen as the Sadar-i-Riyasat. Thus, while people talk and argue in the Security Council, a new shape is being given to the State and it goes ahead along the path of its choice.

13. There has been a good deal of hysterical talk and writing in Pakistan over the Kashmir issue and all kinds of threats have been hurled at us. The Muslim League at two recent meetings in Dacca²⁴ and Lyallpur²⁵ has passed strong resolutions and even Prime Minister Nazimuddin has spoken rather irresponsibly. What all this signifies, it is a little difficult to say. It may mean just bluff; it may mean an attempt to frighten the Security Council of the UN; or it may mean something more dangerous. I have addressed a long communication to the Pakistan Prime Minister yesterday on this subject.²⁶

14. The Pakistan Prime Minister had previously protested against the holding of an All-India East Bengal Protest Day.²⁷ This, as you know, has been organized by a number of Opposition parties, chiefly in Calcutta. This move was criticized by me in strong terms in the course of the debate on East

22. See *ante*, pp. 382, 397-400.

23. See *ante*, p. 369.

24. See *ante*, p. 352.

25. See *ante*, p. 352.

26. See *ante*, pp. 349-54.

27. See *ante*, pp. 350-51.

Bengal in Parliament. I am really surprised that such an irresponsible step should have been taken. This cannot possibly do any good to the minorities in East Bengal and the only effect of it is likely to be greater tension and apprehension of trouble. I do not think that there will be any trouble because we shall take adequate precautions. But I must say that this move has distressed me as it indicates an attempt to exploit the situation for party advantage.

15. We had a long debate in Parliament²⁸ about this East Bengal situation and I spoke at some length there. You may have perhaps seen a report of my speech and I shall therefore, not repeat it here. It seems to me perfectly clear that the various proposals made by the Opposition were objectionable. The previous proposals, namely, an exchange of population or a transfer of territory have practically been given up by their own supporters. Now stress is being made on economic sanctions against Pakistan..²⁹ As a matter of fact, we have very little trade with Pakistan at present and we have no trade treaty or arrangement. There is some private trade; probably there is much more smuggling. To have economic sanctions, therefore, has no particular meaning in terms of applying economic pressure on Pakistan. It has a meaning in a different context, for it would indicate a further major breach with Pakistan and a widening of the gulf that separates us. It would mean immediately a worsening of the conditions in which the minorities in East Bengal live. It might well lead to other inevitable steps, and finally to conflict. We cannot deal with these vital questions in this casual and irresponsible way. Sentiment is good, but a nation's affairs cannot be conducted on the basis of sentiment only.

16. We have to be firm with Pakistan and not allow vital interests or self-respect to suffer. But at the same time we must remember always that we cannot live for ever in terms of hostility with Pakistan. If we thought of doing so, then we have to give up all ideas of development and progress. Two countries like India and Pakistan are so intimately connected that continued hostility between them is likely to ruin both and invite foreign interference. We may do a great deal of injury to Pakistan and might defeat it in war. But both countries will in effect be ruined if that extreme step had to be taken. We would not even be strong enough to stand up against any external interference. We must realize, therefore, that while we have to be firm, we have also always to remember that some time or other we have to come much nearer to each other and become friends. Such a policy may not appear immediately to be very attractive. But I have no doubt that it is the right and the wise policy and a policy which will be beneficial to the minorities in Eastern Pakistan. It is most unfortunate that there are no effective leaders in

28. See *ante*, pp. 326-42.

29. See *ante*, pp. 337-38.

Pakistan at present and it is always difficult to deal with a weak Government which cannot make up its mind or dare not take right action for fear of disapproval by some extreme group. The mere fact that political and economic conditions deteriorate in Pakistan weakens that Government still further. We must always remember, however that there is such a thing as the people of a country and ultimately they count. They might be excited or worked up to a pitch occasionally as the people of Pakistan have been from time to time. But I have little doubt that great numbers of people in Pakistan would like to have more friendly and cooperative relations with India. We should encourage this tendency and work to this end, always being prepared for any emergency that might arise. Thus, we shall not only do the right thing in terms of the present and the future, but will also be adopting the most practical and worthwhile course. We cannot become cheap imitators of Pakistan's policy or tactics. We are, I hope, a mature nation with a mature leadership and we should function, therefore, with vision and not allow ourselves to be hustled into wrong action.

17. In Ceylon, in spite of our best efforts, the Government has gone ahead with its policy which deliberately keeps out a very large number of persons of Indian descent from becoming citizens and voters. An amending Bill has been passed by the Ceylon Parliament³⁰ with the object of bypassing the effect of the recent decisions of their own Supreme Court and the Privy Council.³¹ This is most unfortunate. Ceylon is a little brother to us and it seems most unbecoming that we should take any steps which might estrange the people of that country. And yet, the attitude of the Ceylon Government makes any solution of this problem more and more difficult.

18. There has been much argument about controls and decontrols of foodgrains and a great deal of confusion arose on this subject. The recent debate in Parliament will, I hope, put an end to this confusion and make the policy of Government clear.³² It was, as you know, our intention to hold a conference of State Food Ministers. This conference was later postponed because, as a matter of fact, the immediate questions before us were relatively simple and we were hardly in a position to discuss the larger issues at short notice. The immediate issue was certain relaxations in regard to coarse grains such as *jowar*, etc. This has been agreed to.

19. In the course of these discussions and investigations, we realized from a study of such statistics as were placed before us that food production was greater than we had imagined; in fact, there was no marked deficit in the country, though, owing to maldistribution, certain areas had suffered because of a deficit. This realization is welcome because it indicates that in a moment

30. See *ante*, p. 472.

31. See *ante*, p. 470.

32. See *ante*, pp. 77-83.

of crisis we can pull through with our own resources. It indicates also that the possibility of being self-sufficient in food is not so far away as we had previously imagined. This question of import of foodgrains is of vital importance, because such imports eat up our foreign exchange. We have been tied up to sterling. The fate of sterling is uncertain. Our Finance Minister is going within a day or two to London to discuss in conference there the future of sterling. There has been some apprehension about this conference and the decisions it might take.³³ I might inform you that no commitment is going to be made on behalf of India there and we shall consider our own policy fully after the conference and decide if any change is necessary.

20. Our ideal has been of self-sufficiency in food. That means no imports, except perhaps on very special occasions when there is some calamity to face. To reduce our imports as rapidly as possible has now become a major problem because this question is tied up with our entire development programme. The more we import, the less we invest in development. We should, therefore, make every effort to reduce our imports, taking care always to keep adequate stocks in hand, so as to be able to control the food situation in the country. This means, *inter alia*, as much procurement as can be had, subject to other relevant considerations.

21. In particular, the question of rice imports is troublesome as rice from abroad costs us much more than wheat imports. We are one of the biggest rice-producing countries in the world. It is strange, therefore, that we should be deficit in rice. I believe that our overall deficit in rice is about two per cent. Surely it should be in our power to cover this deficit by greater production or better distribution and prevention of wastage and misuse. If necessary, we might even revert to an appeal which I previously made that wheat-eaters should give up rice and reserve it for the rice-eating States. In this matter of rice, I should particularly invite your cooperation because this is intimately bound up with our entire development programme and the strength of our basic economy. The less we import it, the more can we undertake schemes of development. I am told that there probably is enough rice in the country if we can but use it to the best advantage. But we have experienced some difficulty in some of the rice-growing States in getting enough surplus rice from there for the deficit areas which require rice. I would earnestly request you to help us in this matter and to make available as much rice from your State as you can possibly give us.

22. We have stated repeatedly that our basic policy of controlling the economy of the country must continue not only now, but later. At the same time, we have gone somewhat in the direction of decontrol within certain

33. See *ante*, pp. 508-510.

areas.³⁴ There is nothing contradictory about this, except to the doctrinaire. Controls, in order to be effective, should not be spread out all over the place thus making for ineffectiveness and a great deal of harassment. Effective control means control of strategic points and allowing free trade in limited areas. Even in the authoritarian countries, where there is the fullest control of their economy, there is often a field where a free market flourishes. What we have to see is that this limited free market does not affect the basic control of the situation. Subject to that and subject to other considerations, we are entirely justified in removing petty controls. Even in regard to procurement, it is generally better to deal effectively with the big growers and to leave the small grower out of that picture. The real crux of the question is how far we are in possession of the strategic points and how far we have got a large enough stock in hand to meet any emergency or any mal-distribution. Therefore, a mere theoretical consideration of the question of controls and decontrols has little significance. If we hold on to our basic policy, we can relax or adjust ourselves in many minor matters, thus perhaps helping that basic policy much more and, at the same time, lessening the harassment of the public.

23. I referred at the beginning of this letter to my visit to Sewagram. I had gone there after three years and I was moved by this visit to many places which were so closely bound up in my mind with Gandhiji and with our past work. I went there, more particularly, to attend a Basic Education Conference held by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.³⁵ The first thing that struck me was the simplicity of the arrangements for a conference of about one thousand delegates. These delegates were provided board and lodging and a special pandal had been erected for the conference itself. All this was done with extreme simplicity and artistry, and the expenditure on it was very little. The pandal was a bamboo structure with a covering of leaves, etc. I was told that the entire cost of the conference, including board and lodging, was about rupees seven thousand or less. The conference lasted three days. This money was realized in the form of registration fees of rupees two from each delegate and one rupee and eight annas each per day for food tickets. There was no deficit and there was no special collection of funds from Government or the public for this conference. I compared this to our other arrangements for conferences in Delhi or elsewhere and the heavy expenditure incurred on them. It is true that we cannot duplicate

34. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, the Food and Agriculture Minister, announced on 17 November that the Government had decided to continue the existing controls on rice and wheat while relaxing control on millets and other coarse grains. Also while the existing inter-State checks on coarse grains would continue, the deficit States could meet the shortfall in their requirements by purchasing directly from the surplus States with the approval of the Central Government.

35. See *ante*, pp. 115-16.

the conditions at Sewagram elsewhere. Nevertheless, the gap was a very big one and I felt that we should learn much from the way things are done at Sewagram.

24. Whether in Delhi or in other parts of India or whether we go abroad, there is, perhaps naturally, a tendency for us to copy the way other countries manage their functions. In particular, our foreign Missions have to conform to certain standards laid down previously by diplomatic custom and procedure. To some extent we have to do that and it is right and proper that we should maintain the dignity of India wherever we might function. But dignity does not come from lavish display. It comes from taste and artistry and the personality behind all this. We have no desire to compete with other countries in ostentation or display.

We are a poor country and we must always avoid any unnecessary or wasteful expenditure, remembering that it is at the cost of the millions of our people in India. But, apart from the money involved, there is the question of taste and it does not appear fitting to me that some of us should function in a way which is so utterly removed from conditions in India. It is our purpose to lessen these differences and bridge the gap that separates one class from another in India.

25. Basic education has been recognized by us all over the country and yet the change-over to it is slow and sometimes it is not on the right lines. I have no doubt whatever in my mind that this is the right kind of education for our boys and girls. It may be slightly adapted to changing conditions in different States, but the principles governing it should not be bypassed. Indeed, we should think much more than we do of pre-basic education. That is the vital age of the child. Basic gives place later to post-basic and we have to keep this full picture before us in developing our educational methods. Almost everybody criticizes the old style of education in India. The Universities are not functioning well and their standards go down. Various Commissions investigate, make reports and recommendations, but we remain, more or less, where we were.

26. In particular, it seems to me that basic education is ideally suited to the tribal and like areas. I hope that special efforts would be made in the North-Eastern tribal regions for basic education which just fits in with the environment there. In doing so, however, we must remember that we fit in with the ways and customs of those people and do not try to impose ourselves upon them.

27. The other day, at a public gathering, I expressed concern at the large number of officials and others who are going abroad for some kind of training.³⁶ It is good to send our people abroad for special training and we must never allow ourselves to become isolated from the rest of the world or to draw ourselves into our shells, as we did for some hundreds of years, with very

36. See *ante*, pp. 103-104.

unfortunate consequences. I am, therefore, not at all against our people going abroad for training. But I am rather concerned at the number of our officials and others who go abroad under some scheme of scholarship or fellowship. There is the question of a large sum of money involved and foreign exchange becomes more and more difficult. But there is a more important aspect of this. I am not quite sure if all these people who go abroad really profit by it as much as we would like them to. They have to serve in India and it is more important that they should know conditions in India and the people of India than that they should learn about techniques and methods which may be inapplicable in India in present circumstances. It seems to me very odd, for instance, that any one should go to learn social service in a foreign country. I am quite sure that he could learn much more at Sewagram or at some other place in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III

New Delhi
December 4, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

The major event of the last fortnight in the international field has been our Korean Resolution in the United Nations. This has already been passed by an overwhelming majority in the Political Committee and no doubt it will be passed by the General Assembly also.¹ The majority is very big and yet I am not happy over the situation. It has been our belief ever since the Korean trouble started, that peace could only be established there with the consent of the major parties concerned. Indeed the big blunder committed by some countries, notably the USA, in refusing to recognize the new China, has been one of the principal reasons for all that has followed. It was patent that peace in the Far East could only be established by some agreement of the major powers interested and among these very obviously China and the USSR. Because of this we refused to ally ourselves with attempts to condemn China and call it an aggressor. This did not mean going towards a settlement but rather towards greater conflict.

1. The Indian Resolution on Korea was passed by the UN Political Committee on 1 December and by the General Assembly on 3 December 1952.

2. Therefore, what matters in the Far East is not a majority in the UN, but the general agreement among the Western and Eastern Powers concerned. Unfortunately China has not accepted our Resolution and as for the USSR, their representative at the UN has used very strong language against it.² The language perhaps might be discounted a little, as this has become a habit. But the fact remains that the Soviet and China are opposed to this Resolution and without their consent there will not be peace in Korea.

3. Why then did we proceed with this Resolution? For two reasons: One was that not to do so would have meant a bad and aggressive resolution³ being passed which would have worsened the situation greatly.⁴ The other that our Resolution, though not accepted by China, still leaves the door open for a settlement or at least a consideration of the problem on a new basis. It is after all a recommendation. We could not possibly withdraw that Resolution at a late stage when such a large number of countries had supported it and it had evoked a remarkable peace sentiment in the United Nations. Whether we could withdraw it or not in the strict legal sense, I do not know. But a withdrawal would have meant the giving up almost of hope for the future and would have brought much discredit upon us. We had, therefore, to proceed with it in the best manner possible. You will have seen that we have refrained from using any harsh words and have tried to maintain the debate on a friendly level in spite of the strong language used against us by the Soviet.

4. I must confess that I was surprised at the attitude of China and the virulence of Russia in this matter. Right from the beginning we have kept in close touch with China over this affair. For months past we have been communicating with them and trying to explore some way out. The Chinese Government, as indeed the UK more especially and partly the USA, encouraged us. We did not wish to take any step which might embarrass either party. We had thus to proceed cautiously. The Chinese Government, even a short time ago, definitely asked us to continue our efforts. That of course did not mean any commitment on their part to any particular course and they always laid the greatest stress on their objection to what is called "voluntary repatriation". Our object was to find some honourable and reasonable way which should be acceptable to both parties. We proceeded on various suggestions thrown out from time to time from China as well as some of the Western countries.

5. The first step we took was to formulate certain principles on which our Resolution should be based. These principles were discussed in New York by

2. See *ante*, p. 433.

3. See *ante*, pp. 414-15.

4. On 2 December, the President of the UN Political Committee announced suspension of consideration of all other resolutions on Korea pending report from the President of the Assembly on response of Communist China and North Korea to the Indian Resolution.

our Delegation with representatives of some of the more important countries, notably the UK, USA and the USSR. China of course was not there, but we communicated these principles to the Chinese Government.⁵ They did not give us any reply and did not commit themselves in any way. But we certainly gathered an impression that they were not opposed to them. Indeed, the absence of a reply for many days itself led us to this conclusion.

6. At a later stage we drafted that Resolution formally basing it on those principles. Immediately we communicated this full Resolution to the Chinese Government.⁶ Again there was no quick response. Meanwhile the Resolution leaked out through the USA Government and an American spokesman rejected it even before it was moved.⁷ The UK, however, strongly supported it and so did many other countries.⁸ In fact, the USA was rather isolated and was compelled to change its attitude to a large extent because of the powerful support that our Resolution got in the UN and the general peace sentiment that it had raised there. For the first time the UK and the USA had openly disagreed on a vital issue.

7. All this time there was silence on the part of the Soviet and China. Our Delegation then made some very minor changes, of little importance, in the Resolution to meet, to some extent, the objections raised by the USA. Even so we rejected many points that the USA pressed on us.⁹ Possibly this attempt somewhat to meet the USA irritated the Soviet.

8. But, in reality, the causes lay much deeper and, for contrary reasons, the USSR and some powerful sections in the USA were not at all anxious for a settlement. About China, I cannot definitely say, but I am inclined to think that they would welcome a settlement that did no violence to their own basic position. One gets the impression that Chinese final attitude was partly at least governed by Soviet advice or pressure.

9. We shall have to wait now for further developments. Nothing much can happen quickly, but it is possible that our Resolution might, directly or indirectly, lead to a new approach at Panmunjom. Much depends on Mr Eisenhower's attitude. Meanwhile, some light has been thrown on the attitude of various countries. On one side it would appear that China is more closely associated with the Soviet than might have been thought. On the other hand, we have seen that there are limits beyond which the UK and some other European nations are not prepared to go even under pressure from the USA.

5. See *ante*, pp. 414-18.

6. See *ante*, p. 424.

7. See *ante*, p. 426.

8. See *ante*, p. 426.

9. See *ante*, pp. 434 and 453.

10. I have recently visited Sanchi in Bhopal State¹⁰ to participate in a certain ceremony connected with the opening of a new *Vihara* where some Buddhist relics were deposited.¹¹ These relics were of two of the principal disciples of the Buddha. They had been discovered about a hundred years ago in Sanchi by an English archaeologist and later taken to the British Museum. Five years ago, at our request, they were returned. Since then they have been taken to some Buddhist countries—Ceylon, Burma, Ladakh, Siam, Cambodia—and vast crowds have paid homage to them. They have now been brought back and deposited in a new *Vihara* which has been built near the famous Sanchi *stupa* with its beautiful gateway.

11. On this occasion many eminent Buddhists came to Sanchi from other countries, notably the Prime Minister of Burma. There was a Buddhist Cultural Conference¹² also presided over by our Vice-President. The occasion assumed a certain significance and indicated how, more and more, the mind of India is thinking of the Buddha and his gospel of peace. Additional stress was given to this because of the international situation.

12. In a sense there has been this tendency apparent in India ever since independence. Our national crest is taken from the capital of the Asoka column; on our flag the wheel which occurs in this capital and elsewhere, finds pride of place in the centre. Buddha, of course, is revered in India. But it is true that he is thought of more in a distant way as one of the great ones of India, rather than more intimately, although he is the greatest historical figure that India has produced. It is a fortunate sign therefore, that people's minds are turning more now to this great son of India whose message has moved innumerable people during past ages.

13. In Iraq, there have been grave disturbances.¹³ It is a little difficult for us to form a correct appraisal of the situation there, but the general picture in these Middle-Eastern countries is fairly clear. These countries have been backward economically and certain feudal elements in land have played a large part in their public life. Industry is not at all developed. Foreign powers,

10. See *ante*, pp. 206-07.

11. See *ante*, p. 207.

12. See *ante*, p. 205.

13. As a reaction to the Royal Proclamation of 27 October calling for fresh elections, all Opposition Parties, except Constitutional Unionists, gave a call for its boycott and demanded: (1) amendment of the Constitution to give Parliament more powers; (2) introduction of agrarian reforms; (3) abrogation of the Anglo-Iraqi Friendship Treaty of 1928; (4) and withdrawal from the proposed Middle East Command as envisaged by the Western Powers. In reaction to this the non-party Cabinet headed by Mustafa el-Umari resigned on 22 November. The following day, the Chief of the General Staff, General Nureddin Muhammad, taking over as Prime Minister, proclaimed martial law, ordered dissolution of all political parties, and arrest of their leaders.

notably the UK, have consistently relied upon these feudal and semi-feudal elements and ignored the more progressive forces which were gradually rising. The trouble in Iran was due to this and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company there tried to control the fortunes of the country through these reactionary elements. A time came when a fierce and undisciplined nationalism broke through and upset all the schemes of the Oil Company and the plans of the UK. The result has been that the UK has suffered greatly in the loss of its very large holdings in Iran and in prestige and, at the same time, Iran has tended to disintegrate. In Iraq, conditions are somewhat different, but the same basic forces are at work. All this indicates the failure of Western policy in these Middle-Eastern countries and a total incapacity of these Western countries to adapt themselves to changing conditions. To some extent that has been so in Egypt also.

14. Far more serious developments are taking place in East Africa where there appears to be a complete break between the Africans and the British ruling authority. It is stated that a secret society among the Africans, called the Mau Mau, has been indulging in murders and other terroristic activities against Government officials and those who are loyal to them. As a result of this, very stern repressive measures have been taken against them.¹⁴ Practically large parts of Kenya are under martial law and the Africans are living in a state of terror. Whatever the faults of the Mau Mau might be, and it is obvious that they will not achieve anything by terroristic methods, it is still more obvious that this method of repression of a whole people must end in utter failure. The whole of Africa is being powerfully influenced by these developments and a situation has been created which might lead to the most disastrous results.

15. At this moment, the Indian community in East Africa could have and ought to have played a helpful role. Unfortunately, they have done no such thing and they have shown an amazing timidity. Indian lawyers, except for one youngman, have refused to defend the African leaders who are being tried. The result is that African sentiment in East Africa has turned to some extent against the local Indian community and our work of the past few years has been partly undone. Fortunately, some statements made in India have helped to balance this sentiment. At the request of some African organizations, a senior lawyer from India has gone to participate in the defence.¹⁵

16. In Indo-China, the Viet Minh forces have been gradually pushing back the French and Vietnam forces and have already occupied some important strategic points. The French position, therefore, grows progressively weaker. If it is militarily weaker, it is still more so from the political and psychological points of view. It is very extraordinary how some of the old Colonial Powers

14. See *ante*, p. 18.

15. See *ante*, p. 496.

cannot adjust themselves to the new conditions that have arisen and to the new balance of power that is developing. This applies equally to the French and Portuguese Establishments in India. It is clear to any person with the least understanding that these foreign pockets cannot be tolerated in India and will have to go. It would have been far better for this change-over to take place in a peaceful and friendly way. But, in spite of our patience, there has been no response from the other side.

17. In the Jammu and Kashmir State, a significant change took place when the Yuvaraj, who had been functioning as Regent till then, was installed as the elected Head of the State, called the Sadar-i-Riyasat. This event had a certain historical importance not only for Kashmir but for the whole of India. It represented a certain trend which in varying degrees is likely to be followed elsewhere. In Kashmir proper, this was celebrated with great popular enthusiasm. In Jammu, however, the Praja Parishad, a local communal organization closely allied to the communal organizations in the rest of India, has created some trouble.¹⁶ There have been disorderly scenes in some parts of Jammu Province and very regrettable behaviour on the part of Parishad people. The situation will, of course, settle down, because the large majority of people are in favour of the change that has taken place.

18. There are two aspects of these disorders in Jammu which have to be kept in mind. The far-reaching land reforms in the State have naturally not pleased some of the old landlord elements and they have joined this agitation against the Government there. In this they are being helped directly by some communal elements in other parts of India. These elements not finding much scope for activity in the other States of India are trying to concentrate on Jammu. In the name of closer association with India, they are acting in a manner which might well imperil that very association. In fact, what they are doing pleases Pakistan very much. One can only come to the conclusion that these communal people whether in Jammu or elsewhere in India, are either totally lacking in sense or deliberately wish to create mischief.

19. The Five Year Plan is gradually taking its final shape. Of course, there is no absolute finality to such a plan. We hope to place it before Parliament on the 8th of December and to have a debate¹⁷ on it a week later. You will be sent copies of this plan as soon as it is ready. I am afraid, this will have to be a cyclostyled copy, as printing will take a little time. Now that this great work of preparation is practically over, the other and greater work of giving effect to it has to be undertaken by us with all vigour.

16. See *ante*, pp. 369-71.

17. See *ante*, pp. 51-2.

20. You will have noticed that there has been a reduction in the price of sugar.¹⁸ Also that while we are keeping up the full framework of controls in regard to foodgrains at strategic points, certain relaxations and adaptations have been agreed to in various States. There is a needless argument among some doctrinaire advocates of control or decontrol. The approach has to be a much more practical one. But basically I have no doubt that we cannot allow the situation to go out of our control. Subject to that we can relax wherever possible and desirable.

21. There is one matter to which I would like to draw your particular attention. India has a wonderful variety of dress, both for men and women, and more especially for women. As I was touring about the North-Eastern Frontier Areas, it struck me how worthwhile it would be for us to have a museum of Indian dresses. This would bring home to people this rich variety of India and would teach them much about the various parts of India and the people who live there. It should not be difficult to do this if each State helped. I would suggest to you, therefore, to help us in making such a collection from your State. The Education Ministry of the Central Government, who are in charge of museums, etc., would undertake the setting up of a wing of our National Museum for this purpose. This could be done without much delay. I shall be grateful if your Government takes up this matter and corresponds with the Education Ministry on this subject.

22. The question of exodus and migration between India and Pakistan, and more especially in East Bengal and West Bengal, is constantly being referred to. Most people who talk about it do not know the facts or the statistics. I have sometimes, in these letters, given you some figures of these migrations. We have now collected some additional figures which might be of interest to you in giving you some picture of what has been happening.

23. I am not dealing here with the vast movements that took place in 1947 and 1948. These movements practically emptied Western Pakistan of Hindus and Sikhs. A very small number remained there. Even of those who remained some have continued to come away under pressure of circumstances. At the same time, during those years, a vast number of Muslims left India for Western Pakistan. It is difficult to give even approximate figures of those migrations or of the people who were killed on either side of the new frontier. One may apply either the population test derived from the last census or the data of surveys gathered through Rehabilitation Ministries on either side. Probably, the Muslims who left India for West Pakistan were in excess of the Hindus and Sikhs who came from West Pakistan to India. In Sind a fair number of Hindus continued to live after the Partition, but gradually they were also

18. On 1 December 1952, reduction in the price of sugar was announced and control on new stocks was lifted by the Government.

squeezed out. It might be said now that, so far as Hindus are concerned, there are only a few lakhs of Scheduled Caste people left in Pakistan.

24. Since this emptying of Western Pakistan of Hindus and Sikhs there was, of course, no occasion for a large-scale movement towards India from Western Pakistan. There has however, ever since 1950 especially, been a movement of some Muslims from India to Western Pakistan through the Jodhpur-Sind route via Khokhropar. Normally, traffic between India and West Pakistan was controlled by the permit system. But these Muslims going *via* Khokhropar went without permits to West Pakistan. From January 1952 to the end of September, 53,209 Muslim emigrants went *via* Khokhropar to Sind in West Pakistan. Most of these probably came from the UP. In October 1952, upto the 14th, 6,808 went by this route. After that Pakistan became much stricter in allowing entry on the introduction of the passport system. From the 15th October to the end of October, 1,247 went by this route. From the 1st November to the 20th November, 1,203 went *via* Khokhropar.

25. Coming now to the figures of migrations or travel between Eastern Pakistan and India (Assam, West Bengal and Tripura), we cannot deal with migrants only but with all travellers, chiefly by train. These figures are deceptive because many people go backwards and forwards, when travel is free, as it was between the two Bengals upto the 15th October. We can, however, take the complete travel figures and find out from them how many more people have gone in one direction. These figures relate to railway travel specially for which we have accurate statistics. We add to them our estimate of people crossing over on foot. In looking at these figures it should always be remembered that they are deceptive because many people have travelled to and fro repeatedly:

Grand Total for 1950, 1951 and 1952

	East Pakistan into India		India into East Pakistan	
	<i>Hindus</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Hindus</i>	<i>Muslims</i>
1950	29,73,681	9,30,121	17,41,255	12,20,014
1951	17,20,533	8,64,586	18,68,883	8,52,974
1952	17,05,025	7,98,851	17,72,340	9,04,394
(Upto October)				
	63,99,239	25,93,558	53,82,478	29,77,382
Add into West Bengal	1,30,000		(other than rail routes)	
Add into Tripura	25,000		(by road)	
	65,54,239			

26. These figures indicate that from 1950 onwards upto 15th October an excess of 9.32 lakhs of Hindus came from East Pakistan to India and during the same period an excess of 3.84 lakhs of Muslims went from India to East Pakistan.

27. This does not include the figures for West Pakistan which have been given above separately. Nor do these figures include the numbers of migrations which took place before 1950.

28. You will be interested to learn that the Government of India have decided to nationalize the civil Air Services of India.¹⁹

29. I am going to Bombay tomorrow for various functions, more especially the Jubilee of the "Dufferin" Training Ship, and the Child Welfare Conference. I hope to return to Delhi on the 7th just in time to sign the report of the Planning Commission. I shall remain in Delhi probably for the next fortnight till the end of the Parliamentary Session which is likely to take place about the 19th of this month. On the 22nd I am going to Travancore-Cochin for three or four days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. This was announced on 24 November 1952.

IV

New Delhi
December 22, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I have delayed writing to you because these past days have been heavy with work and engagements. These were the last days of this Session of Parliament. The House of the People adjourned day before yesterday and the Council of States is likely to do so today. Ministers here have to function in both the Houses. This puts an additional burden on them.

2. This relatively short Session of Parliament did substantial work and many important problems were discussed. The most important discussion was that on the Five Year Plan. By approving of it in Parliament, we have given the final seal to this Plan¹ and now the time comes to implement it. It is true

1. The First Five Year Plan was approved by the Council of States on 18 December and by the House of the People on 19 December 1952.

that implementation has been going on all the time and nearly two years out of the five are over. Nevertheless, we have to make a new approach now, a more positive, concentrated and integrated one. More particularly, we have to rely on public cooperation.

3. On the State Governments lies a special responsibility in this respect and we have no interval to rest before we start on the next stage of the journey. There is no resting place for any of us who are in positions of responsibility, for the world and India move on and if we delay, we are likely to be left behind.

4. The first thing to be done is to give the widest publicity to this Plan or to its essential features and its basic outlook.² The Planning Commission hope to provide you with adequate material for this, but we should not wait even for that. There is material enough in the printed summary that they have produced and we must remember that the best approach still in India is the personal one, through public meeting or group discussion. Now that Parliament and most of our State Assemblies are not in Session, members should go to their constituencies and make an intensive drive on the subject of the Five Year Plan. Unfortunately and rather unreasonably, most of the Opposition groups have criticized or even condemned the Plan.³ They have often done so for entirely contradictory reasons, the same person criticizing it for not going far enough and for going too far having regard to our resources. The responsibility of those who believe in the Plan is thus all the greater.

5. People in the States and in Districts will naturally be interested chiefly in their own part of this Plan and what they can do. This part should be explained, but the approach should always be an all India approach and an attempt should be made to explain this great conception of planning for the whole country. Behind the Plan lies the conception of India's unity and of a mighty cooperative effort of all the people of India. That should always be stressed and the inter-relation of one part of India with another pointed out. If we adopt this approach, we shall be dealing with the major disease or weakness of India, i.e. the fissiparous tendencies and parochial outlook that often confront us in this country. The more we think of this balanced picture of the whole of India and of its many-sided activities, which are so inter-related with one another, the less we are likely to go astray in the crooked paths of provincialism, communalism, casteism and all other disruptive and disintegrating tendencies. That is a hard task, for it means changing the mentality of large numbers of

2. See *ante*, pp. 51-52.

3. The Plan was severely criticized by the Opposition in both Houses for what was said to be its basic failure to satisfy fundamental needs that is food, clothing and health and for its being "only a party plan", intended to achieve "the betterment of the urban areas" at the expense of the rural poor whose burdens of rent, taxation and indebtedness would not be reduced.

people. It is a task which will not be completed within these three remaining years of the Plan, but will have to be continued till we root out and put an end to these tendencies.

6. After a long static period, India became dynamic again. That dynamism took a political shape to begin with, though always behind it was the economic problem. We succeeded on the political plane and now have to face the economic and the social problems. *Inquilab Zindabad*; we cried often enough. That revolution is only partly a political one. The real revolution deals with economic and social problems also. To some extent, it is widely realized that economic changes on a major scale are necessary, but it is still not adequately realized that social changes are also an essential part of the revolution that we have to pass through.

7. The Plan is comprehensive and there lies a tremendous deal of thought and discussion behind it. It is, on the whole, a cautious Plan, even a moderate one, and yet it is far-reaching and, if we so will it, we can take it as far as we like. It is a challenge to all of us and in the measure that we meet that challenge, we build the new India and justify our work. We have, therefore, to take this up in all earnestness and try to infuse in our work something of the spirit of a missionary for a cause. We have to remember always that it is not merely the governmental machinery that counts in this, but even more so the enthusiasm and cooperation of the people. Our people must have the sensation of partnership in a mighty enterprise, of being fellow-travellers towards the next goal that they and we have set before us. The Plan may be, and has to be, based on the calculations of economists, statisticians and the like, but figures and statistics, very important as they are, do not give life to the scheme. That breath of life comes in other ways, and it is for us now to make this Plan, which is enshrined in cold print, something living, vital and dynamic, which captures the imagination of our people.

8. Some people say that there is no enthusiasm among the people, that they are passive and inert. This is partly true, but only partly so. My own impression is that those who feel enthusiastic themselves convey that enthusiasm to others, while those who themselves have no faith cannot make others have faith or enthusiasm. If we look after ourselves and our work, others will also come up to the mark.

9. You will have learnt about our decision to form a separate Andhra Province.⁴ The decision in fact had been taken long ago, and it was only a lack of agreement among the parties concerned that delayed its implementation. Andhra had to be a Province. I have little doubt that this decision will open out other demands for linguistic provinces and we shall have to face them realistically. And yet, I must confess to a feeling of regret that we are going

4. See *ante*, pp. 256-57.

along these lines. How far they will take us, I do not know. Nor do I know how far they might affect the implementation of the Five Year Plan. A new State, wherever it is formed, has immediately to direct its attention to all manner of things and it has to face financial burdens. All this must weaken its capacity, for the time being at least, to go ahead with planned development.

10. You are aware that various opposition groups in India, most of them communal, are carrying on agitation along three lines—the problem of the East Bengal refugees,⁵ cow slaughter,⁶ and Jammu.⁷ These are entirely different from one another and yet behind them lies the same communal and narrow approach and the desire to break up the present Government of India by violence, if necessary. All of us sympathize with the East Bengal refugees and we should do our best for them. We want to protect and improve our cattle. We should like to remove such legitimate grievances as exist in Jammu. But the manner and objective of these agitations is something entirely different and has little to do with the merits of each case. It is the reactionary and communal element again trying to come to the front and feverishly attempting to find out any method, good or bad, which offers it a chance of doing so.

11. The Jammu agitation is significant. Any person with intelligence can see that it can only result in weakening India's position in Jammu and Kashmir State and in encouraging Pakistan. And yet, in the name of greater unity and integration and by the misuse of our national flag, the real objective is covered up. If the Jammu agitation succeeded, it would endanger not only the cause of the State but of the whole of India.

12. The Pakistan Press is again loudly shouting for war⁸ because we are not accepting Mr Zafrullah Khan's latest proposals⁹ which are even further removed from our basic opposition to Dr Graham's suggestions.¹⁰ We have thus to face this grave situation and at this moment, the Praja Parishad people in Jammu, who are none other than the old RSS people there, are trying to weaken the structure of the State.

13. You must have followed the fate of our Korean Resolution in the United Nations.¹¹ We have failed in spite of our best efforts. The only consolation we have is that perhaps if we had not tried at all, the consequences might have been worse. A Resolution might have been passed by the UN Assembly which would have worsened the situation. We have exercised a certain check on this and we have definitely brought out how anxious for

5. See *ante*, pp. 319-22.

6. See *ante*, p. 211.

7. See *ante*, p. 365.

8. See *ante*, pp. 385-86.

9. See *ante*, p. 383.

10. See *ante*, pp. 384-85.

11. See *ante*, p. 424.

some kind of a peaceful settlement the great majority of the United Nations are. That, however, does not take us far and all we can do is to wait and see. A few days ago there was a conflict in a prison camp in Korea as a result of which a large number of prisoners of war were killed.¹² This shows how very bad the situation is.

14. Obviously, the failure of the Resolution was not due to an argument about the phrasing of a sentence or two. There are basic causes which come in the way of a settlement. Generally speaking, it might be said that China and North Korea are in a more advantageous military position in Korea and therefore are not very anxious for a settlement at present. It can also be surmised that the Soviet Union is quite happy at the existing state of affairs and would not like to encourage any settlement except under its own auspices. On the American side there are many viewpoints. An important one, represented by the military hierarchy, proceeds on the line that it is premature from the point of view of US military and national security to agree to any political truce in Korea at the present stage. If there was a truce, what next? Immediately difficult political problems will come up and no one knows how to solve them. There is also some fear that a truce might create some kind of a slump in America. The great war industries may have to shift over to peaceful production.

15. The result of all this thinking in the US is that there should be a military decision which will force China and North Korea to make a truce on US terms. Again the idea of a preventive war is occasionally discussed.¹³

16. I might add that Mr Eisenhower is not by any means a person who likes war. But he is somewhat rigid in his outlook and has had little political experience in the past. He met Vijayalakshmi Pandit and had a long talk with her. He assured her of his friendly feelings towards India and of his desire to have peace. While this is, I believe, true, there is also the rigid outlook which thinks that there can be no firm peace with the Soviet Union and its allies.

17. Meanwhile, casualties among the American troops in Korea have been very heavy, though lately there has been a quietening down of the front. These heavy casualties create a powerful impression in the mind of the American public. Constituted as they are, they cannot think of a static position continuing for long. They want peace, but they would rather have war than carry on in the present way. Hence the danger of more serious developments, though I do not think they will come soon.

18. In Egypt some rather significant changes are taking place. The Wafd Party, which had lost importance, appears to be coming up again and Nahas still remains the outstanding political personality in the country. As a result of

12. 87 prisoners were killed and 120 injured when fire was opened to quell a mutiny in a Communist prisoners' camp on 14 December.

13. See *ante*, p. 458.

this, General Neguib is trying to come to some terms with Nahas.¹⁴ What appeared to be his previous inclination in favour of the communal Moslem Brotherhood is now being replaced by stress on the secular aspect of the State and national solidarity. The minorities in Egypt were feeling somewhat alarmed at the stress on religion in politics as the Moslem Brotherhood was trying to rouse feelings against the minorities, which are 20% of the total population. General Neguib replied to this by a declaration that agitation against the minorities will be considered high treason and dealt with as such.

19. The economic situation in Egypt has deteriorated rapidly. On the political front, General Neguib has scored a success by his agreement with the leaders of the Sudan,¹⁵ but no final settlement of the Sudan issue with the British Government has been arrived at yet although conversations are taking place.

20. We have at present in India Goodwill Mission from Yugoslavia and Cuba.¹⁶

21. You may have noticed Press reports of the bombing by the Pakistan Air Force of certain tribal areas in the North West Frontier Province.¹⁷ Conditions in those tribal areas have not settled down ever since the Partition and there has been conflict between those who stand for Pakhtoonistan and the Pakistan Government. It is clear that the Pakistan Government have been unable to deal with this situation satisfactorily and the feeling for Pakhtoonistan is widespread. Recent bombings have been on a much bigger scale than those to which we used to object to in British times. This has created a great deal of excitement not only in the tribal areas on this side of the Durand Line,¹⁸ but also on the other side and in the whole of Afghanistan. There is some risk of more war-like developments. Meanwhile it must always be remembered that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is spending his fifth year in prison.

22. In East Africa, the policy pursued by the British Colonial authorities is antagonizing the entire African population and creating a situation which cannot possibly be dealt with by mere repression. This repression has been

14. As a token of his desire to win support of all political sections in the country, General Neguib had released prominent political leaders held in detention since September 1952 and invited them along with Nahas Pasha to witness a military parade in Cairo on 6 December 1952.

15. See *ante*, p. 545.

16. The Cuban Goodwill Mission arrived in India in the first week of December while a Goodwill Mission from Yugoslavia led by M.R. Colakovic, Federal Minister of Education and Culture, arrived in New Delhi in the following week.

17. The aerial bombing and machine-gunning of the Tirah division by the Pakistani bombers on 9 and 10 December was reported to have killed 34 persons belonging to the Afridi and the Urkzai clans.

18. On 17 December, Afghanistan sent a note to Pakistan protesting against the "aggressive attacks on Pakhtoons".

widespread and very severe. The African associations invited Dewan Chaman Lall to help them in the defence of some of the cases against them. Dewan Chaman Lall went to Nairobi with a junior lawyer colleague and a secretary. Both his companions were asked to go back to India.¹⁹

23. The reports we receive from East Africa are very distressing. Unfortunately, the local Indian leaders have not behaved well at all and have angered African opinion. Latterly there has been some change for the better in the relations between the Africans and the Indians. The Africans, though angry at the attitude of the local Indian leaders, still look to India as a kind of elder brother who will support their legitimate demand for freedom. As a government we cannot intervene in this matter, though we have drawn the attention of the British Colonial authorities to the disastrous consequences of the policy they are pursuing.

24. In Bombay State a remarkable experiment in rice growing has met with great success. This has been adapted from the Japanese method. Indeed, this has gone beyond the stage of experimentation and is being tried widely over the State. The increase in production is amazing. They hope to get 3,500 pounds of paddy per acre in the general agricultural fields and about 6,000 pounds per acre in special experimental plots. The amount of paddy required for seeding purposes is also very much less and does not exceed 8 to 10 pounds per acre, while previously about 60 pounds of paddy was used for seeding purposes per acre. Previous rice production in Bombay State was 800 pounds per acre. The increase, therefore, is tremendous—anything from 300% to 400% or more. If the method was generally adopted, as it should be, it will solve the problem of rice shortage and, indeed, we shall have rice to export. Even the saving of paddy used for seeding purposes amounts to a very big figure running into crores of rupees.

25. This Japanese method consists of what is called 'raised bed seeding method.' This protects the seedlings from being washed away in case of excessive rains and gives scope for watering them during periods of drought by a limited supply of water through cans. The seedlings can be prepared in a compact area and protected from storms. Transplantation later is not difficult. All this requires no special foreign imported machines or implements or manure. Thus this method can be adopted by our agriculturists without any additional cost or labour. Only care and diligence are necessary.

26. I would particularly draw your attention to this remarkably successful experiment in Bombay. We have begun thinking far too much of big machinery and expensive fertilizers and we send delegations to far countries to learn new methods of cultivation. We may learn something from these new methods, but the Japanese method now used in Bombay has obviously proved itself and can

19. See *ante*, pp. 496-98.

make a vast difference to our food production and to our general economy. I suggest to you to get in touch with the Bombay State on this subject and to send some experts there to study these new methods. They can be immediately implemented in your own areas of rice cultivation with very beneficial results.

27. I am going tomorrow to Travancore-Cochin to open a monazite factory at Alwaye.²⁰ This is part of our atomic energy work. I intend spending six days in that State and to return to Delhi on the 29th of December *via* Madras.

I send you all my good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. See *ante*, pp. 107-115.

20

MISCELLANEOUS



AT THE DUFFERIN TRAINING SHIP, MUMBAI, 5 DECEMBER 1952



VIEWING THE EXHIBIT AT THE UNESCO SYMPOSIUM ON TROPICAL BUILDING CONSTRUCTION DESIGN,
NEW DELHI, 21 DECEMBER 1952

I. PERSONAL

1. To G.N. Desai¹

New Delhi
November 15, 1952

My dear Mayor,²

Your letter of the 13th November.

...For a long time past I have been strongly of opinion that names of living persons should not be given to any public institutions. Sometimes my name is so used. But I have always protested. You can hardly expect me to agree to something now to which I have always objected in the past. In any event I could not possibly perform the opening ceremony of a place named after me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 8(233)/52-PMS. Extracts.
2. Ganapathishankar Narainji Desai, Congressman from Bombay, joined Home Rule League, 1920; participated in Bardoli satyagraha, 1928, civil disobedience movements, 1930, 1940 and 1942; Mayor, Bombay Municipal Corporation, 1952-53; engaged in Sarvodaya movement work since 1957.

2. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
December 18, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

I received a letter two or three days ago from Diana Menuhin, the wife of the famous violinist.² In the course of this letter she mentioned meeting you somewhere in Zurich, I think, and said what a pleasure this was. She referred to you as "that magnificent brigand Dr B.C. Roy." I rather liked the description. What do you think of it?

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

1. From *With B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers* by Saroj Chakrabarty (Calcutta, 1974).
2. Yehudi Menuhin.

II. GENERAL

1. Responsibilities of the Police Force¹

I have presented two flags² to you. They will be a symbol of a number of things. I am happy to have participated in this task because it is on such special occasions when we pause to think about our duty and the tasks that need to be tackled.

I am happy to be here for a number of reasons. This is my province and I have great affection for it. But all the provinces of India are now my constituency. Yet the bond with this one remains unbroken and when I hear about something good that is being done in Uttar Pradesh, I feel very happy. I have often heard very good reports about the UP police. It has given a good account of itself within the State and in other parts of India where it has been sent for various purposes. It has earned a good name. Both the police and the PAC enjoy a high reputation in Indian administration. Therefore I am particularly happy to be here today to congratulate you in person, the officers and the *jawans* present here.

Your Inspector-General, Lahiri³ is going to retire in a few days after a long service. His retirement is in the normal course of things. But he goes carrying with him the satisfaction of having done his job well. But for any individual who has the strength and ability, the time to serve the country does not come to an end.

Our police forces face great tasks and responsibilities. I found the motto, protection of the people, engraved outside. To protect the people and serve them and above all to cooperate with them are part of your job. All these things are linked together. Cooperation involves giving protection and serving one another. So we have to cooperate with one another. We must build a strong India in which people of all religions, castes and provinces cooperate with one another and think of themselves as belonging to one family.

There are great tasks ahead. We have to uplift India's millions which is a very big task. We have to work towards alleviating the misery and hardship of the masses and to improve their standard of living. What can be a bigger task than that? This is not something which can be done by any one group of people but by all of us, in all walks of life, no matter what profession you are

1. Speech at the Police Lines, Lucknow, 23 November 1952. AIR Tapes, NMML.
2. Presented colours to the UP Police and the Provincial Armed Constabulary.
3. B.N. Lahiri.

engaged in, whether you are in the police, armed forces, or in one of the innumerable other avenues open to you. We must always bear in mind that all of us are engaged in this great task of nation-building and making the masses better off. In that sense, all of us are soldiers in the service of the country. We must not lose sight of the fact that millions of people in India are on the march towards progress and prosperity. Some may stumble and fall by the way side. But if we are honest and sincere in our purpose and full of determination, others will derive strength from us.

So these are the great responsibilities which we have to shoulder. The people who are in the police or the armed forces who are taught strict discipline and given training have a special responsibility in this matter. We must bear in mind that service to the nation must be done with dignity and honour. We must not do anything which brings dishonour or disrepute to the country. This is how we must serve India and strive to raise the stature of our country in the world.

I congratulate you on your getting these flags. You must cherish them with dignity and respect and in so doing serve the country and discharge your duty too. *Jai Hind*.

2. The India League¹

I am glad that the India League² is observing the 26th January, which has come to have a special significance for us as the day on which our Republic was proclaimed. Only three years have passed since then, three years of trial and difficulty for us and of continuing world crisis.

On this day I should like to send my comradely greetings to our many friends in the United Kingdom. In the old days when we struggled for freedom, they stood by us. Since then conditions have changed and we are a free people. I am happy that that freedom was ultimately gained as a result of a friendly settlement with the United Kingdom, and even though we are completely independent and follow such policies as appear to us to be right, our relations with the people of the United Kingdom continue to be friendly, not only in

1. Message to the India League, 25 December 1952. JN Collection.

2. A political body, connected with the left wing of the British Labour Party, started by V.K. Krishna Menon in London in 1929 for rousing public opinion in England on the question of India's independence. Menon was its Secretary from 1929 to 1947.

the official sense of the word, but in a deeper sense also. All of us have to face our own particular problems, but all of us also have to face the common problems of the age. And these require more and more understanding of each other, more and more the spirit of cooperation on the basis of the principles that have guided our actions in the past, adapting them to the new conditions.

The India League served our cause, and I believe England's cause, in the past. It has now to work on a somewhat different level and in a somewhat different way. But an important and vital work still remains to be done: to promote the object it has set before it. With that object we are in full agreement.

I send my good wishes to the India League and its members and sympathizers on this occasion.

GLOSSARY

acharya	chancellor
Akhand Bharat	undivided India
ashram	hermitage
'Azad Kashmir'	the areas of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan
Bharat Mata	Mother India
Bharata Natyam	a classical form of dance of South India
bhai	brother
Bhikku	Buddhist mendicant
Bhoodan	donation of land
chaddar	shawl
Chakra	wheel
charkha	spinning wheel
Devanagari/Nagari	script adopted for Hindi, Sanskrit and some other Indian languages
Gandhivad	Gandhism
Harijan	collective name for class of untouchables; literally people of God
inquilab zindabad	long live revolution
jagirdari	holding of a tract of land and its revenue (given for services rendered)
Jai Hind	victory to India
janata	people
jawan	soldier
ji	affix added to a person's name to denote respect
jowar	a kind of barley
khadi	cloth woven of handspun yarn
kutcha roads	unmetalled roads
Mahant	head of a monastery
mohalla	locality
Nai Talim	Basic Education
nala	irrigation channel
pan	betel leaf
panchayat	the village council
Panda	a Hindu priest at a place of pilgrimage
pandal	pavilion
purdah	curtain
puja	worship
Ram Raj	equitable and ideal rule, literally kingdom of Ram, worshipped as God by Hindus

rashtra	nation
Sadar-i-Riyasat	Head of State (Jammu & Kashmir)
samadhi	grave
sammelan	conference
satyagraha	truth force or soul force
sevikas	voluntary women workers
swaraj	self-rule
stupa	a Buddhist monument containing relics
tahsil	revenue sub-division
Terai	marshy jungle area between the lower foothills of the Himalayas and the plains
vihara	a Buddhist monastery
Yuvaraj	crown prince
Zamindari	a big land owner's estate

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The period covered by this volume... witnessed several seminal developments in the domestic and the international spheres.

...the first Five Year Plan was... set in motion after a series of discussions between planners, civil servants and politicians at the State and Central levels. Jawaharlal Nehru was intimately involved in these discussions...

...Nehru was acutely conscious of the need for developing Indian technology in the field of atomic energy. He inaugurated, on 24 December, the Indian Rare Earths Factory at Alwaye in Kerala.

He also paid a visit to the North-Eastern Frontier in the winter of 1952... he increasingly realized that "the first problem we have to face there is... to make them (that is, the tribal folk) feel at one with India..."

...In the former presidency of Madras, an agitation was afoot for the formation of a separate State of Andhra for the Telugu speaking people... Retreating from his original position due to public pressure, Nehru warned the people that conceding one demand would result in... demands for... other linguistic provinces....

Around this time, Kashmir... adopted her own Constitution and elected a Head of the State... another development relating to Kashmir was the submission before the UN Security Council, in November 1952, of a draft Anglo-US Resolution.... The Resolution was... categorically rejected by India since it equated India, the aggrieved party, with Pakistan, the aggressor....

On the Korean issue, India presented a draft Resolution before the United Nations on 19 November, which proposed the release and repatriation of all prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1949....

Nearer home, the question of the right to 'citizenship' of Indians living in Sri Lanka threatened to put the Indo-Sri Lankan relationship under a severe strain....

...India took a firm stand against apartheid and her Resolution on this issue was backed by all the member nations of the United Nations, except the colonial powers....

A thoroughly disconcerting development, towards the end of 1952, was the reported intention of Pakistan to join a Middle East Defence Organization... Nehru regarded such a move as ill-advised even from the point of view of the Western Powers.

